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THE CITIES AND CEMETERIES

OF

ETRURIA.

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THE FAREWELL OF ADMETOS AND ALKESTIS.

SCENE FROM AN ETRUSCAN VASE, FOUND AT VULCI.

THE

CITIES AND CEMETERIES

OF

ETRURIA.

Parva Tyrrhenum per æquor
Vela darem. HORAT.



By GEORGE DENNIS.

THIRD EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.

WITH MAP, PLANS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1883.

Dennis
Cities and
cemeteries
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THE CITIES AND CEMETERIES

OF

ETRURIA.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SOVANA.—*SUANA.*

Novella dall' Etruria porto.—Filicaja.

La gente che per li sepolcri giace
Potrebbesi veder ?—già son levati
Tutti i coperchj, e nessun guardia face.—Dante.

We are apt to regard Italy as a country so thoroughly beaten by travellers that little new can be said about it; still less do we imagine that relics of the olden time can exist in the open air, and remain unknown to the world. Yet the truth is, that vast districts of the Peninsula, especially in the Tuscan, Roman, and Neapolitan States, are to the archæologist a *terra incognita*. Every monument on the high-roads is familiar, even to the fire-side traveller; but how little is known of the by-ways! Of the swarms of foreigners who yearly traverse the country between Florence and Rome, not one in a hundred leaves the beaten tracks to visit objects of antiquity; still fewer make a journey into the intervening districts expressly for such a purpose. How many leave the train to explore the antiquities of Cortona, Chiusi, or Orvieto? or if a few run from Rome to Corneto to visit the painted tombs, not a tithe of that small number continue their route to Vulci, Toscanella, or Cosa. That wide region, on the frontiers of the former Tuscan and Roman States, which has been the subject of the last two chapters, is so rarely trodden by the foot of a traveller, even of an antiquary, that it can be no matter of surprise that relics of ancient art should exist there, and be utterly unknown to the world—gazed at with stupid astonishment by the peasantry, or else more stupidly unheeded. In a country almost depopulated by malaria, inhabited only by

shepherds and husbandmen, and never traversed by the educated and intelligent, the most striking monuments may remain for ages unnoticed. So it was with the magnificent temples of Pæstum. Though they had reared their mighty columns to the sunbeams for some three and twenty centuries, isolated in an open plain where they were visible for many a league, and standing on the sea-shore, where they must have served for ages as a landmark to the mariner; yet their very existence had been forgotten, till in the middle of the last century a Neapolitan painter discovered them afresh, rescuing them from an oblivion of fifteen hundred years.[1] So in Etruria, the interesting cemeteries of Norchia and Castel d'Asso were brought to light not seventy years ago by some sportsmen of Viterbo. I am now about to describe some other remarkable remains of Etruscan antiquity, which owe their rediscovery to the intelligent enterprise of an Englishman.

In the spring of 1843, Mr. Ainsley, my former fellow-traveller in Etruria, in the course of a third tour through this interesting land, penetrated to Pitigliano, and thence made an excursion to Sovana. Being aware that that place was known only as the site of the Roman Suana, he had no reason to expect relics of Etruscan times; yet, having established such an antiquity for Pitigliano, he shrewdly suspected the same for the neighbouring site. Here he inquired for antiquities. Antiquities!—Nobody at Sovana had ever heard of such "*roba*." From the provost to the hind, all were alike ignorant. But his curiosity was excited by some *columbaria* and rock-hewn tombs of familiar character, and he proceeded to explore the surrounding ravines.

His suspicions were soon confirmed. Here were tombs with rock-hewn façades as at Norchia and Castel d'Asso,—and, following the range of cliffs, he came to a monument in the form of a temple, in a style both unique and beautiful. His surprise and delight at this discovery explained to the villagers who accompanied him the nature of the objects he was seeking. They were no less astonished to find a stranger display such interest in what to their simple minds was meaningless, or a mere "*scherzo*" —a freak of Nature imitating Art, or a fanciful work carved in an idle or wanton mood by the "rude forefathers of the hamlet."

[1] I give the current story, which I believe, however, to have been disproved as regards the discoverer,—a description of the temples having been published at Naples, by Antonini, in his work on Lucania, ten years before the date assigned to the painter's discovery, which was 1755. See Delagardette, Ruines de Pæstum, p. 15. It is at least established that those marvels of Greek art have been known to Europe for little more than a century.

"*Scherzi, scherzi!*—is that the *roba* you want? there are plenty of such *whims!*" cried they; and they led him on from one rock-hewn monument to another, which excited his surprise and admiration by their multitude, variety, and novel character, and afforded him convincing evidence of the Etruscan origin of Sovana. He returned day after day to the spot, and in defiance of a midsummer sun, and its noxious influences, persevered till he had made finished drawings of the most remarkable monuments, and had taken their dimensions with the fullest detail. He forthwith sent a description of this necropolis to the Archæological Institute of Rome, together with drawings, plans, and sections of the principal tombs for publication. In truth, he has left little to be done by future visitors to Sovana, so detailed and accurate are his notices and drawings, and such the zeal with which he prosecuted his researches for the benefit of antiquarian science.

The discovery is of the highest importance, for these sepulchres, though in general character resembling those of Norchia, Castel d'Asso, and Bieda, have novel and striking features peculiar to the site. Mr. Ainsley justly observes, that after "having visited nearly all the antiquities of this kind known to exist in Etruria, I can truly say that I have seen no place which contains so great a variety of sculptured tombs as Sovana."[2]

Sovana is but two miles and a half from Pitigliano, and appears to the eye still nearer, but in these glen-furrowed plains distances are deceptive. You ascend from the ravine of Pitigliano by an ancient rock-sunk road, fringed with aloes. On the surface of the plain above, you may trace the road by ruts in the tufo, formed partly perhaps in more recent times.[3] The road commands a wide sweep of the great Etruscan plain to the south; but on every other hand the horizon is bounded by heights, here clothed with wood or verdure, there towering into lofty peaks, for half the year diademed with snow.

Sovana stands on a tongue of land, scarcely half a mile in

[2] Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 159. Gentleman's Mag., Oct. 1843, p. 419.

[3] Similar traces of ancient roads in Greece are supposed to have been formed purposely, the ruts or furrows being channelled in the rock to facilitate the passage of vehicles, on the principle of tram-roads—forming, in fact, a sort of stone railway. Mure's Tour in Greece, II. p. 251. How far they may be of intentional construction, and how far the result of reiterated transit, in any particular case, can only be determined by careful examination. The softer character of the rock in Etruria renders it still more difficult to form a satisfactory opinion; but ancient roads indicated by parallel ruts, cut or worn in the tufo, are of very common occurrence.

length; at one end rises the square tower of the Duomo, and at the other the mediæval castle, which, with its tall masses of yellow ruin, and crumbling machicolated battlements, forms the most prominent and picturesque feature in the scenery of the spot.

It is obvious from the strength of these fortifications that Sovana was a place of importance in the middle ages. This city —for such it is in name—"this city, which governed itself by its own laws, even after the arrival of the Lombards, which for a long period was the residence of bishops and of a powerful race of Counts; this city, which in 1240 was able to make head against Frederic II., and to sustain a siege, is now reduced to such a miserable state, that in 1833 its population was not more than sixty-four souls;"[4] and is now still further diminished. It is the see of a bishop, but for six centuries past this dignitary has not resided there, delegating his duties to a *proposto*, or provost. Such is the summer scourge of "*ariaccia*," that even the wretched hamlet to which the city has dwindled is well-nigh depopulated, and most of its houses are ruined and tenantless. It may well be called, as Repetti observes, "The city of Jeremiah." It is but the skeleton, though a still living skeleton, of its former greatness. Pestilence, year after year, stalks through its long, silent street.[5] I visited it in the healthy season, when its population had not forsaken it, and on a fête-day, when every one was at home; yet hardly a soul did I perceive, and those few seemed to have scarcely energy enough left for wonderment. The visit of a stranger, however, is an epoch in the annals of the hamlet. I learned from the provost that the monotonous, death-like calm of Sovana had not been disturbed by a single visitor since Mr. Ainsley left it nearly a year before.

Nothing is known of the ancient history of Sovana. Till now it was not supposed to have had an Etruscan origin. The Roman colony of Suana is mentioned in the catalogues of Pliny and Ptolemy;[6] and that it occupied this site is proved by the preservation of the ancient name, which has remained almost unchanged—being called indifferently Soana or Sovana.[7] The

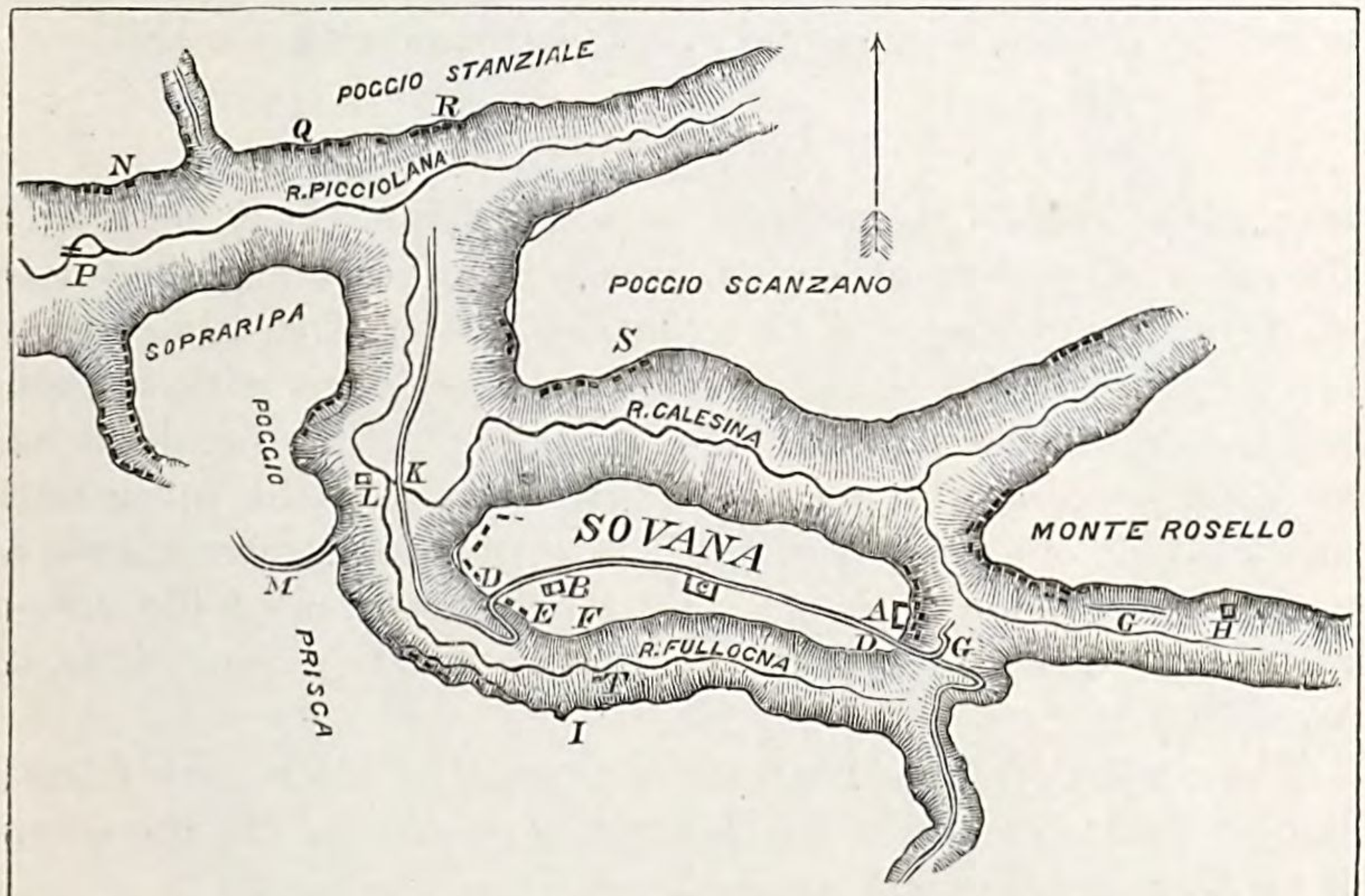
[4] Repetti, *v.* Soana.

[5] It would be interesting to trace the cause of its unhealthiness. It cannot be entirely owing to its situation in the plain, for it is raised about 960 feet above the level of the sea; and other sites on much lower ground, and nearer the sea, are only "suspected" of, not infected by, malaria.

[6] Plin., III. 8; Ptol. Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert.

[7] Repetti always speaks of it as Soana; but in the country it is generally called Sovana—which is more consistent with the

only historical interest it possesses lies in its being the birth-place of Hildebrand, Gregory VII., the great ecclesiastical reformer of the eleventh century, the founder of the Papal supremacy over all secular power. Of Roman remains I observed only three *cippi* in the Piazza, with inscriptions of no interest. Below the Duomo, on the descent to the western gate, are portions of the ancient wall, of tufo and *emplecton*, as at



G. Dennis.

ROUGH PLAN OF SOVANA AND ITS NECROPOLIS.

A. Castle.
B. Cathedral.
C. Piazza.
D. D. Gates.
E. Columbarium in the cliff.
F. Tomb with ribbed ceiling.
G. G. Ancient roads.
H. Columbarium.
I. Tomb called La Fontana.
K. Bridge.
L. Madonna del Sebastiano.
M. Ancient road cut through the rock.
N. Grotta Pola.
P. Bridge.
Q. Tomb with Typhon's head.
R. House-like tombs.
S. Polyandrium.
T. Fontana del Pischero.

Sutri and Falleri. The Etruscan town must have been of very small size, little more than a mile in circumference. Yet the multitude and character of its sepulchres seem to indicate considerable importance, though this test is often fallacious. Suana can never have been of much weight in the Etruscan State; and must have been dependent on some larger city, probably on Volsinii.

Italian mode of corrupting Latin names, as exemplified in Mantova, Padova, Genova —and with the vulgar tendency to insert v, —Pávolo for Paolo.

Should any one be tempted to follow me to this desolate site, which, during the winter months, may be done with impunity if not without discomfort, let him leave Sovana by the western gate. As he descends into the ravine he will observe the opposite cliffs hewn into a long series of architectural façades, among which one with a recessed arch stands conspicuous. At some distance he might take it for a new stone building; but let him force his way through the thick copse on the slope, and he finds its whiteness is but the hoariness of antiquity. This monument is called

LA FONTANA,

from some fancied resemblance to a fountain.[8] It is hewn from the tufo cliff, and in general size and form resembles the tombs of Norchia and Castel d'Asso, but instead of Etruscan cornices has a Doric-like frieze, surmounted by a pediment with singular reliefs; and in place of the door-moulding on the façade, it has an arched recess, with an inscription carved on the inner wall, and a couple of steps below it, which give it some resemblance to a modern way-side shrine.[9] The general features of the monument, even without the open tomb beneath, would prove it to be sepulchral.[1]

The projecting *fascia* bears much resemblance to a Doric frieze,[2] but the pediment is very un-Hellenic in character. In the centre is an Etruscan mermaid, or marine deity—

> Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo
> Pube tenus; postrema immani corpore pistrix
> Delphinum caudas utero commissa—

Her face has been destroyed; her body is naked, but over her head float her robes inflated by the breeze, and she is striving to

[8] See the woodcut on the opposite page.

[9] The inscription is in letters ten inches high. It appears to be an epitaph, and in Roman letters would be

NULI . . IA. VELU
VELUS.

It is stated by Count G. C. Conestabile that in some other tombs of Sovana where this arched recess occurs in the façade, it was occupied by a stone sarcophagus with a recumbent figure on its lid, vestiges of which still remain. Bulletino degli Scavi della Società Colombaria, 1859, p. 8. Yet it is strange that no sarcophagi were found within the tombs.

[1] The sepulchral chamber is entered by a passage opening in the hill-side, at an unusual depth below the façade. It is in no way remarkable. In the excavations that were made here in 1859 it was found that in certain of the passages sunk in the rock to the doors of the tombs, some of the steps were moveable, made so to conceal another passage leading to a lower chamber. Conestabile, loc. cit.

[2] It is divided into metopes, and what resemble triglyphs in outline, but not being channelled, are not entitled to the name; there are no *guttæ*. Each metope contains a patera.

confine them with her hands.[3] The huge coils of her fishes' tails roll away on each side almost to the extremity of the pediment. On either hand, flying from her with wings outspread, is a male genius; the one on her left bears a shield on his arm, and shows some traces of a helmet.



ROCK-HEWN TOMB CALLED "LA FONTANA," AT SOVANA.

These figures, which are in prominent relief, are by no means distinct. They have suffered from a huge beech, which has taken root on the summit of the rocky mass, springing from above the head of the mermaid, which it has almost destroyed, and riving the monument to its very base. The antiquary may complain, but the artist must rejoice; for the tree overshadowing the monument renders it eminently picturesque.[4]

[3] Mr. Ainsley took her robes to be wings; and in truth the resemblance is not slight, and the analogy of similar figures on Etruscan urns, leads you to expect wings; but here, the folds of the drapery are distinctly seen covering the left arm. She holds no instrument in her hand, as usual in such figures.

[4] Mr. Ainsley's descriptions of this monument will be found in Bull. Inst. 1843,

I agree with Mr. Ainsley in regarding this monument as of a late period in Etruscan art. "There is a freedom of design, a certain flow of outline in the figures, together with a boldness of execution in the whole composition, which differ widely from the primitive style of Etruscan art." The subject is one which is not to be seen elsewhere in Etruria on the façade of a tomb, though frequent on the cinerary urns of Volterra, Chiusi, and Perugia. These marine deities are of either sex, and are often represented with wings outspread, and with a small pair at their temples, which are bound with snakes. Sometimes they are brandishing harpoons or anchors, sometimes oars, swords, or even snakes, like the Furies. They are commonly called Glaucus or Scylla, according to the sex; but these terms are merely conventional, and it is possible that they may have no relation to those beings of the Greek mythology. Mysterious symbols of a long-forgotten creed, thus prominently displayed, they cannot fail to stir the imagination of the beholder.

In the line of cliff, called Poggio Prisca, is a long range of sepulchral monuments, in general form, size, and character, like those of Norchia and Castel d' Asso, but in their details differing from any others yet discovered in Etruria. For, besides the Egyptian character of the outline and the horizontal mouldings, which these tombs have in common with those on the sites mentioned, here we find cornices not receding but projecting, and actually taking the concave form, with the prominent *torus* beneath, so common on the banks of the Nile; and this not in a solitary monument, but repeated again and again, so as to remove all suspicion that this striking resemblance to Egyptian architecture was the result of accident. The Etruscan character is seen in the moulded door on the façade, and in the inscription within it; but the dentilled fillet below the *torus*, and the rock-

p. 157; Ann. Inst. 1843, pp. 227—229; Gentleman's Mag., Oct. 1843, p. 418. For his illustrations, see Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LVI. What differences exist between his observations and mine (Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 234) are explained by the seasons in which we respectively visited the spot. The shade of the summer foliage must have greatly impeded his investigation; while I found the tomb exposed to the full glare of a vernal sun.

The dimensions of La Fontana are:— Width at the base 17 feet. Height to the frieze 10 feet, and thence to the apex of the pediment 7 feet. The recess is 8 feet 9 inches in height, and 7 feet 6 inches in width. There is a buttress of rock on each side of the arch, now much defaced; which Mr. Ainsley suggests may have supported figures of lions, or other decorative sculptures. Similar buttresses are attached to a tomb at Castel d'Asso. See Chapter XVI. p. 182. Steps anciently cut in the rock by the side of the monument lead to the summit of the cliff.

hewn pedestal which often surmounts the monument, are Greek rather than Etruscan features.

The upper chamber, so common at Norchia and Castel d' Asso, is unknown at Sovana, but there is some analogy to it in a recess hollowed in the façade of a monument, and having a bench at the back; either for a sarcophagus, for the *cippus*, or for the accommodation of mourning friends. It is a feature not uncommon on this site; it is seen, in fact, in the Fontana.[5]

These façades are separated as usual by flights of steps, hewn in the rock, and leading from the base of the cliff to the level of the plain.[6] In front of each monument is a long pit, the deep narrow passage to the tomb, which lies at an unusual depth, and has a moulded door precisely like that on the façade. Even where the roofs of these passages have not fallen in, there is a large oblong pit at the base of the monument, the mouth of a vertical shaft, like those at Falleri and Civita Castellana. The sepulchres are in general spacious, surrounded by benches of rock, but with no internal decoration, so far as I could perceive.

Following the range of cliffs northward, I came upon another group of tombs of similar character, and many with inscriptions more or less legible. This part of the necropolis is called Sopraripa.

It were vain to attempt a visit to these tombs unarmed with a hatchet, so dense are the tangled thickets; and all care must be had in crossing the yawning pits with which the slopes are furrowed; for the ground is kept moist and slippery by the overhanging foliage, and a false step on the brink would, in every sense, be a step into the grave. Mr. Ainsley was obliged to get the peasants to pioneer him a way from one monument to another with their wood-bills, and to clear the foliage from the façades; and I also reaped unequivocal benefit from their labours.

From the Sopraripa I perceived the cliffs on the opposite side of the wide ravine to be full of tombs, and crossing the stream by a bridge of some antiquity, I reached the

GROTTA POLA,

one of the most singular monuments in this necropolis, and the only one of the sepulchres of Etruria which bears any resemblance

[5] In the Sopraripa is a monument with a recessed arch, as in the Fontana, but without inscription or sculptured pediment; and in the cliffs on the opposite side of the glen, a similar arch contains a sepulchral column or *cippus*, hewn out of the rock; and it is probable that most of these arched recesses held *cippi*, portable in some cases, fixtures in others.

[6] An instance is shown in the woodcut on page 7.

to the celebrated temple-tombs of Norchia. Here is Mr. Ainsley's description of it:—

"It has the form of the portico of a temple, cut out of the solid tufo. One column only remains, supporting a corner of the pediment, and behind it is a square pilaster, attached to the surface of the rock, representing the body of the temple. Both column and pilaster are fluted, and adorned with corresponding capitals, which seem to have been very similar to one that I have seen in Signor Campanari's museum at Toscanella, having foliage running round its base, and springing boldly up to the corners, somewhat in the manner of the Corinthian, but with large human heads placed in the middle of each face of the capital, between the foliage.[7] The effects of time are too great to allow one to judge of the character of these heads. It is apparent that the column, the pilaster, and the face of the rock have been covered with stucco and coloured; and this is most manifest in the latter, where a broad *fascia* of the usual deep red colour has run along the bottom. The portico seems to have consisted of four columns, but not equally distant from one another, being coupled at the two ends, so as to leave a wider space between the two pairs than between each column and its fellow. The pediment is too much injured to allow one to judge if there has been sculpture in it; but the soffit of that part which remains is decorated with medallions. The whole monument is elevated on a base, without any traces of steps, and must have had an imposing appearance when perfect; whilst in its ruin, decorated as it is with the trees which grow out of the crevices, and have partly occasioned its destruction, it presents one of the most picturesque objects which my portfolio contains."[8]

The style of this monument marks it as no very early date, and it may be of the time of Roman domination in Etruria. No

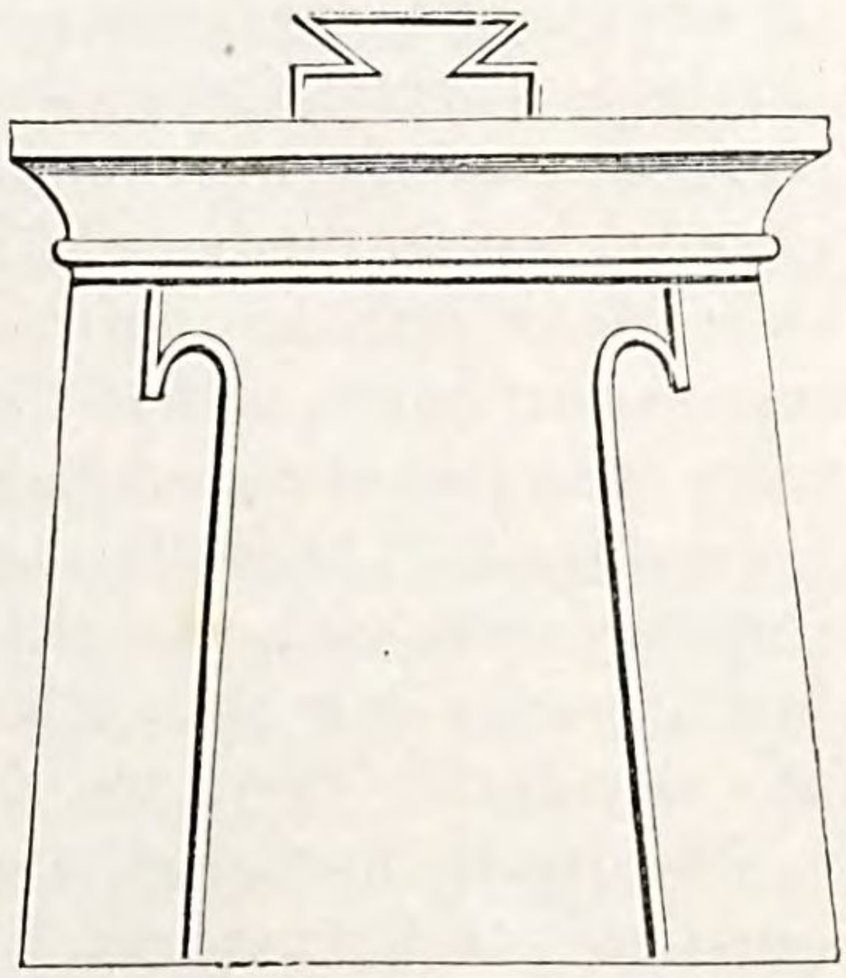
[7] See the woodcut at page 481 of Volume I.

[8] Gentleman's Mag., Oct. 1843, p. 418. I can add little to this accurate description; yet I am by no means certain that the decorations of the column and pilaster represent human heads. The surface of the tufo, out of which the monument is hewn, is so decayed, that it is difficult to determine the point, but to my eye there was some resemblance to large pine-cones, a common sepulchral emblem among the Etruscans; yet analogy would rather favour the heads. See Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 136. Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. XX. No volutes are now remaining in these capitals, and it can only be from analogy that Mr. Ainsley deems them to have existed. Mr. Ainsley's accurate plans and sections of this monument will be found in the Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LV., and a further description in Ann. Inst. 1843, pp. 224—7.

The height of the column and pilaster is 15 feet 6 inches; diameter of both about 3 feet. Height of the *podium*, or base, from 7 to 8 feet. The portico is 7 feet deep, and about 26 feet wide.

tomb is seen below it, because the passage to it is not cleared out; yet there can be no doubt of its sepulchral character. This portico seems but a small portion of a much mightier monument; in truth it is highly probable, from the traces of art on the adjoining rocks, that there has been on this spot, as Mr. Ainsley observes, "an union of objects of architectural grandeur, not to be seen in any other part of Etruria."[9]

The height in which the Grotta Pola lies is called Costa del Felceto. In the line of cliffs more to the east, below the height called Poggio Stanziale, are many tombs in curious variety. Some are purely Egyptian in outline and mouldings, as shown in the annexed woodcut. Some are surmounted by two long masses of rock, as a pedestal for a figure or *cippus*, but in most it is of more artificial form. In some of the façades are two or three long body-niches, recessed one above the other; which must be of subsequent formation to the monuments, and may be even of Christian date.



FAÇADE OF A TOMB AT SOVANA.

The most remarkable sepulchres in this part of the necropolis are what may be termed house-tombs, as they are detached masses of rock hewn into that form. They have a sort of portico *in antis*, in one instance flanked by pilasters with simple capitals, and surmounted by pediments, with a cornice below, and the beam-end of the roof above, in obvious imitation of woodwork. The house-character is seen also more clearly in the roof, which in one instance is rounded, and ribbed with parallel ridges, apparently in representation of a hut arched over with hoops, and covered with skins;[1] indeed, there is much primitive character in these tombs, and they recall the singular hut-urns of the Alban Mount. In this instance, there is a moulded door within the portico, indicating the entrance to the abode.

[9] There is a wide artificial passage behind the monument, as shown in Mr. Ainsley's plan. I have little doubt that there has been a second portico adjoining, for I remarked traces of four columns, somewhat in advance of the Grotta Pola. This must have given the monument, in its original state, a very close analogy to the temple-tombs of Norchia.

[1] There are also traces of *antefixæ* at the extremities of these ridges, just as on many Etruscan urns and sarcophagi.

One of these house-tombs has its pediment decorated with a colossal head, in high relief, of very bold and imposing character. It represents the Etruscan Typhon, or Principle of Destruction, and has long serpent-locks, one of his usual attributes.[2] The soffit of the portico is coffered with a diamond pattern.

As types of Etruscan domestic architecture, these tombs of Sovana have a peculiar interest. That most of the other monuments on this and kindred sites, which have moulded doors in their façades, represent dwellings there can be little doubt; but these few in question are too palpably imitations to admit of a moment's scepticism. I know no other instances of gabled tombs in Etruria, save one at Bieda, which does not bear so close an analogy to a house, except in having the sepulchral chamber within the body of the monument, instead of beneath it, as in those just described. No Etruscan *necropolis* more truly merits that name, or has the character of a "city of the dead" more strongly expressed in its monuments, than this of Sovana.

In the cliff beneath the town opposite the Fontana is a singular tomb with a vaulted roof, with something like a large Maltese cross in relief. The inner wall is recessed like the apse of a church, and there are niches around the chamber.

The tombs described are the most remarkable among the countless numbers around Sovana. The glens on the east of the town are also full of sepulchres, but of more ordinary character —simple chambers surrounded by rock-hewn benches, without decoration, inside or out. It might be inferred that there was some separation of classes in this necropolis—that in these glens lay the *commune vulgus*, while at the west-end were interred the patrician and sacerdotal dead of Sovana.

I agree with Mr. Ainsley in considering the monuments in this necropolis to be generally less archaic in character than those of Castel d'Asso and Norchia, saving the temple-tombs on the latter site, though there is by no means an appearance of uniform antiquity. At the same time there is here a much larger number of cliff-hewn sepulchres than on any other Etruscan site; and a far greater variety of architectural decoration. Nowhere are the mouldings so singular and so varied; for they show the characteristics of distant countries, and of different ages. Egypt,

[2] Mr. Ainsley took these snake-locks for "flowing hair." I think he is mistaken. Nor could I perceive any signs of wings on the brows, which he thought he distinguished. The angles of the *tympanum* are filled with foliage in relief, whose flowing and elegant character marks the monument as of a late epoch. He has given an elevation and section of this tomb in Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. LVII. 1, 2.

Greece, Etruria, and Rome, have all their stamp here expressed.[3] In the general character of its sepulchres there is the same variety; for to its own peculiar features Sovana unites the characteristics of other Etruscan cemeteries—Norchia, Bieda, Castel d'Asso, Falleri, Sutri, Cervetri. Yet I did not perceive one tumulus like those of Cervetri, Tarquinii, and Vulci. Nowhere are sepulchral niches in greater abundance and variety. There are niches for urns, and niches for bodies—the large conical niches, surmounted by small ones, so common at Civita Castellana—shelf-niches in double or triple tiers—port-hole niches, and loop-hole niches—and of *columbaria* there are as many as on any other site, except Sorano. Nowhere, moreover, are inscriptions on the exterior of the monuments so abundant; and of the Poggio Prisca and Sopraripa it may almost be said—

nullum est sine nomine saxum.

Nearly every rock here speaks Etruscan.[4]

The neighbourhood of Sovana abounds in ancient roads cut through the tufo. The most remarkable of these are to the west, behind the Madonna del Sebastiano, where two ways are cut through the rock up to the level of the plain. They are not more than eight or ten feet wide, though seventy or eighty feet deep, and the thin strip of sky overhead is almost shut out by overshadowing trees. A few tombs and water-channels indicate the Etruscan origin of these clefts. The profound perpetual gloom of these mediterranean roads has invested them with a superstitious awe, and no Sovanese ventures to enter the Cave di San Sebastiano without signing the cross and committing himself to the care of the Virgin and his favourite saint. The Virgin is within hearing, for her shrine stands at the foot of the slope; and she is reminded of her tutelary duties by a prayer inscribed on the portico. "*Santa Maria! proteggete Sovana, a te devota!*"

Sovana presents a new field to the excavator. The tombs in the cliffs have been rifled ages since; but the plain above must also be full of sepulchres, to which the spade and mattock are the only keys. The richness of architectural decoration in this necropolis seems to augur a corresponding wealth of sepulchral furniture.

This suggestion of mine was acted on by the Società Colombaria of Florence, who, in the spring of 1859, commenced excavations in this necropolis. In twenty days they opened about

[3] See the Appendix, Note I.

[4] The inscriptions that are legible are given in the Appendix to this Chapter, Note II.

fifty tombs, yet with very little success, for the sepulchres had all been rifled in former times. Even when the door was intact, it was found that the tomb had been entered either through the roof, or the side-wall, and the soil washing in through the aperture had choked the chamber, so as greatly to increase the labour of excavation. The tombs were generally of a single chamber, surrounded by rock-hewn benches, on which the dead were laid. It was evident that the Etruscans of Sovana did not usually burn their dead, for not a single ash-chest, either of stone or terra-cotta, such as abound at Chiusi, Perugia, and Volterra, was here brought to light; not even a tile to cover a niche for a cinerary urn. Nor were sarcophagi of stone discovered in these tombs, yet the rock benches bore abundant proof that the dead were interred, for on every one a number of nails lay in regular order round the edge, marking the place of the wooden coffin, whose dust lay mingled with that of its occupant.[5] No inscriptions were found on the walls of the tombs, nor on the bronzes and pottery they contained.

In the spring of 1860 the Society opened one hundred and four tombs in thirty days, yet with little better success. Not yet willing to despair they made a further attempt in the following year, but from the very inadequate result they were compelled to relinquish their labours.

On one tomb on Poggio Grezzano they found traces of rude paintings on the walls and ceiling. The portable produce of their excavations was confined to ordinary pottery, black and red, some vases with black figures on a red ground, a few mirrors, sometimes gilt, with other objects in bronze rarely entire, articles in iron, ivory, glass, beads of amber, and an earring of gold. The most archaic objects were two sitting female figures of soft stone, like those found at Chiusi, hollowed to contain the ashes of the deceased, and with movable limbs.[6]

Such is the necropolis of Sovana, and if it offers few treasures to the excavator, it offers much to the antiquary. Let no one who feels interest in the past, enter this district of Etruria without paying it a visit. It is better worth a pilgrimage than one half of known Etruscan sites. In point of sepulchres, what is there at Falleri—what at Castel d'Asso—what at Toscanella—what at

[5] Similar traces of wooden coffins have been found at Corneto and in other Etruscan cemeteries, as well as in those of the Greek colonies in Italy. I have found them also in Greek tombs which I have opened in Sicily and in the Cyrenaica.

[6] Bullettini degli Scavi della Società Colombaria, 1859—61.

Bieda—to rival it in interest? In exterior attractions, its tombs will bear comparison with those of any other necropolis in Southern Etruria; even Norchia cannot surpass it. Everything, however, be it remembered, yields in interest to the "shadow-peopled caves" of Corneto, Chiusi, and Orvieto.

Sovana may be reached from three sides; from the east, leaving the high-road to Siena at Acquapendente, or San Lorenzo; from the west by the road leading from Orbetello through Manciano; and from the south, from Montalto or Toscanella, through Farnese, or Ischia; and it should always be borne in mind that Pitigliano, not Sovana, is the point to be aimed at, as the latter is utterly destitute of accommodation, and at the former "the Baby" welcomes the traveller with open arms.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXXIV.

NOTE I.—MOULDINGS OF TOMBS AT SOVANA. See p. 13.

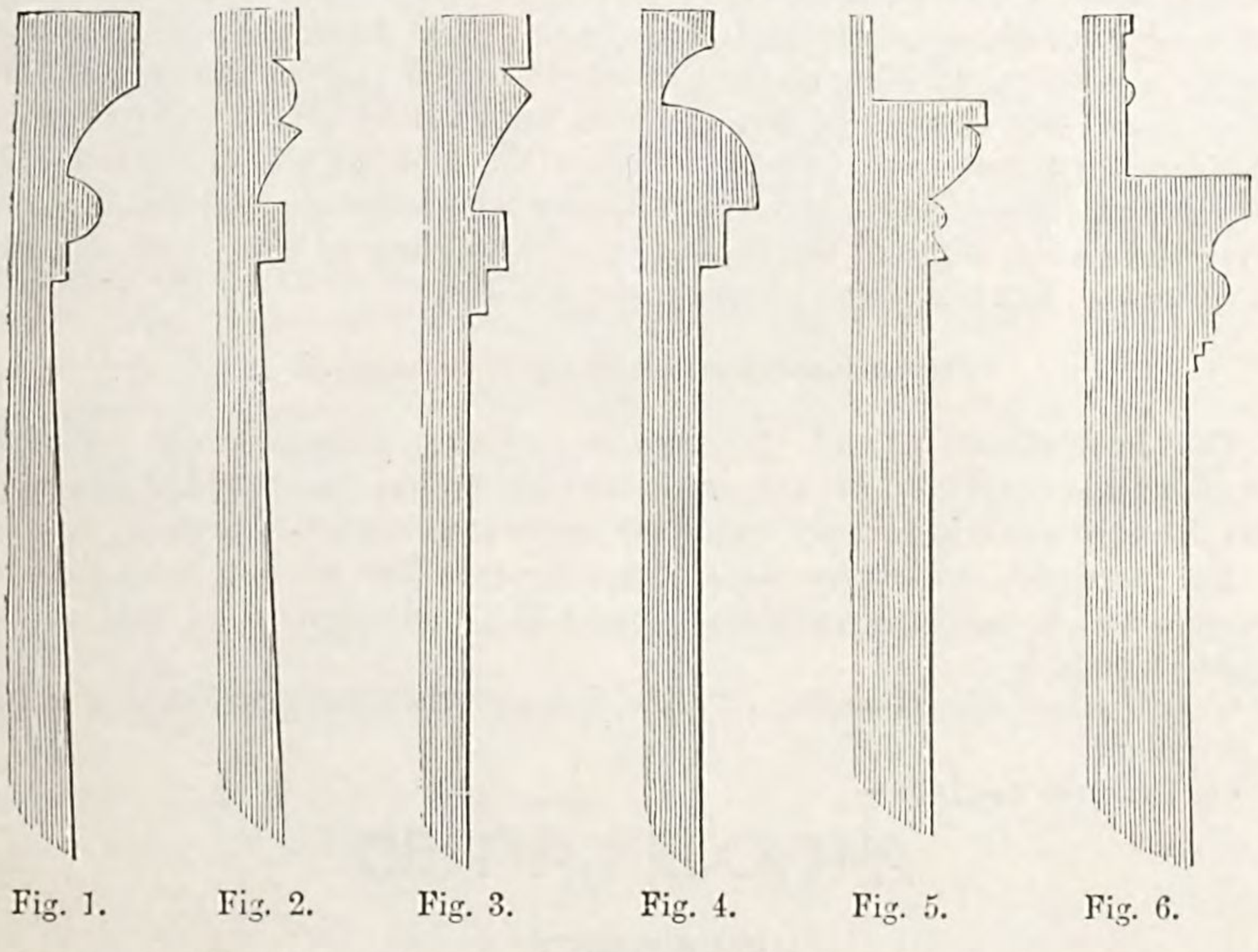


Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3. Fig. 4. Fig. 5. Fig. 6.

THESE mouldings are those of the façades of tombs at Sovana, seen in profile, varying from 12 to 20 or 25 feet in height. The upper part recessed in figs. 5 and 6, is the pedestal of the *cippus* or statue which surmounted the tomb; it is shown in the woodcut at page 513. The lower member of the cornices in figs. 1, 3, 5, 6, is dentilled. These mouldings are unlike those on any other Etruscan site; and probably have their counterparts in no other land; though certain of them have a strong Egyptian character. The most singular is that of fig. 4; and next, perhaps, fig. 2. But further comment

from an unprofessional man is uncalled for. I give these mouldings rather in the hope of exciting curiosity in the unstudied subject of Etruscan architecture, than with any expectation of satisfying it.

NOTE II.—ETRUSCAN INSCRIPTIONS. See p. 13.

The inscriptions at Sovana, though unusually numerous, are in many cases quite illegible, owing to the decay of the surface of the monument on which they are carved. The tufo here is of a deep red hue, which indurates better perhaps than the lighter sorts, but it is filled with large lumps of carbon, which, decaying sooner than the earthy matter by exposure to the weather, leaves holes in the surface of the rock. There are other difficulties in the way of making correct transcripts of the inscriptions on Etruscan sepulchres. Unless the sun fall on the façade, it is often impossible to read from below, and the inscription must be *felt*—in all cases the surest means of arriving at accuracy; for the finger can distinguish the indentation formed by the chisel from that effected by accidental causes, and thus will often correct the eye. But to reach with the hand letters which are generally at the upper part of the façade of a smooth-faced monument is not always an easy matter. Often have I reclined on the top of a tomb, with my body hanging half over its face, clinging for support to some projection of the rock, or some friendly bough, while I endeavoured, too frequently in vain, to *feel* my way through an inscription or bas-relief; and often have I been forced to assume a more perilous position, standing on tip-toe, spread-eagled against the front of the monument, with nothing to save me from the yawning pit at my feet, some thirty or forty feet deep, but the ledge of the rock on which I stood, only two or three inches wide, and ever slippery with moisture, and the grasp of one hand on the angle of the façade, or in some shallow hole in the smooth-hewn tufo. Yet thus have I hung many a while,

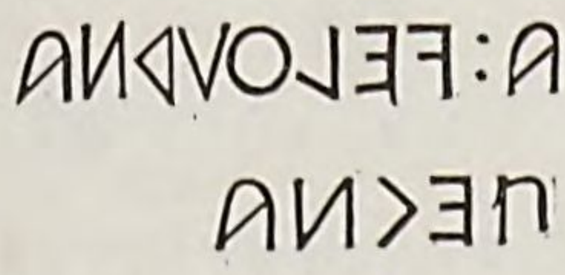
"Spelling out scrolls of dread antiquity."

The inscriptions instead of being, as at Castel d'Asso, on the principal *fascia* of the cornice, at Sovana are invariably within the moulded doorway, which is always immediately under the cornice, as shown at page 7.

The inscription within the arch of La Fontana has already been given at page 6, and in its Etruscan form is seen in the illustration of that monument at page 7.

On a tomb, in the same line of cliffs, I read "THPNSEHVRINE," which is but a fragment.

On the next tomb is—

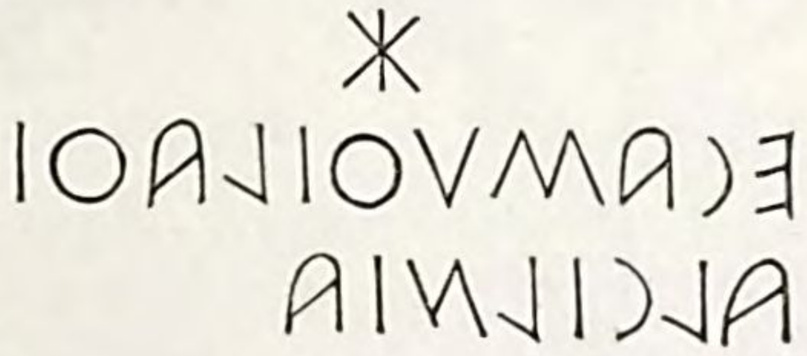


Or, in Roman letters, "THESTIA : VELTHURNA . . . NECNA."[1]
The first letter in the lower line is doubtful; the former part of it may be a natural indentation in the rock, and the rest may have been an L. The

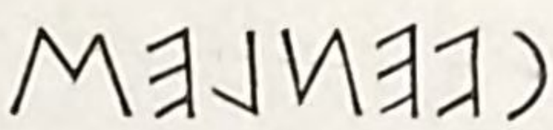
[1] Count G. C. Conestabile reads this, "THESTIA VELTHURNAS NESNA (or PESNA)." Bull. Società Colombaria, 1859, p. 10.

inscription is the epitaph of a female, Thestia. Her gentilitial name Velthurna is equivalent to Volturna, or Voltumna, the great goddess of the Etruscans. Lecna is the Etruscan form of Licinia.

On another tomb, hard by, is—



or "ECASUTHILATHI ALCILNIA," which I would divide thus, "Eca Suthi Lathial (for Larthial) Cilnia." The latter word is the great Etruscan *gens*, so celebrated in the annals of Arretium, and to which Mæcenas belonged; though it is not generally so written in Etruscan, but is metamorphosed into Cvelne, Cvenle, or Cvenles—



See Chapter XLII. The strange star above this inscription has been conjectured to be a numeral.

In the Sopraripa is a tomb with "SA RANTHA," which is probably but a fragment. Rantha or Ramtha is an Etruscan female name.

Of one inscription I could only trace the letters . . "THRA"[2] . . and of another of two lines, only "LARTHA" was distinguishable.

In the Poggio Stanziale, near the house-tombs I read this fragment, "TRIAS . P . . " On an adjoining monument is the simple word "CAL," which formed the entire inscription.

In the same line of cliff is this epigraph—"CETC EVEL . NES." The letters, however, are by no means distinct. If, as Mr. Ainsley reads it, there be no stop before the last syllable, we have CEVELNES, which betrays a strong affinity to the Cvelnes or Cvenles, mentioned above, and strengthens the probability of the great Cilnian *gens* having been located at Suana, as well as at Arretium.

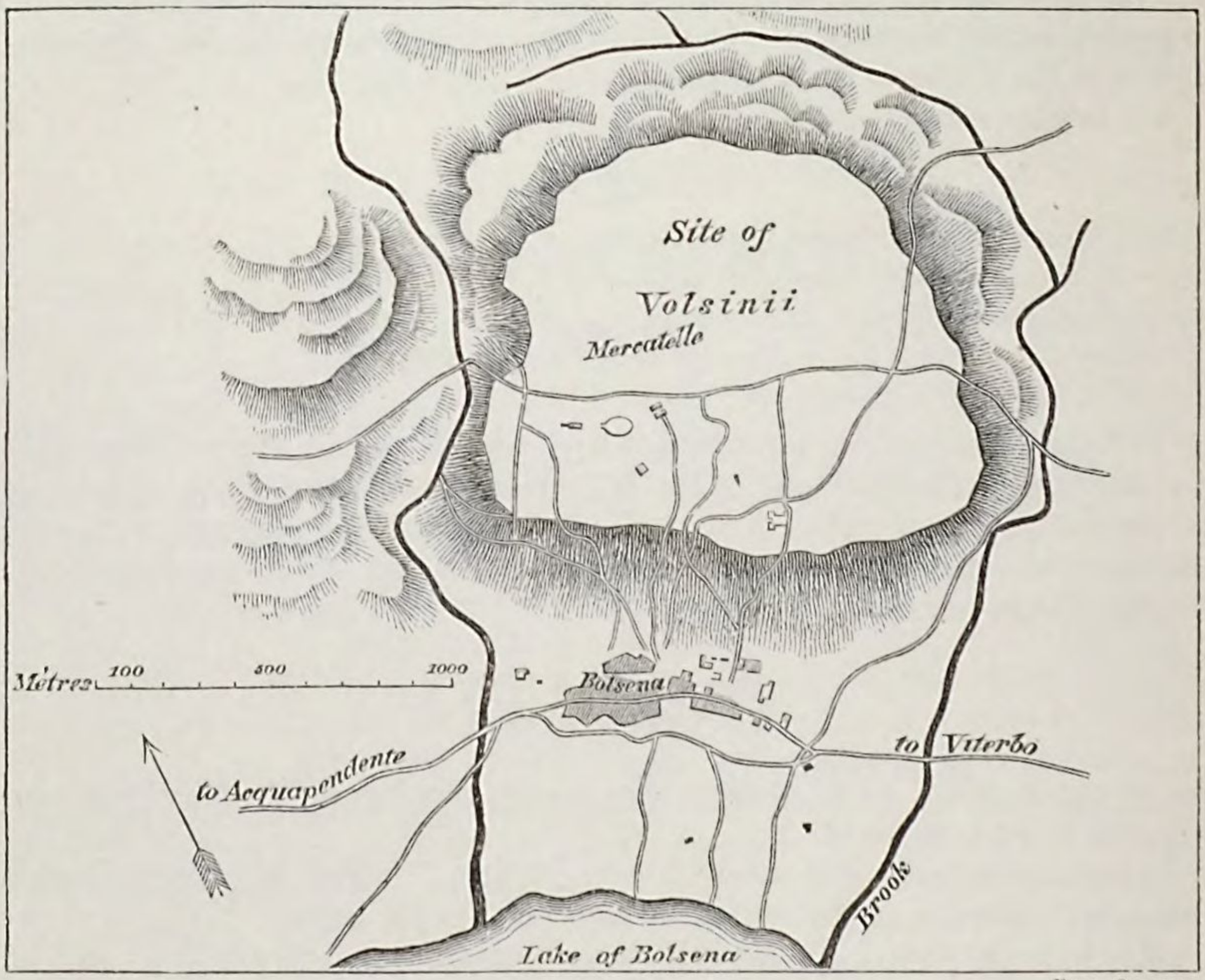
[2] According to Conestabile this should be "PHRAC." He gives an inscription on a tomb in the Sopraripa which escaped my observation—

"ECA SUTHI LARTHAL RUMPU (or PUMPU)
. . . . . CILISAL,"

and another on the Felceto, near the Grotta Pola—

"AVLE PETRUS CELUS,"

(op. cit. pp. 17, 18).



From Canina.

VOLSINII AND BOLSENA.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BOLSENA—*VOLSINII.*

——positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis.—Juvenal.

Vedeva Troja in cenere e 'n caverne :
O Ilión, come te basso e vile
Mostrava 'l segno che lì si discerne !—Dante.

From Pitigliano and its interesting neighbourhood I proceeded to Bolsena, by way of Ornano, a wretched village seven or eight miles from Sorano.

Hence a road runs to Acquapendente, on the highway from Florence to Rome. This has been erroneously supposed to be the Acula of Ptolemy, and the colony of the Aquenses mentioned by Pliny[1]—an opinion founded merely on the similarity of its

[1] Ptolem. Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert. ; Plin. N. H. III. 8—Aquenses, cognomine Taurini. Dempster (de Etruria Regali, II. p. 342) held this opinion. But Cluver (Ital. Ant. II. p. 570) shows that the Acula of Ptolemy was no other than the Ad Aquileia of the Peutingerian Table, the first stage from Florentia on the road to Clusium. And the Aquæ Tauri of Pliny were in the mountains, three miles from Cen-

name, which is evidently derived from the physical peculiarities of the site. Acquapendente appears to be wholly of the middle ages—no traces of the Romans, still less of the Etruscans, could I perceive on this spot.

At Ornano I chose the more direct route to Bolsena, which I had soon cause to repent, for the lanes through which it lay were beds of stiff clay, saturated with the recent rains, so that the beasts sank knee-deep at every step. Thus—

> "I long in miry ways was foiled
> And sore discomfited, from slough to slough
> Plunging, and half despairing to escape,"—

till I found *terra-firma* again at Le Grotte di San Lorenzo. This is evidently an Etruscan site; the surrounding ravines contain sepulchral caves, though hardly in such numbers as to entitle the village to the name, *par excellence*, of Le Grotte. The red wine to which it gives its name is known at Rome as among the best produced within the limits of the old Papal State.[2]

A couple of miles further carried me to San Lorenzo Nuovo, on the highway from Florence to Rome, where "the great Volsinian mere" bursts upon the view. The road thence to Bolsena is well known, but I may mention that the picturesque and deserted village of San Lorenzo Vecchio, about a mile distant—*un miglio grasso*, "a fat mile," as the natives say—occupies an Etruscan site, for the cliffs beneath the walls abound in sepulchres.[3]

It was a glorious day when I approached Bolsena. The sky was without a cloud—the lake, its islets, and every object on its shores, were in a summer blaze of light and warmth—the olive-groves were full of half-clad labourers, gathering the unctuous harvest—myriads of water-fowl darkened the sail-less waters—my eye roved round the wide amphitheatre which forms the ancient crater, and on every hand beheld the hills from base to summit dark with variegated foliage. How then discredit the evidence of my eyes—of every sense, and admit it to be the depth of winter, ere vegetation had put forth a single bud or blossom? Yet so it was,—but it was the winter of Southern climes.

tumcellæ, or Civita Vecchia, as says Rutilius (I. 249).

[2] If the Lago Mezzano, which is only six or seven miles distant, be the Lacus Statoniensis, this may be the very wine famed of old as the Statonian. Plin. N. H. XIV. 8, 5.

[3] This cannot have been anciently a town. Its circumscribed area, not larger than that of a small castle, rather indicates it as one of the strongholds—*castella*—which Volsinii possessed. Liv. IX. 41.

Bolsena is the representative of the ancient Volsinii,[4] one of the most ancient,[5] most wealthy, and most powerful cities of Etruria,[6] and without doubt one of the Twelve of the Confederation.[7]

The first mention we find of Volsinii in ancient writers is in the year of Rome 362 (B.C. 392), shortly after the fall of Veii, when, in conjunction with Salpinum, a neighbouring town, it took the occasion of a famine and pestilence that had desolated the Roman territory, to make hostile incursions. But these were soon checked; the Volsinienses were beaten, Livy says, with great ease, and 8,000 men laid down their arms, and were glad to purchase a truce of twenty years on humiliating terms.[8]

Volsinii, with the rest of the Etruscan States, took part in the war which broke out in the year 443 (B.C. 311), commencing with

[4] Volsinii must have been called Velsina by the Etruscans, or perhaps Velsuna, as it would appear from coins. If the first, it had anciently the same appellation as Bologna—Felsina. Velsi, or Velsina, was a common family name, often found on sepulchral inscriptions. The change of the Etruscan *e* into the Latin *o* was frequent—*e.g.*, Volumnius for Velimnas in the celebrated tomb at Perugia. These vowels, indeed, were interchangeable among the Romans, who had originally *benus* for *bonus*, *delor* for *dolor*, &c., which still holds among their Iberian descendants, who have *bueno*, *duelo*, &c. The original name of Volsinii may well have been Velsuna, as we find "Volsonianus" in an inscription found near Viterbo, referring to places in the neighbourhood. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 175. Propertius (IV., eleg. 2, 4) has Volsanus, though in some editions written Volsinius. But the name of Vulsine has also been found, and at Bolsena itself (Lanzi, II. p. 406); and Vuisina, or Vusina, occurs several times in the Lecne tomb, near Siena. Lanzi, II. p. 361. There is a gold coin, with the type of a woman's head and a dog, and the legend "VELSU" in Etruscan letters, which Sestini has assigned to Velia or Felsina (Bologna), but which Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 334) attributes to Volsinii (Velsine or Velsune); and he thinks that many copper coins that have been referred to Volterra, or Bettona, more properly belong to Volsinii. Bunsen (Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 97) considers this conjecture of Müller's, as to the gold coin, to be most happy.

[5] Zonar. Annal. VIII. 7.

[6] Plin. N. H. II. 53; Val. Max. IX. 1; Flor. I. 21; Liv. X. 37; cf. Plin. XXXIV. 16.

[7] Livy (loc. cit.) ranks it with Arretium and Perusia, as among the "capita Etruriæ;" and Valerius Maximus (loc. cit.) so designates it. Pliny (II. 54), however, speaks of Porsena as king of Volsinii, which might be interpreted into a dependence on Chiusi, but perhaps indicates merely a connection. It is highly probable, as Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 17) opines, that after the fall of Tarquinii, Volsinii was the mightiest state of Etruria.

[8] Liv. V. 31, 32; Diod. XIV. p. 319, ed. Rhod. The latter writer states that the battle was fought at Gurasium, which Cluver (II. p. 557) regards as a corruption of some better known name. Niebuhr (III. p. 274) says it is clear, from the feeble way in which the war of 368 was carried on, that it was the enterprise of Volsinii alone. But this city is not mentioned by Livy (VI. 9, 10), who records the events of that war.

Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 15, n. 124) thinks that the Solonium mentioned by Dionysius (II. 37) as an Etruscan city, whence a Lucumo, probably Cæles Vibenna, came to the assistance of Romulus, was Volsinii. Cluver (II. pp. 454, 473), however, thinks Vetulonium is here the true reading; while others would have it Populonium.

the siege of Sutrium,[9] and after the fatal overthrow on the Vadimonian lake,[1] which must have been in the territory of Volsinii, we find it stated that Publius Decius Mus, the Roman Consul in the year 446, took several strongholds belonging to this city.[2]

In the year 460 (B.C. 294) L. Postumius Megellus, the consul, laid waste the territory of the Volsinienses, and routed their army not far from their city, leaving 2,800 of them dead on the field. In consequence of this, with Perusia and Arretium, they sought for peace, and obtained a truce for forty years on the payment of a heavy fine.[3]

After this, just before the war with Pyrrhus, the Volsinienses again took up arms against Rome,[4] but were defeated, together with their allies, the Vulcientes, in the year 474 (B.C. 280);[5] and it would seem that they were then finally subdued.[6] Yet it is difficult to reconcile their energy and the love of independence shown in their being among the last people of Etruria to resist the Roman yoke, with the abject state of degradation into which, but a few years after, they had fallen, when they besought the aid of Rome to regulate their internal affairs. It seems that they had sunk into such an abyss of luxury and effeminacy, as to find the government of their state too irksome a task for their hands, and —unparalleled degradation!—they committed it in part to their slaves. These soon usurped the supreme power, rode roughshod over their masters, driving them into exile, or treating them as slaves, forbidding them to assemble even at the banquet, compelling them to draw up wills as they were commanded,

[9] Liv. IX. 32.

[1] Liv. IX. 39.

[2] Liv. IX. 41; Diodorus (XX. p. 781) merely says that the Romans took a castle called Caprium, or as some readings have it, Cærium.

[3] Liv. X. 37.

[4] Epitome of Liv. XI.

[5] See the Fasti Consulares in the Capitol—

. . . . . VNCANIVS. TI. F. TI. N. COS. ANN. CDLXXIII.
. . VLSINIENSIBVS. ET. VVLCIENTIB. K. FEBR.

Pliny (N.H. XXXIV. 16) states that Metrodorus Scepsius, a Greek writer greatly prejudiced against the Romans, had asserted that Volsinii was attacked for the sake of two thousand statues it contained.

[6] The conquest which the Fasti Consulares record, in the year 489, must refer to the subjugation of the revolted slaves—

M. FVLVIVS. Q. F. M. N. FLACCVS. AN. CDXXCIX.
COS. DE. VVLSINIENSIBVS. K. NOV.

Aurelius Victor (de Viris Illust. XXXVII.) —"App. Claudius Caudex, victis Vulsiniensibus"—must refer to the same event; for Zonaras expressly asserts that the Volsinienses on that occasion called in the Romans, as being already their allies—*ἔνσπονδοι γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῶν*; which seems most consistent with probability; for it is only the sense of security consequent on an alliance with, or dependence on Rome, that can explain their sudden fall into such depths of luxury. Therefore, the reduction of this people to the Roman yoke must have been earlier; and as there is no mention of any intervening contest, it is most probable that the war of 474 was that in which they were finally subdued.

uniting themselves by marriage with the first families, and committing other acts of unbridled license. The Romans sent an army to the assistance of the masters, and soon restored to them the dominion they had so pitifully renounced.[7]

We hear little more of Volsinii in ancient times. It was the birthplace of Sejanus, the favourite of Tiberius.[8] Pliny—

Quel savio gentil che tutto seppe—

asserts that it was once consumed and utterly destroyed by a thunderbolt,[9] and also that lightning was once drawn from heaven by certain sacred rites and prayers, to destroy a monster, called Volta, which was ravaging the land.[1] He further states that hand-mills were invented at Volsinii, and that some turned of their own accord;[2] whence it would appear probable that "that shrewd and knavish sprite, called Robin Goodfellow," was of Etruscan origin—a fact worthy of the attention of all Etrusco-Celtic theorists.

That Volsinii continued to exist under the Empire is evident from the mention made of it by ancient writers,[3] as well as from remains discovered on the spot.

[7] So the story is related by Valerius Maximus, IX. 1; Florus, I. 21; Zonaras, Ann. VIII. 7; Orosius, IV. 5; A. Victor, in Decio Mure. This event was just before the first Punic war, and as Florus states that the Romans on this occasion were commanded by Q. Fabius Gurges, it probably occurred in 489, when he was consul. Zonaras says that Q. Fabius and Æmilius were consuls, but this must be an error for Mamilius—L. Mamilius Vitulus, who shared the consulate with Gurges. It must be this event which is referred to in the Epitome of the XVI. book of Livy—res contra Pœnos et Vulsinios prospere gestas continet. Aurelius Victor erroneously states that the Volsinian slaves were subdued by Decius Mus, for he, that is the third of his name, was slain in 475, in the Tarentine War (Cic. Tusc. Quæst. I. 37; De Fin. II. 19); and Victor seems to have confounded this subjugation of the slaves with the war of conquest against Volsinii, fifteen years previous. Cluver (II. p. 558) falls into a similar error.

In all the above-cited accounts, the insurgents at Volsinii are called slaves—*servi*, *οἰκέται*—but Niebuhr pronounces them to have been not domestic slaves, but serfs—the governed class in the feudal system of Etruria. On this view, the mystery of the reported sudden fall into luxury vanishes; for it was by the aid of the serfs that Volsinii had previously been enabled to maintain, almost single-handed, so long and obstinate a struggle with Rome, and "for the defenders of their common home," as Niebuhr remarks, "to become citizens was a matter of course." The great historian of Rome considers the fact to amount to no more than that the serfs obtained, by force, physical or moral, the franchise, seats in the senate, and the rights of intermarriage and inheritance; and that all colouring superadded must be attributed to party hatred, or to the foolish exaggerations of Greek writers. Hist. Rome, I. p. 124; III. p. 546.

[8] Tacit. Ann. IV. 1; VI. 8.

[9] Plin. II. 53; cf. Tertul. Apolog. XL.; de Pallio, II.

[1] Plin. II. 54.

[2] Plin. XXXVI. 29.

[3] Tacit. loc. cit. Strabo (V. p. 226) refers to it as one of the principal cities of Etruria in his day. Ptolemy, Geog. p. 72, ed. Bert. Plin. III. 8.

To a practised eye it is evident at a glance that the Etruscan city did not occupy the site of Bolsena. The low rock on which the mediæval castle stands, is only large enough for a small fortress; and if that were the acropolis, the city must have stood on the shore of the lake, and on the slope of the long-drawn hill, which rises behind it—a position of no natural strength, and such as belonged to no city of Etruria, save those of Pelasgic origin on the coast; and which, moreover, is at variance with the situation of Volsinii, which was remarkable for its strength. In fact it is on record that on the conquest of that city by the Romans, it was razed to the ground, and its inhabitants were compelled to settle on another and probably less defensible site;[4] as was the case with Falerii. This then was the origin of Bolsena, which, as is confirmed by extant remains, occupies the site of Roman, not of Etruscan, Volsinii. The latter must be sought on more elevated ground.

Some have thought that Etruscan Volsinii occupied the site of Orvieto—Urbs Vetus—"the old city," *par excellence*;[5] others place it at Monte Fiascone,[6] but there is no reason to believe it was eight or nine miles from its Roman representative. More probably it stood in the neighbourhood of Bolsena; in which case it must have occupied one of the cliff-girt heights to the south or east, which are full of sepulchral caves, or the crest of the hill which overhangs the ruined amphitheatre. Baron Bunsen has asserted that "on a rock of difficult access, on whose slopes lies Bolsena, considerable remains of the original city were to be seen;"[7] but that description is vague enough to apply to any of the heights just mentioned. The uncertainty attaching to the site led me to revisit Bolsena in the summer of 1846, when I had the satisfaction of determining that the Etruscan city must have occupied the summit of the hill above the amphitheatre, the loftiest height on this side of the lake, where the ground spreads out into a table-land, extensive enough to hold a city of first-rate importance. The spot is commonly called Il Piazzano, and is the property of the Count Corza Capusavia. If this be the site referred to by Bunsen, it has now no considerable remains to show, or they were lost to my sight in the corn and underwood; but the soil, wherever visible, was strewn with broken pottery,

[4] Zonaras, Annal. VIII. 7.

[5] Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 451; Orioli, Nouv. Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 50.

[6] Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 34.

[7] Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 96. He strenuously combats Müller's notion of Volsinii being at Orvieto.

without any admixture of marbles or more precious materials, such as commonly mark the sites of Roman cities—thus bearing testimony to its early habitation. Towards the lake the ground breaks into cliffs, which, together with its great elevation, must have rendered the height difficult of access.[8]

The vestiges of the Etruscan greatness of Volsinii are few indeed. Her walls, so mighty and strong,[9] are level with the dust; not a relic of her temples and palaces—not a limb, not a *torso* of the multitude of statues which once adorned the city—is now to be seen. Beyond the broken pottery, and a few caves in the cliffs below, now hardly to be recognised as tombs,[1] nothing is left to indicate the existence of this once powerful and opulent city of Etruria,—

> "High towers, faire temples, goodly theaters,
> Strong walls, rich porches, princelie pallaces,
> Large streetes, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
> Sure gates, sweete gardens, stately galleries,
> Wrought with faire pillours and fine imageries;
> All those (O pitie!) now are turn'd to dust,
> And overgrowne with black oblivion's rust."

In Roman remains Bolsena is not deficient. Just without the Florence gate stand the ruins of a temple, vulgarly called Tempio di Norzia, but on no other authority than that Nortia, the Fortune of Etruscan mythology, is known to have had a shrine at

[8] Signor Domenico Golini, of Bagnaréa, between 1849 and 1856 made extensive excavations in the vicinity of Bolsena, in the search for the true site of Volsinii. He, of course, recognised "Il Piazzano" as the site of ancient habitation, but he discovered two other cliff-bound plateaux in the near neighbourhood, which, as ancient sites surrounded by extensive cemeteries, might dispute with this the honour of having held the celebrated Etruscan city. One was a densely wooded height called "Civita," about two and a half miles from Bolsena to the N.E., not far from the lake, which almost washed the slope beneath it. The height was composed of basalt, resting on tufo, and its summit was level, and had been separated by art from the contiguous heights to render it more difficult of access. The other was a somewhat similar but vine-covered height six miles to the south, and one mile and a half from the lake, also bearing the name of "Civita," and rising in the midst of an extensive cemetery of Etruscan tombs, all hollowed in the tufo, and rifled in ancient times. Bull. Inst. 1857, pp. 131—140. Signor Golini does not attempt to decide which of the three plateaux was the true site of Volsinii, and he gives us no information as to the size of the two called "Civita," but as he mentions each of these as an "acropolis," and as Il Piazzano is spacious enough to contain a first-rate Etruscan city, the balance of probability is in favour of its being the true site of Volsinii.

[9] Zonar. Ann. VIII. 7—τεῖχος ὀχυρώτατον. Canina (Etr. Marit. II., p. 141) states that the foundations are extant, and prove the walls to have been of squared blocks, and to have been fortified with frequent quadrangular towers.

[1] These sepulchres are not such as to tax the traveller's time or attention, being formless, defaced, and tenanted by hogs or mendicants. A few are *columbaria*.

Volsinii.[2] The temple of this goddess seems to have been of peculiar sanctity, for it was made the national calendar—a nail being driven into it every year, as into the temple of Jove on the Capitol of Rome.[3] That temple being Etruscan, most probably stood on the site of the ancient city. The ruins in question are undoubtedly Roman, being of *opus incertum* alternating in layers with brickwork. Roman also are the sepulchral tablets and *cippi*, arranged in front of the said gate, though among them may be recognised the Etruscan names of Cæcina and Vibenna. And a bas-relief of a sacrifice seems also to belong to the Roman period.[4]

From the temple a road of basaltic pavement leads in a direct line up the hill. It probably ran from Roman Volsinii to the ancient town on the site of Orvieto, and is still the path to the amphitheatre, or as the natives term it, La Piazza del Mercatello, —a small structure in utter ruin and so palpably Roman that it is difficult to understand how it could ever have been taken for

[2] Liv. VII. 3; Tertull. Apologet. 24; ad Nationes, II. 8. Juvenal (X. 74) implies the same, by supposing Nursia, as he calls this goddess, to favour Sejanus, who was born at Volsinii. She is also mentioned as the goddess of this city, in a Latin votive inscription, given by Fabretti (X. p. 742)—

Nortia te veneror lare cretus Volsiniensi;

who gives a second inscription—

Magnæ Deæ Nortiæ.

cf. Gori, Mus. Etrus. II. pp. 17, 303. Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker) regards Nortia as nearly allied to Minerva.

[3] Liv. loc. cit. Livy does not state it from his own knowledge, but on the assertion of one Cincius, a cautious authority for such monuments. This custom was, without doubt, introduced into Rome from Etruria, for it had existed from the time of the kings—a nail being annually driven into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus—and falling at length into disuse, was revived in the year of Rome 391 (B.C. 363), for the sake of staying a pestilence; when, strange enough, a dictator was chosen simply for the sake of driving the nail. This was the case also on subsequent occasions. Liv. VIII. 18; IX. 28. The custom, as Livy confesses, savoured of a semi-barbarous age—quia raræ per ea tempora literæ erant—yet was preserved, from some superstitious notion of its efficacy, not merely as a curious relic of the olden time, as the Lord Mayor of London counts hobnails on the Exchequer-table on the day of his installation. The nail evidently had a symbolic meaning with the Etruscans, implying the fixed decree of fate; for on a well-known mirror, found at Perugia, it is represented in the hand of the Etruscan winged Fate—"ATHRPA," or Atropos—who is about to drive a nail with a hammer, to indicate the predetermined death of Meleager and of Adonis. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. II. tav. 62, p. 550. Vermiglioli, Inscriz. Perug. I. p. 49. Gerhard, Etrusk. Spiegel, taf. 176. Müller (Etrusk. IV. 7, 6) shows that "Athrpa" is but the Nortia of the Etruscans, with a Hellenised appellation. The same symbolical idea of the nail was adopted by the Romans; and *clavo trabali fixum* was a proverbial saying, signifying what was unalterably fixed by Fate or Fortune. Cic. in Verr. VI. 21; Petron. Satyr. 75. Horace's (Od. I. 35, 17) picture of Necessity, the companion of Fortune, bearing such nails in her hand, which he also terms adamantine (Od. III. 24), will recur to the reader.

[4] It is illustrated by Adami (Storia di Volseno, p. 133), who calls it "the sacrifice of the Arvales," and describes and delineates many other Roman remains existing in his day—about a century since—in the neighbourhood of Bolsena.

Etruscan. It occupies an elevated site about a mile from Bolsena, and is surrounded by vineyards and chestnut-groves. In fact Juvenal's picture of Volsinii, "placed among wooded hills," is as applicable as ever, for all the slopes behind Bolsena are densely clothed—olives below, and chestnuts above. Another Roman road, running eastward, and probably leading to Balneum Regis, now Bagnaréa, may be traced on the heights above the Franciscan Convent, near the new road to Orvieto.[5]

Though the vestiges of the city and of the amphitheatre may not tempt him, let not the traveller neglect to ascend these heights, for the sake of the magnificent view they command. The lake, broad and bright as an archangel's shield—its islets, once ever changing place and form at the breath of Æolus or the caprice of popular tradition, but now two fixed spots of beauty on its fair surface—Valentano glittering on the dusky heights opposite,—

"Like a rich jewel in an Ethiop's ear"—

Marta nestling beneath its bold headland—the broad *cestus* of verdure girdling the lake,—all these and more distant features of beauty are seen over the slopes of olives and vines, of figs and chestnuts, and over the caverned cliffs which rise around the castled-crag of Bolsena.

Other Roman remains have been discovered at Bolsena;[6] and in front of the church of Santa Cristina are sundry column-shafts of grey and red granite, and an oval marble sarcophagus with reliefs of the triumph of Bacchus. Altars, *cippi*, votive and sepulchral tablets here and there meet the eye in the streets.

Though so little is to be seen of the Etruscan age of Volsinii, at the call of the pickaxe and shovel the earth yields her hidden treasures. The site had been long neglected by the excavator, when Signor Golini of Bagnaréa, considering that the neighbourhood had not been explored to the extent which a place so renowned for antiquity, wealth, and luxury, demanded, resolved to devote himself to this object. He commenced his labours in 1849 and continued them for seven or eight seasons, exploring

[5] On this road, just above the convent, are some singular sections of earth, showing Roman masonry and *opus incertum*, with a layer of broken pottery above it, eight or ten feet below the present surface; the superincumbent earth having been washed down from the hill above. This shows how much caution is necessary in determining ancient sites from extant remains, when the ground, as in this case, is commanded by higher, contiguous land. The surface may present no vestige of former habitation.

[6] Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 188; 1838, p. 6.

the wooded hills, north, south, and east of Bolsena through a district six miles in length, and discovering numerous tombs, and several distinct cemeteries; but without the success his perseverance merited. The sepulchres, with rare exceptions, had been previously rifled. On the slopes of the Piazzano, above Bolsena, he found two extensive cemeteries of Etruscan tombs sunk in the tufo rock, some of magnificent forms, but containing mere fragments of vases and bronzes, from which, however, he was able to infer the existence in early times of a people wealthy and skilled in the fine arts. In a wooded hill called Lo Spedaletto, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of the Piazzano, he found a little necropolis of forty-three tombs, which yielded him a number of magnificent bronzes, together with articles of glass and jewellery, but no painted vases. Many of the bronzes bore the inscription "SUTHINA," in Etruscan characters. In one of the tombs which had a vertical shaft sunk from the surface of the hill above, as at Civita Castellana and Falleri, he found the foot of a bronze statue of exquisite art, the only fragment extant of the 2000 statues for which Volsinii was renowned of old. At two miles east from Bolsena, in a wooded spot called Cavone Bujo, he opened a tomb which contained an enormous sarcophagus of basalt, as well as an urn containing ashes, and numerous vases of bronze, with handles ornamented with human heads or figures, most of them bearing Etruscan inscriptions in which the word "SUTHINA" occurs, sometimes alone, sometimes with other words. In the hills of Bucine, S. Antonio, Scopetone, and Turona, three miles to the north-east of Bolsena, he discovered a vast necropolis, but thoroughly ransacked in former times. He had no better success in another cemetery in the spot called Grotte di Castro, six miles further south, where the tombs were most abundant and larger and grander than he had previously excavated, and appeared to belong to an ancient site, called Civita, which crowned a lofty hill rising in the midst.[7]

But the most valuable discovery of Etruscan *roba* in the necropolis of Volsinii was made in 1856, by Count Flavio Ravizza of Orvieto, on opening a tomb which had been indicated by Golini. It lay three miles to the north of Bolsena, in the district of S. Lorenzino, and not far from Barano. It proved to be a virgin tomb, the sepulchre of two Etruscan ladies of rank. Besides some beautiful mirrors and other articles in bronze, it contained

[7] For details of these excavations see Bull. Inst. 1857, pp. 33—36 (Brunn); pp. 131—140 (Golini). The bronzes mentioned in the text are now in the Museo Gregoriano.

two sets of jewellery, two wreaths of olive and laurel leaves, one in gold, the other in *electrum;* two pairs of gold bracelets, one of the usual serpent form, two rings, and two *fibulæ*, and above all, two pairs of earrings, with winged Victories as pendants, of exquisite and elaborate art, and among the most beautiful specimens of goldsmith's work that have ever been rescued from the tombs of Etruria.[8]

A chapter on Bolsena would not be complete without a word on its miracles. The Santa Cristina, to whom the church is dedicated, was a virgin-martyr, who was cast into the lake by "the bewildered Pagans of old time," and though she touched the bottom, as is proved by the prints of her feet on the rocks, which remain to this day to confound the unbeliever, she would not drown, but came safely to land. Her body was preserved in her church till some pilgrims committed a pious fraud and smuggled it off to Palermo. But this is not the celebrated "Miracle of Bolsena," which has made the name of this petty town known from Chili to Japan, wherever the Roman Pontiff has power or advocates, or the genius of Raffaelle worshippers. That event occurred in this same church of Santa Cristina, some six centuries since, when a priest, performing the mass, entertained doubts of the real presence—doubts not even expressed—when blood forthwith burst from the wafer, and left its stains on the altar and marble floor, where they may be seen to this day—screened, however, from heretical scrutiny.

It remains to be said that the modern representative of this ancient greatness is a poverty-stricken picturesque town of some 1700 souls. Being on the old high road to Rome, and a post-station, it has an inn—the Aquila d'Oro—which trumpets its own praises, and promises the traveller "most excellent entertainment." *Le parole son femmine, i fatti maschi*—"words are feminine, deeds masculine," saith the proverb; or as the Spaniards express it—

Del dicho al hecho
Hay gran trecho,—

therefore put not your faith in the Boniface of Bolsena.

[8] Bull. Inst. 1858 p. 11 (Golini); pp. 184—9 (Brunn). I saw these ornaments in 1862 at Orvieto, in Count Ravizza's possession. They have since passed into the hands of Signor Alessandro Castellani, and are now in the British Museum.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MONTE FIASCONE—*FANUM VOLTUMNÆ?*

Temple and tower went down, nor left a site.—Byron.

Quale per incertam lunam, sub luce malignâ,
Est iter in silvis, ubi cœlum condidit umbrâ
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.—Virgil.

It is a distance of nine miles from Bolsena to Monte Fiascone, and the road on the long ascent commands superb views of the lake and its richly-wooded shores. That the lake, notwithstanding its vast size, was once the crater of a volcano, seems proved by the character of the hills encircling it. In one spot, about a mile from Bolsena, there is strong evidence of this in a cliff of basaltic columns, irregular pentagons, hexagons, and heptagons, piled up horizontally. The quarries, for which these shores were of old renowned, have recently been recognised in the neighbourhood of Bagnaréa, between that town and the Lake.[1]

Though the lake took its ancient name from Volsinii, the principal city on its shores, yet, as the *ager Tarquiniensis* stretched up to its waters on the south, it was sometimes called the Tarquinian Lake.[2] In all ages something of the marvellous seems to have attached to it. The blood-flowing wafer, and the footprints of the virgin-martyr, have already been mentioned. Its islands are described as floating groves, blown by the wind, now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares.[3] Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of its shores? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of Æolus.[4] As early as the Second Punic War, this

[1] See Vol. I. p. 161; and p. 493.
[2] Plin. II. 96.
[3] Plin. loc. cit.
[4] The Isola Martana is said to retain

lake was the subject of a miracle—its waters were changed into blood [5]—a portent of the pestilence that ensued. If miracles have ceased, malaria has not, but summerly visits the spot, and makes these beautiful and fertile shores, which might be a paradise, a desolation and a curse. Man has well-nigh deserted them, and the fish and wild-fowl, which abounded here of old, have still undisturbed possession of its waters.[6]

Monte Fiascone stands on the very summit of its hill, the loftiest ground on the shores of the lake. It is a town of some importance, with a neat cathedral by San Michele, on the plan of the Pantheon, but with no decent inn. Beyond the glorious prospect it commands, and its wine, the far-famed, prelate-snaring, prelate-slaying "*Est, est, est*,"[7] which, if it be not Latin for "good," as the natives tell you, is understood to represent that quality in the vernacular, and the quaint mediæval church of San Flaviano, on the descent to Viterbo, there is little of interest in Monte Fiascone.

The natural position of Monte Fiascone is so strong, that it is difficult to believe the Etruscans could have neglected to avail themselves of it. It resembles that of Volterra, Fiesole, and some other cities in the northern part of the land, but has no counterpart in this southern district. Its Etruscan antiquity is indeed universally admitted; yet there are no remains of that origin on the spot. The fortifications are wholly of the middle ages; but Latin inscriptions, found on the site, indicate an existence under the Romans, while tombs in the neighbourhood give evidence of yet higher antiquity.[8] Such of these sepulchres as

vestiges of antiquity. The other, called Bisentino, must have received its name from the Vesentum or Vesentium of Pliny's catalogue (III. 8), the site of which town lies on the western shore of the lake, three or four miles N.W. of Capo di Monte. Bull. Inst. 1864, p. 101. The island contains no remains of ancient times. Canina, Etr. Marit. II. p. 137.

[5] Liv. XXVII. 23.

[6] Strabo, V. p. 226. Columella, de Re Rust. VIII. 16. Strabo errs in saying that the reeds and rushes of this lake were borne by the Tiber to Rome, for the lake has but one emissary, the Marta, which falls into the sea below Corneto.

[7] The family of the Rev. John Fugger bequeathed a sum of money for masses to be said for his soul on the anniversary of his death, and for a barrel of the fatal wine to be poured upon his grave. The first part of the bequest is religiously attended to, but the people now dispense with the heathenish libation, and pour the wine, which Sancho Panza would have pronounced "very Catholic," down their own throats instead.

[8] The disappearance of the Etruscan fortifications, if there were any, may be explained by the fact that they must have been of tufo, and therefore much more liable to destruction than those of the cities to the north, composed, as they are, of enormous masses of limestone or hard sandstone. They would doubtless have been absorbed by the modern walls and houses, a process which has taken place to a greater or less extent throughout the tufo district of Etruria.

are now open in the slopes below the town have lost their distinctive character from serving as abodes to the labouring population, who are content to dwell in caves and holes in the rock, in the most abject squalor and wretchedness. Of them may it verily be said, "They remain among the graves, and lodge in the monuments; and the broth of abominable things is in their vessels." But tombs of undoubted Etruscan origin are found not only on the lower slopes, but also in the plain at the base of the hill to the south of the Lake. Extensive excavations were made in the spring of 1876, which yielded no vases of value or interest, but an abundance of bronzes, some of considerable beauty, besides a few articles in the more precious metals. This is a new and promising field for excavating enterprise.

The original name of this site has been sought in its modern appellation, which has been variously converted into Mons Phiscon —Mons Falconis—Mons Faliscorum, or the site of Falerii; though it seems clearly to be derived from the wine for which the Mount has for ages been celebrated—Fiascone signifying "a large flask." By one it has been regarded as the site of the Etruscan Volsinii;[9] by another of Trossulum,[1] a town which was taken by some Roman knights without the aid of foot-soldiers, and which is said to have lain nine miles on this side of Volsinii.[2] Trossulum, however, is more likely to have stood in the plain, at a spot called Vado di Trosso, or Vado Trossano, two miles from Monte Fiascone towards Férento, which was recognised some ages since,[3] though at the present day both site and name are utterly unknown.[4] Monte Fiascone is hardly the sort of place to be taken at a gallop.

[9] Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 34.

[1] Cluver, Ital. Antiq. II. p. 562. Canina, Etruria Marit. II. p. 130.

[2] Plin. XXXIII. 9. Festus ap. Paul. Diac. *v.* Trossuli. Schol. in Pers. Sat. I. 82. This exploit long conferred on the Roman *equites* the name of Trossuli. It is not so singular a feat as was performed by a body of French cavalry in 1795, when they captured some Dutch ships of war, stuck fast in the ice. Trossulus from being an honourable appellation became one of reproach, equivalent to a luxurious, effeminate fellow. Seneca, Epist. 87, 8. Livy (X. 46) mentions a town of Etruria, called Troilium, taken by the Romans in the year 461 (B.C. 293), which Cluver (loc. cit.) thinks identical with Trossulum. This cannot be the case, because Troilium was not taken by a sudden assault, but before it was attacked, 470 of its inhabitants, men of great wealth, purchased immunity of Carvilius the Consul, and were allowed to leave the town. And after the capture, the same Roman force took five castles, all in strong natural positions.

[3] Mariani, de Etruriâ Metrop. p. 46; and before him, Holsten. Annot. ad Cluver, p. 67, and Alberti, Descrit. d' Italia, p. 64.

[4] I have on several occasions made inquiries at Monte Fiascone, Viterbo, and Bolsena, and have never been able to learn that any spot in this neighbourhood now bears the name of Trosso. In the time of Holstenius and Mariani it was probab'y

There are two places spoken of by ancient writers, either of which is more likely than any of those yet mentioned to have occupied this site. One is Œnarea, a city of Etruria, which submitted to be governed by its manumitted slaves, and is described as "extraordinarily strong, for in the midst of it was a hill rising thirty furlongs in height, and having at its base a forest of all sorts of trees, and abundance of water."[5] Though the usurpation of the slaves evidently refers to the events at Volsinii, already recorded, it is possible that the writer erred chiefly in assigning them to another site in Volsinian territory, the situation of which, even to the ascent of the hill, four miles in length, accords closely with that of Monte Fiascone.[6] The name, which given by a foreigner, may be merely an epithet descriptive of the place—Winy or Viny—may be cited in corroboration of this view. Indeed it is nearly equivalent to the actual appellation—Fiascone. The light volcanic soil of these slopes must have been in all ages well adapted to the cultivation of the vine; which still flourishes on many sites in Italy, where Bacchus was of old most renowned.

But I think it quite as probable that this was the site of the Fanum Voltumnæ, the shrine at which "the princes of Etruria" were wont to meet in council on the general affairs of the Confederation.[7] We have no record or intimation of the precise locality of this celebrated shrine, but we know it must have been north of the Ciminian, for after the conquest by the Romans of the whole of the Etruscan plain to the south, we find it still mentioned as the grand seat of council.[8] Then where so likely

a mere "*luoghettaccio*," and now is so utterly desolate that its very name has perished.

[5] De Mirab. Auscult. cap. 96, commonly ascribed to Aristotle, and printed with his works, but written by an unknown Greek about the 130 Olympiad (260 B.C.). He is quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium, who calls the town Οἶνα (*sub voce*). Niebuhr (I. p. 124, n. 382) considers this undoubtedly to mean Vulsinii, and that Οἰναρέα was a distortion of the name, committed by the author or transcribers. So also Arnold (History of Rome, II. p. 530); and Müller (Etrusk. II. 2, 10), who amends Œnarea into Olsanea, remarking that Propertius (IV. eleg. 2, 4) has "Volsanus," and that Volci was called by the Greeks Οὐλκιον.

[6] It is scarcely necessary to observe that the text must not be taken literally as regards the hill rising in the midst of the city; the fact resolves itself into this, that the city stood on a hill, not thirty furlongs in perpendicular height, but the ascent to which was of such a length.

[7] Liv. IV. 23, 25, 61; V. 17; VI. 2.

[8] Liv. VI. 2. It is elsewhere strongly intimated by Livy (V. 17) that the Fanum Voltumnæ was in this district of Etruria, for when Capena and Falerii sought assistance in behalf of Veii from the confederate princes of the land there sitting in council, they received for reply that no succour could be afforded—that it was vain to look for it, "especially in that part of Etruria," on account of the unexpected invasion of the Gauls; who must then have been besieging Clusium, which lies in the valley of the Clanis, the natural entrance to the great Etruscan plain from the north. Something may perhaps be deduced from the

as in the great plain of Etruria, which was originally in the very centre of the land, and contained the metropolis of the Confederation—Tarquinii—the spot hallowed as the source of the civil and religious polity of the Etruscans ?[9] That the shrine stood on an eminence we may conclude from analogy. The temple of Jupiter Latialis, the common shrine of the Latin cities, as this was of the Etruscan, stood on the summit of the Alban Mount.[1] We also know that the Etruscans were wont to "make high places" to their gods[2]—a custom they had in common with the Greeks

fact that the statue of Vertumnus, an Etruscan deity nearly allied to Voltumna, which was set up in the Tuscus Vicus at Rome, was captured from this part of Etruria, as Propertius (IV. eleg. 2) states—

Tuscus ego, et Tuscis orior; nec pœnitet inter
Prælia Volsanos deseruisse focos.

Vertumnus seems to have been an Etruscan Bacchus, a god of wine and fruits. He is called Vortumnus by Varro (L. L. V. 8; VI. 3); and probably also Volturnus, by Festus (ap. Paul. Diac. *v.* Volturnalia), as well as by Varro (L. L. VII. 45); though neither recognises the relation in this case. See Müller's views on Vertumnus (Etrusk. III. 3, 3). Voltumna was probably his wife, equivalent, thinks Gerhard (Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 8), to Pomona. Voltumna or Volturna was also an Etruscan family-name, found in sepulchral inscriptions at Corneto, Perugia, and also at Sovana. In its Etruscan form it was VELTHURNA.

[9] Antiquaries have universally agreed in placing it in this region, though differing as to its precise locality. The general opinion, from the time of Annio, has favoured Viterbo, from the existence of a church there called S. Maria in Volturna. Müller (Etrusk. II. 1, 4) inclines to place it near the Vadimonian Lake. Canina (Etr. Mar. II., p. 131) places it at Valentano, on the west of the Lake of Bolsena (see Vol. I. p. 494). Lanzi (Saggio II. p. 108) thinks it must have occupied a central situation, like the similar shrines of Delphi and of the Alban Mount. The site of the latter is said by Dionysius (IV. p. 250) to have been chosen for its central advantages. The traces of the name preserved at Viterbo, even were it ascertained that the said church occupies the site of a temple to Voltumna, do not prove this to be the celebrated Fanum. It is not to be supposed that the goddess had only one shrine, any more than that Apollo was worshipped only at Delphi, Diana at Ephesus, or Juno at Argos. It was merely the Fanum of Voltumna *par excellence*, just as St. Peter has his chosen temple at the Vatican, St. James at Compostela, and the Virgin at Loreto.

[1] Dion. Hal. loc. cit. The shrine of Apollo was on the summit of Soracte; and that of Feronia, common to the Sabines, Latins, and Etruscans, has been shown to have occupied in all probability the elevated shoulder of the same mountain (see Chapter X. p. 129).

[2] The temple of Juno was on the Acropolis of Veii (Liv. V. 21; Plut. v. Camill. 5), and at Falerii it stood on the summit of a steep and lofty height. Ovid. Amor. III. eleg. 13, 6. The Ara Mutiæ, another Etruscan shrine, most probably occupied the summit of Monte Musino. See Chapter IV. p. 57. It was an Etruscan custom to raise in every city a triple temple to the three great divinities, Jove, Juno, and Minerva (Serv. ad Virg. Æn. I. 422), and from the analogy of the Romans, who borrowing the custom from the Etruscans, raised the same triple shrine on the Capitol, we may conclude it was upon the Acropolis or highest part of the city. On the Roman Capitol, indeed, were images of all the gods. Serv. ad Æn. II. 319. It seems to have been a very ancient and general Italian custom to raise temples on the Arces of cities. Thus, Orvinium in Sabina, a town of the Aborigines, had a very ancient shrine of Minerva on its Acropolis. Dion. Hal. I. p. 12. Virgil (Æn. III. 531) describes a temple to the same goddess on such a site on the Calabrian coast—templumque apparet in arce Minervæ. The word Arx seems sometimes to be used as equivalent to temple, as in Liv. I. 18.

and oriental nations,[3] and one conformable to the natural feelings of humanity; just as kneeling or prostration are by all men, save Quakers, acknowledged to be the natural attitudes of adoration and humility. Analogy leads us to the conclusion that the Fanum Voltumnæ, the shrine of the great goddess of the Etruscans, whither the sacerdotal rulers of the land were wont to resort in times of difficulty and danger, for the sake of propitiating the goddess, or of consulting the will of heaven by augury, must have stood on an eminence rather than on the low site which has generally been assigned to it. And if on a height, and in the great Etruscan plain, where so probably as on the crest of Monte Fiascone, which rises in the centre of the expanse, and from its remotest corner still meets the eye—a city on a hill which cannot be hid? To *prove* the fact we have not sufficient *data;* but it is strongly favoured by probability.

It is not to be supposed that the temple stood wholly apart from habitations. The priests must have dwelt on the spot, and accommodation must have been found for "the princes of Etruria" and their retinues, as well as for those who flocked thither to attend the solemn festivals and games,[4] and for the traders who availed themselves of such opportunities to dispose of their wares;[5] so that, as in the case of Feronia, there must have been a permanent population on the spot, attracted by the

[3] In Greece, temples to the great gods were generally on the Acropolis—as that of Minerva at Athens, and at Megara (Paus. I. 42, 4)—of Jove and Minerva at Argos (Paus. II. 24, 3)—of several deities at Corinth (Paus. II. 4, 6, 7)—and of Apollo at Delphi (Paus. X. 8, 9). Besides which, the most important shrines were generally on eminences—as the temple of Panhellenic Jove in the island of Ægina (Paus. II. 30, 3)—as the Heræum at Argos (Paus. II. 17, 2), rediscovered of late years by General Gordon (Mure's Greece, II. p. 177, *et seq.*)—and as the celebrated temple of Venus on the summit of Mount Eryx, in Sicily. Polyb. I. 55; Tacit. Ann. IV. 43. The shrines of Apollo were usually on mountain-tops. Hom. Hymn. Apol. 144. Lofty places were dedicated to Saturn; whence Olympus was called the Saturnian height. Lycoph. Cass. 42. Mountains, says Lucian (de Sacrif. p. 185, ed Bourd.), are dedicated to the gods by the universal consent of mankind. Similar instances might be multiplied extensively. So in the East, Jupiter (Hom. Il. XXII. 170) and Cybele (Virg. Æn. IX. 86) had shrines on Mount Ida. The ancient Persians also, though they raised no statues or altars to the gods, sacrificed to them on elevated sites. Strabo, XV. p. 732. The examples of other oriental nations that might be taken from Sacred Writ are too numerous to quote, and will occur to the memory of the reader.

[4] That such festivals were held at these national conventions, we learn from Liv. V. 1. Similar solemnities were celebrated at the temple of Jupiter Latialis on the Alban Mount. Dion. Hal. IV. p. 250.

[5] This might be presumed from the analogy of the Lucus Feroniæ, where large fairs were held at these religious gatherings (Dion. Hal. III. p. 173; Liv. I. 30); but it is also strongly implied by Livy (VI. 2) when he says that merchants brought to Rome the news of the Etruscan council at the Fanum Voltumnæ. Fairs were held at the similar annual meetings of the Ætolian League at Thermum. Polyb. V. 1.

temple and the wants of the worshippers. This would explain the tombs found on the slopes of the hill.

Well may this height have been chosen as the site of the national temple! It commands a magnificent and truly Etruscan panorama. The lake shines beneath in all its breadth and beauty—truly meriting the title of "the great lake of Italy"[6]—and though the towers and palaces of Volsinii have long ceased to sparkle on its bosom, it still mirrors the white cliffs of its twin islets, and the distant snow-peaks of Amiata and Cetona. In every other direction is one "intermingled pomp of vale and hill." In the east rise the dark mountains of Umbria; and the long line of mist at their foot marks the course of "the Etruscan stream"—

> "the noble river
> That rolls by the towers of Rome."

The giant Apennines of Sabina loom afar off, dim through the hazy noon; and the nearer Ciminian, dark with its once dread forests, stretches its triple-crested mass across the southern horizon. Fertile and populous was the country, numerous and potent the cities, that lay beneath the confederate princes as they sat here in council; and many an eye in the wide plain would turn hitherward as to the ark of national safety. The warriors gathering at the sacred lake in defence of their children's homes and fathers' sepulchres, would look to the great goddess for succour—the augur on the distant arx of Tarquinii or Cosa, would turn to her shrine for a propitious omen—the husbandman would lift his eye from the furrow, and invoke her blessing on his labours—and the mariner on the bosom of the far-off Tyrrhene would catch the white gleam of her temple, and breathe a prayer for safety and success.

[6] Plin. N. H. II. 96. It is said to be more than twenty-four miles in circumference.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ORVIETO.

Poco portai in là volta la testa,
  Che mi parve veder molte alte torri,
Ond' io : Maestro, di', che terra è questa ?—DANTE.

La cità de Orvieto è alta e strana.
  Questa da' Roman vechi el nome prese
Che andavan lì, perchè laer era sana.
FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

THE last Etruscan site in the great central plain that I have to describe is Orvieto, which lies on the extreme verge of the plain to the north-east, and is easily reached from Florence or Rome, as it lies on the direct railway between those capitals. It was not always so accessible. When I first knew it, the nearest points to it were Bolsena, nine miles distant, and Monte Fiascone, nearly eighteen; both roads being carriageable. On one occasion, in default of a better mode of conveyance, I was fain to make the journey on an ass, with another for my luggage. This mode of transit is pleasant enough in a fine country and fair weather; and in Italy one sacrifices no dignity by such a *monture*. But when *nebulæ malusque Jupiter* rule the heavens, or the road is to be travelled with all speed—preserve me from the pack-saddle! I cannot then exclaim—*delicium est asinus!*—be he as excellent as any of sacred or profane renown, from the days of Balaam to those of Apuleius or Joan of Arc, or even as Dapple of immortal memory. Asses, like men, are creatures of habit. *Ognuno al suo modo, ed il sommaro all' antico*—"Every one to his own way, and the ass to the old way," says one proverb,—*Trotto d'asino non dura troppo*—"An ass's trot never lasts too long," says another—both of which I verified to my cost on this journey; for though the rain burst from the sky in torrents, my beasts were not to be coaxed out of their wonted deliberate pace, consistent with the transport of charcoal, flour, and firewood, by any arguments *ad lumbos* I could offer; and I had no



From a Photograph.

CIVITA DI BAGNAREA.

alternative but to follow their example, and take it coolly for the rest of the journey.

Between Monte Fiascone and Orvieto, but considerably to the right of the road, lies Bagnaréa, on a cliff-bound hill, about eight miles from the former town. Not a mile beyond is another still loftier and isolated height, called "Civita"—a name which in Italy is a sure clue to the existence of habitation in ancient times. This, not only from its position, shown in the woodcut at page 37, but from the numerous tombs in the rocks around, and the excavations made in the neighbourhood, has been recognised as an Etruscan site, though its ancient name is quite unknown.[1] Its modern appellation is a corruption of Balneum Regis, the name it bore in the middle ages, probably so-called from the Roman baths, whose remains are said still to exist in the valley to the north. Though the hill is so steep and strong by nature, the rock of which it is composed is extremely friable, and is continually crumbling away, especially after heavy rains, so that the inhabitants have now almost deserted this site for the modern town of the same name.[2]

The first view of Orvieto from this side is among the most imposing in Italy. The road, which is nearly level and utterly barren for the greater part of the way, leads unexpectedly to the verge of a cliff, where a scene magnificent enough to compensate for any discomfort, bursts upon the view. From the midst of the wide and deep valley at my feet, rose, about two miles distant, an isolated height, like a truncated cone, crowned with the towers of Orvieto. The sky was overcast, the atmosphere dense and misty, and the brilliant hues of sunshine were wanting; yet the grand features of the scene were visible as in an engraving. There were the picturesque convent-towers embosomed in groves on the slopes in the foreground—the luxuriant cultivation of the valley beneath—the Paglia snaking through it, spanned by its bridges—there was the wide stretch of the city, bristling from its broad cliff-bound rock, in the centre of the scene—the background of Apennines, which looming through vapour and cloud, lost nothing of altitude or sublimity—and the whole was set in a

[1] Dempster (II. p. 413) says that some have taken Bagnaréa for the Novempagi of Pliny (III. 8). But this is mere conjecture. We have no clue to the Etruscan name of this site.

[2] The quarries, called by Vitruvius (II. 7) "Anitianæ," which were famed in Roman times for the "infinite virtues" of their produce, especially for sculpture and architectural decorations, are said to have been discovered of late years in the neighbourhood of Bagnaréa, between that town and the Lake of Bolsena. Canina, Etruria Marittima, II. p. 40.

frame-work of tall precipices, hung with woods, and with many a cataract streaking their steeps—

> "A pillar of white light upon the wall
> Of purple cliffs, aloof descried."

But why attempt to describe what Turner has made so familiar?

The rock on which Orvieto stands is of red tufo, scarped naturally beneath the walls, and then sinking in a steep slope into the valley on every side. This is the extreme verge of the tufo district, and the nature of the ground resembles that of the northern division of Etruria. The site in its perfect isolation differs from that of all the towns in the volcanic district, Horta and Sovana excepted, but resembles that of Rusellæ, Saturnia, or Cosa; and the traveller who approaches it from the north, will hail the rock of Orvieto as just the site for an Etruscan city.

The antiquity of Orvieto is implied in its name, a corruption of Urbs Vetus. But to its original appellation we have as yet no clue. The general opinion of antiquaries has marked it as the site of Herbanum.[3] Muller broaches the opinion that this Urbs Vetus was no other than the "old city" of Volsinii, which was destroyed by the Romans on its capture.[4] But the distance of eight or nine miles from the new town, Bolsena, is too great to favour this view. Niebuhr[5] suggests, with more probability, that it may be the site of Salpinum, which in the year 362 (B.C. 392) assisted Volsinii in her war with Rome.[6]

Unlike most Etruscan sites, Orvieto does not retain a vestige of its ancient walls. It has even been asserted, on authority, that the city was not originally fortified. It is now however girt by walls of the middle ages, and has a fortress to boot.[7]

[3] A town mentioned by Pliny (III. 8) in his catalogue of colonies in Etruria. The similarity of the first syllable can alone have suggested an identity with Orvieto. Cluver (II. p. 553) held this notion. Dempster (II. p. 409) ridiculed it.

[4] Etrusk. I. p. 451. Orioli (Nouv. Ann. Instit. 1836, p. 50) holds the same opinion; which is refuted by Bunsen, Bull. Instit. 1833, p. 96. Deecke, however, in his new edition of Müller (I. 1, 5, n. 56), holds with his author, that Orvieto is the ancient Volsinii.

[5] Nieb. Hist. Rome, II. p. 493. This opinion was also held by some of the early Italian antiquaries.

[6] Liv. V. 31, 32. That Salpinum was more remote than Volsinii seems evident from the fact that the Romans in this campaign encountered first the forces of the latter city. That Salpinum was of considerable power and importance is shown by its association with Volsinii, one of the Twelve. Niebuhr does not think it improbable that Salpinum itself was one of the sovereign states of Etruria (loc. cit.; cf. I. p. 120). And that it was strongly fortified by nature or by art would appear from the security its citizens felt within their walls—mœnibus armati se tutabantur—and from the fact that the Romans, though they ravaged its territory, did not venture to attack the city.

[7] It seems never to have been doubted

Orvieto seems in all ages to have been recognised as an ancient site,[8] but that it was Etruscan has been proved only within this century by the discovery of tombs in the immediate neighbourhood; some opened nearly fifty years since, but the greater part within the last few years.[9] For forty years or more excavations were suspended, but they have recently been resumed at Orvieto, and with great success.

that it is Orvieto which is spoken of by Procopius (de Bell. Goth. II. 20) in the sixth century after Christ, under the name of Urbiventus—Οὐρβιβεντός—an apparent corruption of Urbs Vetus—as being besieged, and captured from the Goths, by Belisarius. Yet the picture he draws of the place is so far from accurate as to render it certain, either that he wrote from incorrect information, or that he did not refer to Orvieto. He says:—"A certain height rises alone from the hollow, smooth and level above, precipitous below. This height is surrounded by rocks of equal altitude, not quite close, but about a stone's throw distant. On this height the ancients built the city, not girdling it with walls or any other defences, for the place seemed to them to be naturally impregnable. For there happens to be but one entrance to it from the (neighbouring) heights, which approach being guarded, the inhabitants thereof feared no hostile attack from any other quarter. For save in the spot where nature formed the approach to the city, as has been stated, a river ever great and impassable lies between the height of the city and the rocks just mentioned." Cluver (II. p. 553) and Mannert (Geog. p. 406) pronounce this to be a most accurate description of Orvieto. It is evident that neither had visited the spot. It would be impossible to give a truer description—except as regards the size of the river—of Nepi, Civita Castellana, Pitigliano, and many other Etruscan sites in the volcanic district; but it is not at all characteristic of Orvieto, whose complete isolation, caused by the absence of the usual isthmus, is its distinctive feature, and from which the nearest of the surrounding heights can hardly be less than a mile distant. The description seems to be written by one familiar with the spot; and this confirms me in the opinion that it is not Orvieto to which it refers.

The fact stated by Procopius that the founders of Urbiventus raised no fortifications, being satisfied with the natural protection of the steep cliffs on which it stood—

> Excelsæ rupi impositum sine mœnibus ullis—

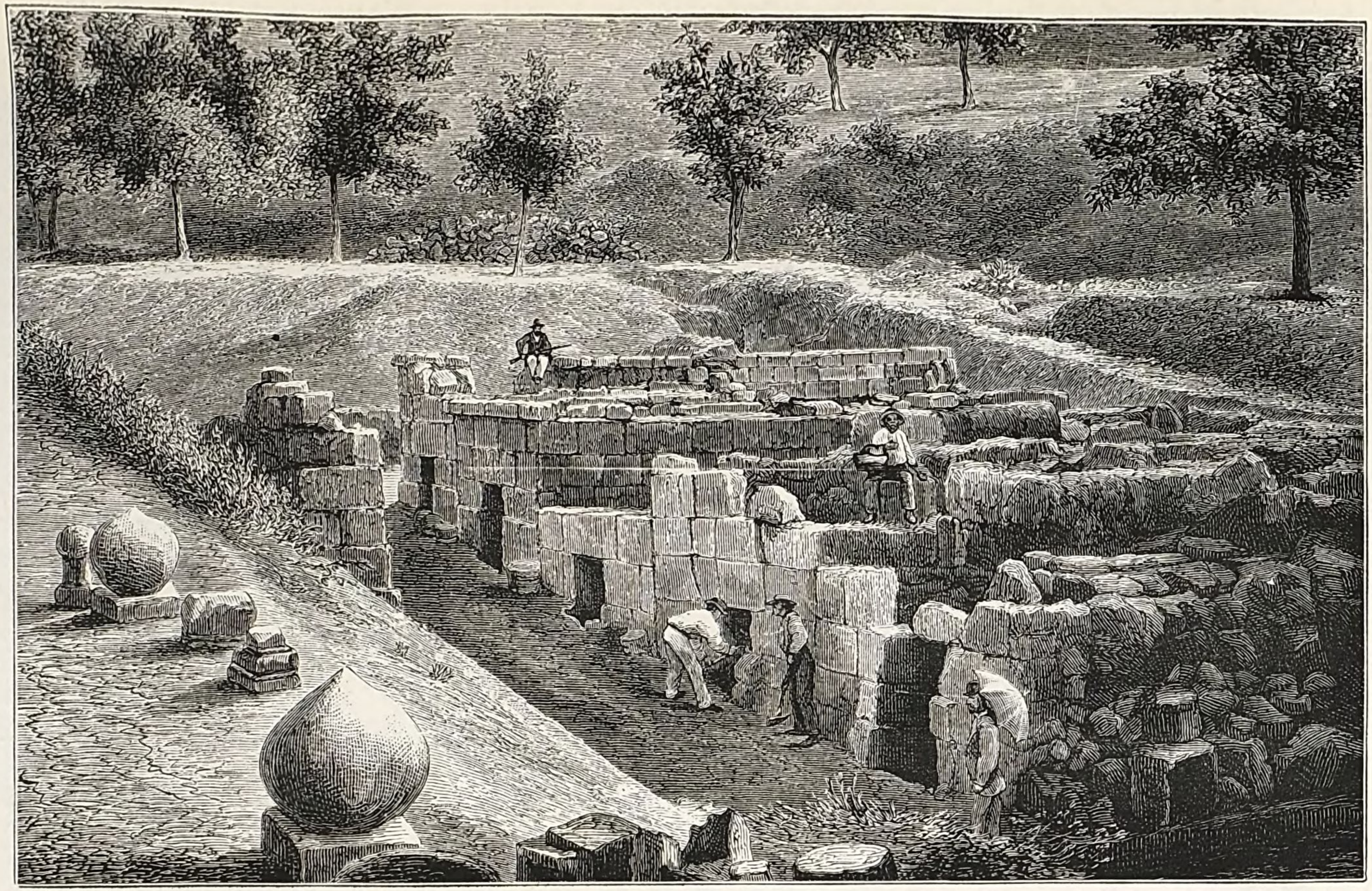
is particularly worthy of notice. For, if true, it will explain the absence of all vestiges of ancient walling around certain Etruscan sites—Sorano, for instance, and Nepi, where the narrow isthmus alone seems to have been fortified; and also opens room for speculation on the extent of the ancient walls on Etruscan sites in general. Yet we find remains of ancient fortifications on heights utterly inaccessible, as at Civita Castellana, and must conclude that in such instances at least, the cities, however strong by nature, were completely girt with walls.

[8] Monaldo Monaldeschi of Cervara, who in 1584 wrote Historical Commentaries on Orvieto, states that "on the rock of the city there are quarries of sand and *pozzolana*, and likewise subterranean roads hewn in the rock in ancient times, which lead from one part of the city to another. Caves also, running under ground, where wine is preserved most fresh" (lib. II. p. 15). By these roads he evidently means the rock-hewn sewers, common on Etruscan sites in the volcanic district. The caves were probably tombs in the slopes beneath the walls. For he elsewhere (lib. I. p. 3) states that "many sepulchres are found continually, of pagans and Greeks (*i.e.* Etruscans), with vases of black earth fashioned in sundry ways, and with divers figures, and other beautiful things, whereof many are to be seen in the Archivio of the city."

[9] For notices of the excavations made on this site at the former period, see Bull. Instit. 1829, p. 11; 1830, p. 244; 1831, pp. 33-37; 1832, p. 216; 1833, p. 93 *et seq.*—Bunsen; Ann. Instit. 1834, p. 83.—Bunsen.

In 1874, at the foot of the cliffs beneath the city to the north, at a spot called "Crocifisso del Tufo," a most interesting necropolis was brought to light, unlike any other hitherto found in Etruria. The tombs here disinterred are not hollowed in the rocks, as in most sites in the southern districts of the land, but they are constructed of massive masonry, and arranged side by side, and back to back, exactly like houses in a town, forming blocks of tombs, instead of residences, each tomb having its doorway closed by a slab of stone, and the name of its occupant graven in large Etruscan characters on its lintel. These blocks of tombs are separated by streets crossing each other at right angles, so that we have here a veritable "city of the dead." The masonry is of the local red tufo, in large rectangular masses, generally *isodomon*, and always without cement. Enter any of the tombs and you see at a glance that they are of high antiquity. They are about 11 or 12 feet deep, 6 or 7 wide, and 9 feet high; constructed of very neat masonry; for the three lowest courses the walls are upright, but above that the courses project on either side, and gradually converge till they meet in the centre in a flat course, forming a primitive sort of vault, exactly like that in the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri, save that the faces of the blocks within the tomb are not hewn to a curve, so as to resemble a Gothic arch, as in that celebrated sepulchre, but the angles of the projecting blocks are simply bevelled off. These tombs evidently date from before the invention of the arch in Etruria, and therefore, in all probability, are earlier than the foundation of Rome. Some of them are quite empty; others retain a rude bench formed of slabs on which the corpse was laid. Though the block of sepulchres is apparently one mass of masonry, each tomb is really of distinct construction, and can be removed without disturbing its neighbours. Each terminates above in a high wall of slabs, which fences it in like a parapet, and keeps it distinct, inclosing the roof as in a pit. Across this inclosure stretches the masonry which roofs in the tomb, in a double flight of stone steps meeting in the middle in the narrow ridge which tops the whole. On this ridge or by its side, stood a *stela* or *cippus* of stone, shaped in general like a pine-cone or a cupola; some of them bore inscriptions, and it was observed that when this was the case, the epitaph over the doorway was always wanting.[1] The woodcut opposite, taken from a photograph, gives a general view of this necropolis.

[1] These *cippi* are very numerous, and of various forms—not a few phallic.



ETRUSCAN TOMBS EXCAVATED BY SIGNOR MANCINI, BENEATH THE WALLS OF ORVIETO.

From a Photograph.

The doors of the tombs are tall, narrow and without architectural decoration, not having even the Egyptian or Doric form so common in other Etruscan cemeteries. The inscriptions are very peculiar, not so much in the form of the characters—although there are points in which they differ from those found on better known Etruscan sites—as in the epitaphs themselves, which are written without the usual divisions into words, contain few proper names that are familiar to the student of the Etruscan language, and fail to set forth in the usual manner the family relations and connexions, with the sex and age, of the deceased. They have all, moreover, the peculiarity of commencing with the word "Mi."[2]

I am not aware that these inscriptions have been published, and I will therefore give some of them in Roman letters.—In the street shown in the woodcut there are four epitaphs, viz :—

MIMAMARKESTEETHELIES[3]

MILAUCHUSIESLATINIES

MIMAMARKESTRIASNAS

MILARTHIASRUPINAS

In the street parallel to this, behind the tombs in the foreground of the woodcut, twelve sepulchres have been disinterred, seven on one hand, and five on the other. The following are the inscriptions that are legible :—

MIARATHIAAR////THENAS

MILARIKESTELATHURASSUTHI[4]

MIVELELIASA////RMINAIA

MILARISATLA////SINAS

MIAVILESSASUNAS

MIMAMARKESI////AVIATE

MITHUKER////SAR////ES

MILARTHIAIAMANAS

[2] Müller (I. p. 451) takes the initial "Mi" in such sepulchral inscriptions as these, to be the first person of the verb substantive, equivalent to εἰμί, and points out that it always precedes a proper name, which appears from its termination in "s," to be in the genitive. He considers all these inscriptions commencing with "Mi," to be Tyrrhene, and not Etruscan.

[3] MAMARKES must be Mamercus, the name of a very ancient Roman family of the Gens Æmilia, which claimed its origin from Mamercus, the son of Numa. The name is Oscan, and derived from Mamers, the Oscan, or, as Varro calls it, the Sabine, appellation of Mars. Cf. Deecke's Müller, I. p. 467.

[4] LARIKES must be equivalent to the

A little to the east of the tombs shown in the woodcut, or to the left of the spectator, is a deep pit, containing two sepulchres, facing each other at a great depth below the surface. They bear these inscriptions on their lintels:

MILARTHIAHULCHENASVELTHURUSKLES

MILARTHIASTRAMENAS

The above will suffice to show that these are very unlike the Etruscan sepulchral inscriptions of Corneto, Chiusi, Perugia, or Volterra.

The contents of these tombs confirm the antiquity suggested by their style of construction. A few though not important specimens of *búcchero*—the early black ware with reliefs—were found here, together with some painted vases of very archaic style; some articles in bronze, but no mirrors, or anything that marked an advanced period of art; a spear-head with its *sauroter* or but-end, both of iron; and a few ornaments in gold, of which a large circular brooch was the most remarkable. In these house-like tombs the dead were almost invariably buried; traces of cremation being extremely rare. So far as I could learn, nothing has been found in these sepulchres of so late a date as 500 B.C.

Signor Riccardo Mancini, the happy man who owns these tombs, and who carries on excavations here throughout the winter, informs me that he has found sepulchres of other descriptions in the neighbourhood—some constructed of slabs, in two small chambers, which must be of later date than the house-tombs, and these always contain the most beautiful painted vases. He has discovered no figured mirrors, though such articles are occasionally brought to light in this necropolis. Most of the vases are of the second, or Archaic Greek, style, and very large and fine they often are, although rarely found in an unbroken state. The *amphora* is the most common form.

Most of the produce of Mancini's pickaxe is now stored in the Palace of the Conte della Faina, facing the Duomo—a gentleman whose patriotism and good taste have urged him at a great expense to make a collection of the antiquities discovered in the vicinity of his native town, and whose courtesy leaves it at all times

Larcius or Lartius of the Romans, the ancient patrician Gens, of which Spurius Lartius, who kept the Sublician bridge with Horatius, and Titus Lartius, the first dictator, were distinguished members. Dionysius writes the name Λάρκιος, which is very near the Etruscan. Cf. Deecke's Müller, I. p. 462.

accessible to strangers. I should state that his collection is not confined to the *roba* of Orvieto, but contains also many articles from Chiusi, and other Etruscan sites.

First Room.—Small ash-chests of terra cotta, principally from Chiusi; with ordinary ware.

Second Room.—Black vases with reliefs, some of archaic character; others of very elegant forms but of much later date;—some with a high lustre, from Castel Giorgio, a site two miles from Orvieto, on the road to Viterbo. Bronzes of various descriptions, lamps, masks, and small figures in terra cotta. Beads of glass and amber, and Egyptian figures in smalt,—all found at Orvieto.

Third Room.—*Búcchero.* A portion of this pottery from Orvieto; the rest from Chiusi; including two tall cock-crowned vases.

Fourth Room.—Figured vases, chiefly *kylikes*, or drinking-bowls, with both black and yellow figures, but the latter in the severe archaic style of the former. Many with eyes.

Fifth Room.—Figured pottery. Here are examples of almost every style from the early *olpe* with bands of animals and chimæras, in the so-called Babylonian style, down to the black lustred vases with floral decorations, in white and gold, of the second century B.C. Among the vases the following are most noteworthy:—

A *kelebe* with archaic figures in various colours, like the pottery of Corinth. An *amphora* in coarse red ware with archaic figures painted on it in white outlines! Some good specimens of the Archaic Greek style, among which is an admirable *hydria* with warriors in a *quadriga*, contending with *hoplitæ* on foot. *Lekythi* with black figures on a white ground, rarely found in Etruria. Two *stamni* in the Third Style,—Minerva overcoming a Giant, and Peleus carrying off Thetis. A few *amphoræ* of very fine ware like that of Nola; and others in the florid careless style of Magna Græcia. Perhaps the gem of the collection is an *amphora* with red figures, but in a severe style of art, representing Hercules conquering the Amazons, very similar in treatment and style, as well as in subject, to the celebrated vase in the Museum of Arezzo. Two vases unpainted, with figured handles in imitation of bronze. Vases of this description have been found in the necropolis of Orvieto, retaining traces of the silver leaf with which they were originally coated. They so closely resemble in style others found in Apulia, some of which have evidently been gilt, as to have given rise to the opinion that they must be impor-

tations from that part of Italy, where imitations of gold and silver vases in terra-cotta are not unfrequent.[5]

Sixth Room.—Coins and jewellery.—Among the gold ornaments is a pair of large earrings from Castel Giorgio, and a smaller but very elaborately wrought pair, from Mancini's excavations at the Crocifisso del Tufo.

In the Opera del Duomo, adjoining the Palazzo della Faina, are a few Etruscan terra-cottas well worthy of notice. Among them is an alto rilievo of a man, about three feet high. Five masks, male and female, coloured, very archaic and quaint, yet full of life. A female figure seated, headless and broken. A large *gorgoneion* coloured to the life.

The Etruscan antiquities of Orvieto are not all within or immediately around the town. The necropolis of the ancient city extended across the deep intervening valley to the crest of the lofty table-land which arises to the south-west. On this elevated plateau is a natural mound called Poggio del Roccolo, which may be hardly three miles from Orvieto as the crow flies, and thus is accessible on foot in about an hour, though it takes double that time or more to drive to it by the high road. For you have to take the road to Viterbo, across the wide and deep valley, ascending to the very brow of the heights opposite those on which the city stands, and then to double back to the Poggio del Roccolo. Here in 1863 Signor Domenico Golini of Bagnaréa made excavations in a chestnut wood, and opened a number of tombs lying in tiers on the hill slope. Two of them, in the higher part of the hillock, had paintings on their walls, and one, for the novelty and interest of the subjects depicted, as well as for the excellence of the art exhibited, yields to none of the painted tombs yet discovered at Corneto or Chiusi. The keys of these sepulchres are kept by Filomela Tonelli, who lives at a village some miles from Orvieto, and the traveller should give her some hours' notice of his intention to visit the tombs, or he may make a fruitless journey to the spot.[6]

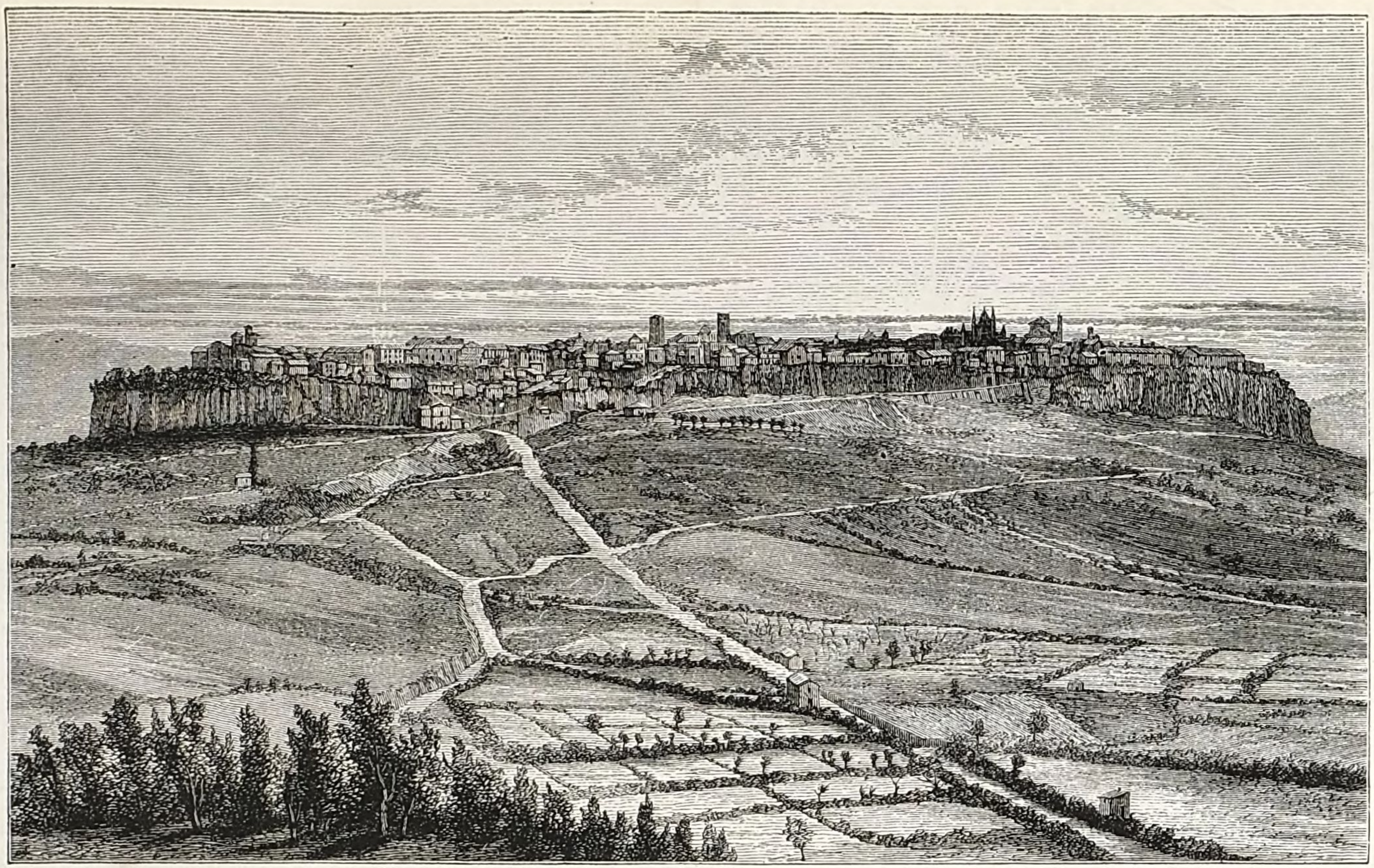
These tombs are entered by long level passages cut in the slope. The less important of the two may be designated the

Tomba delle due Bighe.

On the very threshold you encounter figures from the Etruscan

[5] Ann. Inst. 1871, pp. 5—27 (Kluegmann). Mon. Inst. IX. tav. 26, tav. d'agg. A.B.C. Athenæus (XI. 61) speaks of *kylikes* of this description made at Naucratis on the Nile.

[6] At Mancini's *scavi* you will find a man,



From a Photograph

ORVIETO. FROM THE ROAD TO VITERBO.

spirit-world; on the right door-post Charun, with bluish flesh and yellow wings, brandishes a snake to keep out intruders; opposite him stands a demon of doubtful gender, with yellow pinions. A step within the tomb brings you back to mundane scenes. On each side of the door is a *biga*, drawn by horses of contrasted colours—red and grey—the darker hue throwing out the lighter. The steeds are well proportioned and full of spirit: they have broad bands about their necks, by which they are attached to the pole. The *auriga* who drives the car to the left of the door is clad in a white tunic with a broad red meander border, and wears his hair twisted on his crown into a high peak, like a *tutulus*. These *bigæ* probably indicate the chariot-races which were held in honour of the deceased. Both the *aurigæ* had Etruscan inscriptions attached, now scarcely legible. In the pediment over the door a pair of huge bearded serpents are depicted in threatening attitudes. Similar reptiles appear to have occupied the opposite pediment. The figures which adorned the wall below them are well-nigh obliterated; yet in one corner you can distinguish the lower limbs of two warriors wearing greaves, one of them with a shield also: and in the other, two helmeted heads, with an inscription between them—"SATHIA THALTAZ"

The scenes on the side-walls have been wofully injured, yet enough remains to give an idea of their decorations. The wall to the right was occupied by three banqueting-couches covered with rich drapery, each having the usual *hypopodium*, or long footstool, beneath it, on which stands a pair of pigeons, and in one instance a pair of sandals also. Two only of the revellers have been spared; both young men, crowned with laurel, and draped in white *pallia*, which leave the upper half of their bodies bare. They appear to be engaged in conversation, and your eye is struck with the animated expression of their countenances, and the ease and elegance of their attitudes. Their names are recorded on the wall.

The festivities were continued on the opposite wall, for one-half of it was occupied by two similar couches; the other half by a band of musicians. Of the revellers nothing remains but two heads, both fillet-bound; one that of a man, the other, with golden hair and fair complexion, belongs to a woman, named

Giampaolo Pasqualone, who will communicate with the said Filomena, and, if required, will guide you on foot to these tombs. If you take the high-road, Filomela will meet you at the spot where you are obliged to leave your carriage, and will conduct you thence to the Poggio, a good half-mile distant.

"THANUKVIL," or Tanaquil. Her partner is quite obliterated, but his name, "VEL CNEIUS," is recorded on the wall. At the foot of the couch stands a man playing a heptachord lyre. He is followed by a boy cupbearer; then by four *cornicines*, or trumpeters, two with long straight *lituï*, curved at the end; the others with circular trumpets—both instruments of Etruscan invention.[7] All are draped in white, but not a figure is perfect. Fortunately the heads are preserved. Over the procession is the epigraph "PRESNTHE."[8] In general character this procession bears a strong resemblance to that in the now closed Grotta Bruschi at Corneto, the chief difference being that this appears to be a scene from the upper world, while that was a procession of souls in the Etruscan Orcus.

The other painted tomb almost adjoins, and is called after its discoverer,

TOMBA GOLINI.

It is about 17 feet square and 9 feet high, and is divided into two chambers by a partition-wall of rock. It had paintings on its doorposts, but they are almost obliterated. You still see the head and shoulders of a man with a crook in his hand, and on the opposite wall, two bristling snakes with a small door-mat between them—the remains probably of Charun, or some other Etruscan demon, who has vanished from the wall, leaving only his hairy scalp to mark the place he once occupied.

If on entering the tomb you turn to the left, you are startled by the carcass of a huge red ox, suspended from a beam in the ceiling, while his freshly severed head, painted to the life, lies on the ground below. Hanging by its side are a hare and a deer between a brace of pigeons, and another of fowls, suspended by their beaks. This is apparently a butcher's and poulterer's shop, yet the trees show it to be out of doors; or it may be a larder stocked for the funeral feast, which is represented on the other walls of the tomb.

On the wall adjoining you see half a dozen figures busied with preparations for the feast, all with their names attached. Close to the larder a half-clad youth, with gestures indicative of great

[7] Athenæus (iv. 82) tells us that both curved and straight trumpets—κερατὰ τε καὶ σάλπιγγες—were the invention of the Etruscans.

[8] The Count Giancarlo Conestabile, who has given a detailed description of these tombs, takes this word to be equivalent to the *Apparitor* of the Romans. Pitture Murali, p. 22, tav. 1–3; cf. Bull. Inst. 1863, p. 50 (Brunn.) for a description of this tomb on its first discovery.

exertion, is chopping a mass of flesh on a low bench or block. Then comes a series of four tripod tables, resting on deers' legs, and on each is a large pomegranate with eggs and bunches of grapes. Four domestics or slaves—two of each sex—are busied in various ways at the tables. One of the males is nude, the other, who plays the double-pipes, is half-draped. The women wear tight yellow jackets with short sleeves; one has a white gown also; the other, who seems a superior servant, wears a white *himation*, or mantle, over her shoulder. Both have necklaces of gold; and the latter, red earrings also, of quaint form. Their flesh, like that of all the women in this tomb, is a pale red, while that of the males is of a much deeper hue. In the corner next the *subulo*, a slave, with a yellow cloth about his loins, is kneading or grinding at a concave tripod table, which has a small lip towards the spectator. He holds in each hand an instrument like that now used for grinding colours; but what his precise occupation may be is not easy to determine, although his surroundings show that in some way or other he is aiding the preparations for the feast.

On the inner wall of this chamber we have a representation of the kitchen. A large square furnace or stove, with open door, is the principal object, in front of which stand two deep jars, probably full of water. Lord of the furnace, and half-hidden behind it, stands the cook, brandishing aloft a red chopper, and watching, the while, the culinary process going forward in two deep iron bowls, the bottoms of which, licked by the flames, are seen through the open door. On one side his assistant, with a cloth about his loins, is stooping as he approaches the furnace, stretching forward one hand with a long spoon or dipper, while he screens his face from the heat with the other. But the most startling features in this scene are two symbols over the furnace-door[9] commonly used by the ancients to avert the evil eye, but which seem strangely out of place here, unless this *fascinum* was a customary device of Etruscan cooks to secure success in their operations.

On the partition-wall adjoining, so far as we can judge from the scanty fragments of the scene that are left, similar preparations for the banquet were in progress: but the table in the centre covered with cups and bowls, and the *lekane* held by the slave behind it, suggest that here was represented the depository of

[9] At Pompeii the same symbol has been found in a similar position—over an oven attached to the House of Pansa.

the wines, or, as we should say, the butler's pantry. Two men's heads and one foot are the only other fragments on this wall; who they were, and what they were about, is doubtless set forth in the inscriptions over their heads.[1]

The busy scene of preparation for the banquet in this half of the tomb brings forcibly to mind those curious lines preserved by Athenæus,[2] of which we essay a translation:—

"And all the folks throughout the house
Are now preparing the carouse—
Are busy plucking, mixing, baking,
Cutting, chopping, merry-making,
Kneading, feeding, sporting, laughing,
Skipping, lipping, flirting, quaffing,
Joking, poking, singing, dancing,
All to sounds of flutes entrancing.
Cassia, myrrh, and choice perfumes—
Nard and incense, fill the rooms.
And such odours from the kitchen
Of the meats the house is rich in!"

The narrow front of the partition-wall, facing the door of the tomb, was not left without decoration. Here a monkey is depicted climbing a pole surmounted by a small vase. A cord attached to one leg was held by a man of whom nothing remains but the hand.[3]

The partition-wall marks the separation between the two classes of subjects depicted in this tomb. In the half already described, we have the preparations for the feast; we look into the larder, the pantry, the kitchen, the butler's pantry, and perhaps the cellar. In the remaining half we see the passage of a happy soul into the other world, and the bliss of the departed, represented by their festive enjoyments in the presence of the great King and Queen of Hades.

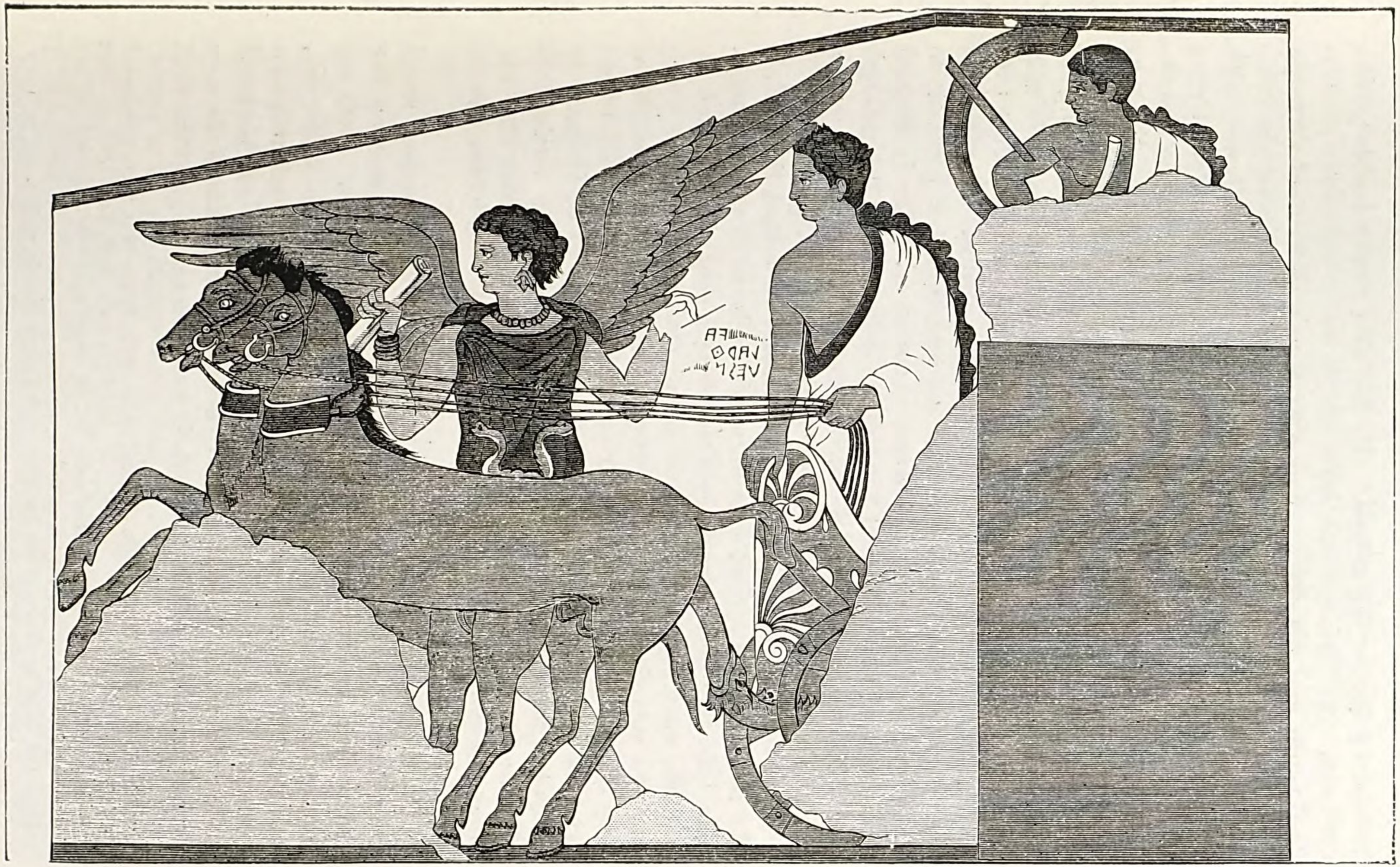
As on entering this tomb we began with the wall to the left of the door, so now we must begin with the wall to the right.

The space is occupied by a handsome *biga*, drawn by a pair of pale red horses, and driven by a fair-haired youth, wearing a laurel crown, and wrapt in a white mantle bordered with red, one of the many illustrations of the *toga prætexta*, which the Romans

[1] All the inscriptions in this tomb, so far as they are legible, are given by Brunn, Bull. Inst. 1863, pp. 41–50, and also by Count Conestabile, in his Pitture Murali.

[2] Athen. IX. 67. From the Hippotrophos, or "Horsebreeder," of Mnesimachos.

[3] Count Conestabile (Pitture Murali, p. 66) takes the pole for a sepulchral *stele*, and attaches a symbolic meaning to the monkey; but to me it appears more natural to regard this scene as a mere freak of the artist, introduced to fill an awkward space.



BIGA BEARING A SOUL TO ELYSIUM. TOMBA GOLINI, ORVIETO.

From Conestabile

received from the Etruscans.[4] By his side runs a female geniús or Lasa, with bluish wings, with which she overshadows at once the youth and his steeds, and with a pair of knotted serpents springing in threatening attitudes from her waist.[5] Yet she is no evil demon, but evidently a good spirit, for she is handsome, with fair complexion and hair, has an amiable expression, and shows her sympathy with humanity in her decorations, wearing a neck-lace, trident-earrings, and snake-bracelets, all of gold. Without her, this scene might indicate the chariot-races held in honour of the dead, but her presence proves it to represent the passage of the soul to the unseen world. In her right hand she holds up a scroll, the record of the deeds of the deceased, and that they were not evil is shown by his placid, happy countenance. Her left arm also is raised, but whether resting on something, or pointing to the inscription recording his name, is not clear. She is dressed in a tunic of deep red; and her body is delineated in full, though her face and bare legs are turned in the direction the car is taking; as shown in the woodcut on the last page.

Over the door of the tomb, and immediately behind the soul, is the half-draped figure of a *cornicen*, with a large circular trumpet. His left shoulder, as well as that of the soul, is bordered by a dark, wavy-edged background of no determinate form, which may be introduced, as Count Conestabile conjectures, to throw out the white mantles into strong relief, as they would otherwise be confounded with the stucco ground;[6] or it may be intended to represent clouds, as suggested by the analogy of the Grotta dell' Orco at Corneto, and thus to express that the figures here depicted, are no longer in this life, but in the unseen world.

On the adjoining wall was a banquet of three couches, small fragments of which only are now visible. The figures on the first couch, however, retain their heads and shoulders. Both are young men, garlanded with laurel, half-draped in white *himatia*, and reposing on cushions, whose rich decorations mark this as a scene of Etruscan luxury. One of them stretches out his hand to his companion's shoulder, as if to call his attention to the new arrival, and both of them turn their heads round to greet the soul

[4] Liv. I. 8; Flor. I. 5; Plin. VIII. 74; IX. 63.

[5] Conestabile (op. cit. p. 77) takes the snakes to be the bronze adornments of the pole of the *biga*, as they are too low for the Lasa's waist. But I am incline think with Brunn that they were bound round her waist (Bull. Inst. 1863, p. 48); if so, they must be regarded as her attributes.

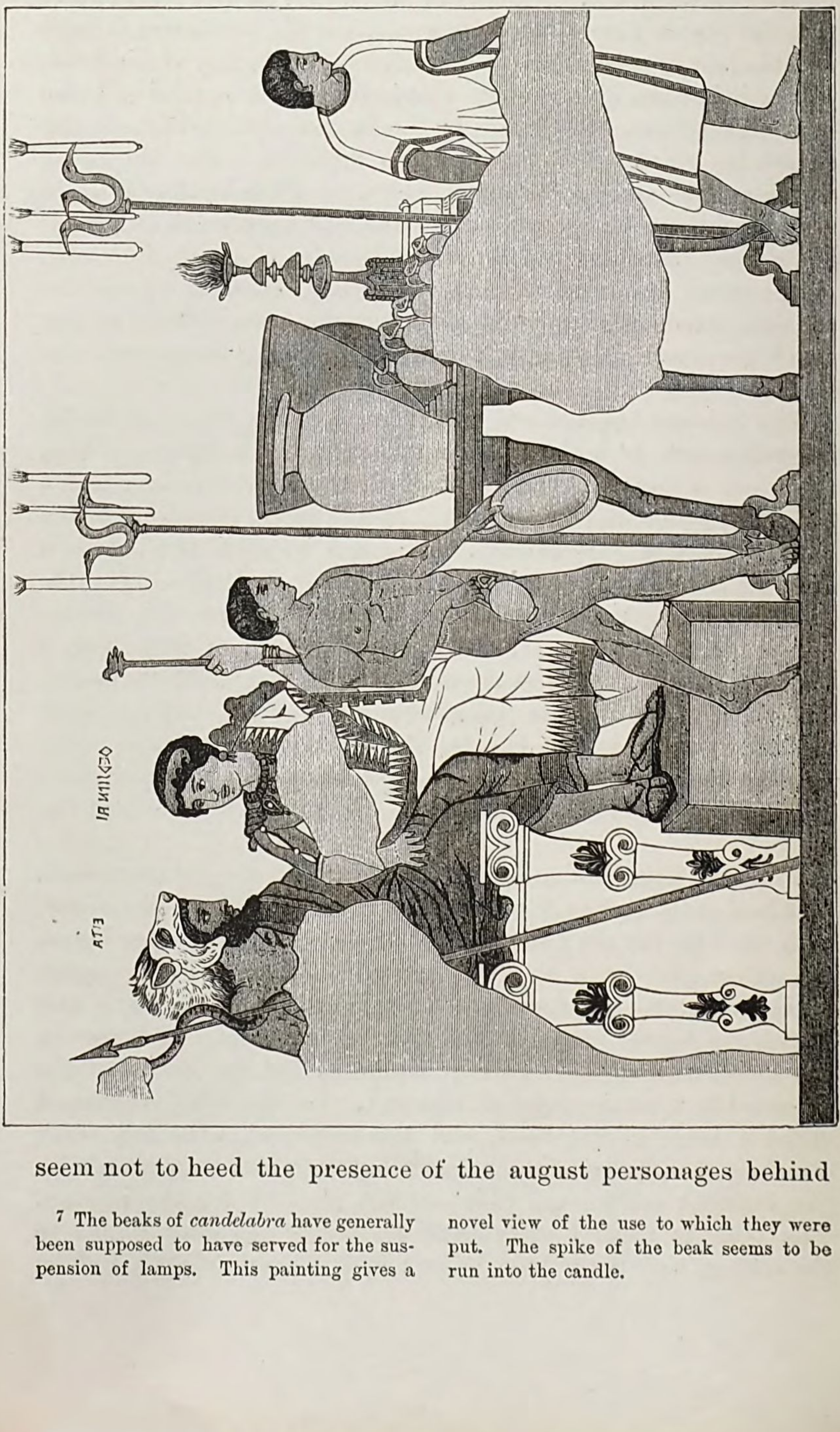
[6] Pitture Murali, p. 110.

on his way to share their felicity. Of the pair on the next couch you see but a leg and a hand holding a *kylix*; besides two pigeons on the stool beneath. Enough of the third couch is left to show that the couple were of opposite sexes, but the man's face is gone and his hair is twisted into a long *tutulus* at the top of his head, just as it is worn by one of the charioteers in the adjoining Tomb of the Two Bigæ. He grasps by the shoulder the young girl who shares his couch, of whom we see no more than that she has a Greek profile and is draped in white. An inscription of eight lines, in minute characters, covers the wall between these heads; and a long inscription, in few cases legible, is attached to each of the other heads in this banquet-scene. Between two of the couches stands a tall *candelabrum*, and others are on the opposite wall—necessary accessories to a feast in the gloomy regions of Orcus.

The banquet is continued on the inner wall of the chamber by a fourth couch, on which recline two men, one holding a *phiala*, the other a *kylix*. At the foot of their couch a *subulo*, and a *kitharista* with a heptachord lyre, stand draped in white, playing their respective instruments. Attached to each reveller is a long inscription of three lines in minute characters. On the low stool beneath the couch, a cat named "KRANKRU" is tearing her prey; and at the other end a naked boy, or it may be a monkey, with hair erect as if with terror, is designated "KURPU." All the figures in this banquet-scene appear to have been backed by ash-coloured clouds, which throw their drapery into forcible relief, but only in those parts where their white robes might otherwise be confounded with the stuccoed surface of the tomb.

The last paintings to be described are on the partition-wall. One half of its surface is occupied by the *kylikeium*, or side-board, with the wine for the banquet, and by the servants in attendance; the other half by a majestic group of Pluto and Proserpine sitting in state—a group which explains the whole scene and proves the figures here depicted to represent not living beings in the indulgence of their earthly appetites, but the spirits of the departed in the enjoyment of Elysium. On the tripod sideboard stand a large mixing-bowl, and two *amphoræ*, with five small *œnochoæ* of different sizes, a short *thymiaterium*, or censer, with fire burning, and a small white casket, probably for the incense. The table is flanked by two tall *candelabra* reaching almost to the ceiling, each with three beaks: each beak holding a lighted

candle, just like those of modern days.[7] The attendant slaves in this scene appear to be carrying wine to the banqueters, and



seem not to heed the presence of the august personages behind

[7] The beaks of *candelabra* have generally been supposed to have served for the suspension of lamps. This painting gives a novel view of the use to which they were put. The spike of the beak seems to be run into the candle.

them. One, dressed in a long white tunic, has a designatory inscription ; the other is naked and nameless.

The group of Pluto and Proserpine is the most striking in this tomb. The god, who is designated "EITA," or Hades, wears a wolfskin over his head, and sits, wrapped in a dark greenish mantle bordered with red, on an elegant throne, whose legs, left white to represent ivory or silver, are adorned with Greek volutes and honeysuckles. He has a red complexion, and beard of still deeper red, and holds in his right hand a spear, round the end of which is coiled a serpent. He rests his sandalled feet on a high block or footstool. The goddess, who is named "PHERSIPNAI," sits by his side with her bare feet on the same stool. They seem to be in earnest conversation, for their mouths are open, and she looks stedfastly at him as she rests her right hand on his thigh, thus answering the pressure of his left hand on her shoulder. She is of fair complexion and light hair, and wears a golden *ampyx* on her brow, earrings with triple pendants, and a necklace of gold, from which depend large begemmed plaques. On her left hand, in which she holds a sceptre surmounted by a small blue bird, she wears a wedding-ring, with a snake-bracelet on her wrist. Her tunic is yellow, with slashed sleeves reaching to the elbow, and over this she wears a white mantle with a vandyked border of red, which hangs over her shoulder, and descends to her ankles. Her right shoulder, where her white mantle would be lost against the stuccoed wall, is relieved by the usual cloudy background.

The similarity between the figures of Hades and Persephone in this tomb and those of the same deities in the Grotta dell' Orco at Corneto, is striking. The representations of the god are so similar in every respect, that they have, with great probability, been supposed to have been worked out from the same original type. The figure of the goddess here is certainly much inferior in majesty to that in the Tarquinian tomb, but her ornaments are very similar, and the border of her robe is identical in pattern. There is probably little difference in point of antiquity between the paintings in the two tombs. But, as Helbig observes, those in the Grotta dell' Orco show more of the spirit of Greek art ; these of Orvieto more of a native character.[8]

It is impossible not to be struck with the difference in the art displayed in the two halves of this tomb. In the first part, where the preparations for the feast are represented, the figures

[8] Ann. Inst., 1870, p. 68.

are more or less clumsy and awkward, the countenances vulgar. There is a rudeness of common life, as Brunn remarks, entirely opposed to ideality, yet the whole scene is full of life, truth, and individual character.[9] In the other half of the tomb, the design is more correct, the figures more graceful, the attitudes and movements more dignified, the expression more noble. The one half seems the work of a plebeian, the other of an aristocratic hand. Yet there is no reason to doubt that they are contemporaneous works, and even by the same artist, accommodating his style to his subject.

There is little chiaroscuro in these paintings,[1] and the only attempt at perspective is a signal failure, yet the full or three-quarter faces, the skill displayed in foreshortening, the natural arrangement of the drapery, the dignity in the attitudes of certain figures, the ease and grace in the movements of others, the general correctness of the design, the truth of the anatomical development, the comparative freedom from conventionalities, and the study of nature evident throughout, show a great advance on the archaic works of the Etruscan pencil, preserved in the earlier tombs of Corneto and Chiusi. The influence of Greek art is here manifest, yet it is not so powerful as to overlay the national characteristics. With much probability Count G. Conestabile has assigned to this tomb the date of the middle of the 4th century of Rome, or about 400 B.C.[2]

The intense damp of these two sepulchres is fast destroying the paintings. Though the ground on which they were laid is white, all is now so saturated with moisture, that the walls

[9] Ann. Inst., 1866, p. 433.

[1] Dr. Brunn (Ann. Inst., 1866, p. 435) points out the existence of chiaroscuro in Pluto's footstool, in the beam to which the ox is suspended, and in the carcass itself, which, without these few hints of shadow, would have formed a very ugly mass. But he shows that the absence of chiaroscuro in these sepulchral paintings, is not always a safe criterion of antiquity. For as the paintings were executed in subterranean chambers, which could admit but little daylight, and were rarely lighted by artificial means, the introduction of chiaroscuro would not be favourable to the impression they were intended to convey: for in the gloom of the sepulchre, the shadows, instead of increasing the effect, would rather have served to confound the different hues. He is of opinion that on this account, the Etruscan artists, even of an advanced period, as in this instance, often purposely adhered to the simplicity of earlier art.

[2] Pitture Murali, p. 114. Brunn remarks that it is enough to consider attentively the majestic group of Pluto and Proserpine, and the elegant figure of the cup-bearer, to be convinced that in this tomb we no longer find ourselves in an epoch of transition, but in the middle of the period of the free development of art. Ann. Inst. 1866, p. 436. For illustrations, see the very accurate plates, No. 4 to 11, which Conestabile attaches to his said work; from which the woodcuts at pp. 55, 58, have been copied.

have become a uniform dingy brown, save where the stucco has been a little detached, when it resumes its native hue. Signor F. G. Gamurrini, foreseeing their destruction, proposed to remove these paintings to some museum for preservation, but the Government would not grant its permission, which is much to be regretted, for in a short time they will be utterly ruined by the humidity. At least the wooden doors which now close the tombs should be exchanged for iron gratings, so that by the free admission of the atmosphere, the walls might be relieved of some of their moisture.

In some of the other tombs opened by Signor Golini on this spot, were found beautiful bronze armour, and some interesting painted vases, very few of them Greek, but mostly of local manufacture, displaying novel features, peculiar to Orvieto.[3]

Orvieto is a city of six or seven thousand inhabitants, and is neater and cleaner than most towns in this part of the Papal State. The hotel of "Le Belle Arti" has fair pretensions to comfort. But, traveller, would you hire a carriage of the landlord, beware of overcharges, and pay not until the contract has been performed. The two great lions at Orvieto are the Duomo, and the well of San Patrizio. Of the latter with its strange corkscrew descent, I have nothing to say; but how can I be silent on the Duomo?

It is foreign to the purpose of this work, or I could expatiate on the glories of this Cathedral. Willingly would I descant on its matchless façade, similar in style, but more chaste and elegant than that of Siena—on the graces of its Lombard architecture—on its fretted arches and open galleries—its columns varied in hue and form—its aspiring pediments—its marigold window with the circling guard of saints and angels—its primitive but eloquent reliefs—its many-hued marbles—its mosaics gilding, warming and enriching the whole, yet imparting no meretricious gaudiness, —the entire façade being the petrifaction of an illuminated missal—a triumphant blaze of beauty obtained by the judicious combination of the three Sister Graces of Art. I could say much of the interior and its sculptured decorations—of its spaciousness and gloomy grandeur, more devotion-stirring than most cathedrals of Central Italy—of the massive banded columns, with their quaint capitals—of the manifold treasures of art—the dignity and alarmed modesty of Mochi's Virgin—the intensity of

[3] Brunn, Bull. Inst. 1863, pp. 51–53.

feeling in the Pietà of Scalza,—the tenderness, and celestial radiancy of Fra Angelico's frescoes,—and above all I could descant on the glories of Luca Signorelli, not elsewhere to be appreciated—on the grandeur of composition, the boldness of design, and truthfulness to nature of those marvellous and awful frescoes which have immortalized his name, and which made him a model of sublimity to Raffaelle and Michael Angelo. But such subjects are foreign to my theme, and I must pass them by, simply assuring the traveller, that no town in Central Italy more urgently demands a visit, for the beauty of its site and surrounding scenery, and for the unrivalled glories of its Cathedral. If he be in search of objects of mediæval art, let him omit what places he will between Florence and Rome, but let him see Orvieto.[4]

[4] The traveller, on going northward, leaves the volcanic district at Orvieto. The region of plain and ravine is behind him; that of undulation before him. Abrupt and perpendicular forms give place to gentle slopes and flowing outlines. Tufo is exchanged for a yellow sandstone full of large oyster-shells and other marine productions, and often containing thin layers of rounded pebbles. The nearest towns of importance in this direction are Città la Pieve, about 28 miles, and Chiusi, 34 miles distant, both accessible by the railroad, and both of Etruscan interest. Eighteen miles to the east lies Todi, the ancient Tuder, on the left bank of the Tiber, and therefore in Umbria, a most interesting site for its extant remains as well as for its beautiful scenery.



ETRUSCAN COIN, ASCRIBED TO LUNA.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

LUNI.—*LUNA.*

Lunaï portum est operæ cognoscere cives !—Ennius.

Anne metalliferæ repetit jam mœnia Lunæ,
Tyrrhenasque domos ? Statius.

The most northerly city of Etruria was Luna. It stood on the very frontier, on the left bank of the Macra, which formed the north-western boundary of that land.[1] And though at one time in the possession of the Ligurians, together with a wide tract to the south, even down to Pisa and the Arno, yet Luna was originally Etruscan, and as such it was recognised in Imperial times.[2] It was never renowned for size or power ;[3] its importance seems to have been derived chiefly from its vast and commodious port, truly "worthy of a people who long held dominion of the sea,"[4] and which is now known as the Gulf of Spezia.

Insignis portu, quo non spatiosior alter
Innumeras cepisse rates, et claudere pontum.[5]

[1] Strabo (V. p. 222) speaks of Macra as a place—*χωρίον* ; but Pliny (III. 7,'8) is more definite in marking it as a river, the boundary of Liguria and Etruria.

[2] Much confusion has arisen from the contradictory statements of ancient writers in calling this territory sometimes Ligurian, sometimes Etruscan. There are numerous authorities on both sides. Livy (XLI. 13) explains the discrepancy by stating that Luna with its *ager* was captured by the Romans from the Ligurians; but that before it belonged to the latter it had been Etruscan. Lycophron, however, represents the Ligures as dispossessed of Pisa and its territory by the Etruscans. Cassandra, 1356.

[3] Dempster erroneously classed it among the Twelve cities of the Etruscan Confederation (II. pp. 41, 80), in which he is followed by more recent writers. But Strabo testifies to the small size of Luna. Targioni Tozzetti says it was not more than two miles in circuit. Viaggi in Toscana, X. p. 406.

[4] Strabo, V. p. 222.

[5] Sil. Ital. VIII. 483. Pliny (III. 8) also speaks of Luna as—oppidum portu nobile.

But its size and security are the least of its charms. To the tranquil beauty of a lake it unites the majesty of the sea. No fairer bay could poet sigh for, "to float about the summer-waters." Never did purer wave mirror more glorious objects. Shining towns—pine-crested convents—luxuriant groves—storm-defying forts — castled-crags—proud headlands — foam-fretted islets—dark heights, prodigal of wine and oil—purple mountains behind,—and naked marble-peaked Apennines over all,

"Islanded in immeasurable air."

The precise site of Luna has been much disputed. As the Gulf of Spezia lay on the Ligurian, and Luna on the Etruscan, side of the Macra, it has been supposed either there was anciently a port, properly that of Luna, at the mouth of that river, or that the town occupied some other site. It is well ascertained that the alluvial deposits of the Magra have made large encroachments in the course of centuries, so as to have altered the course of that stream, and to have widened the strip of land between the mountains and the sea. The whole plain, in fact, seems to have been formed by these deposits. Yet no harbour within the mouth of the Magra would answer the description ancient writers give of the Port of Luna, which manifestly was no other than the Gulf of Spezia.[6] Researches made in 1837 and in 1857 have clearly established that the ancient town, which once stood on the shore, occupied the spot which traditionally bears the name of Luni, and now lies at a considerable distance from the sea.

About three miles from Sarzana, on the high-road to Lucca and Pisa, the traveller has on his right a strip of low cultivated land, intervening between him and the sea. Here stood the ancient city, about one mile from the shore and two from the mouth of the Magra. Let him turn out of the high-road, opposite the Farm of the Iron Hand—Casino di Man di Ferro—and after a mile or so he will reach the site. There is little

[6] Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluver, pp. 26, 277), however, insists on the port of Luna being at the mouth of the Magra, and declares he saw the posts with rings attached, to which the ancient shipping had been moored. Cluver (II. p. 456) placed the site of Luna at Lerici, in which he is followed by Mannert (Geog. p. 288), who thinks this the reason why the Latin corrector of Ptolemy, instead of Lunæ Portus puts Ericis Portus. Others also have placed it on the right bank of the Magra, a view favoured by Strabo, who says the Macra was between Luna and Pisa; while Sarzana, Avenza, Spezia, even Carrara, have respectively been indicated as its site; and Scaliger went so far as to deny it a local habitation, and to submerge it beneath the sea. See Repetti, *v.* Luni, II. p. 936. Cramer (I. p. 171), however, and Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 13) place its site at Luni.

enough to see. Beyond a few crumbling tombs, and a fragment or two of Roman ruin, nothing remains of Luna. The scene, described by Rutilius, so appropriate to a spot which bore the name of the virgin-queen of heaven—the fair walls, shaming with their whiteness the "laughing lilies" and the untrodden snow—if not the creation of the poet, have long vanished from the sight.

Advehimur celeri candentia mœnia lapsu ;
Nominis est auctor Sole corusca soror.
Indigenis superat ridentia lilia saxis,
Et lævi radiat picta nitore silex.
Dives marmoribus tellus, quæ luce coloris
Provocat intactas luxuriosa nives.[7]

Vestiges of an amphitheatre, of a semi-circular building, which may be a theatre, of a circus, a *piscina*, and fragments of columns, pedestals for statues, blocks of pavement, and inscriptions, are all that Luna has now to show. The walls, from Rutilius' description, are supposed to have been of marble ; indeed, Ciriacus of Ancona tells us that what remained of them in the middle of the fifteenth century, were of that material ;[8] but not a block is now left to determine the point.

Since so little remains of the Roman town, what vestige can we expect of Etruscan Luna ? No monument of that antiquity has ever been discovered on the site, or in its vicinity ;[9] not even

[7] Rutil. Itiner. II. 63.

[8] Ciriacus, who wrote in 1442, is the earliest antiquary who gives us an account of Luni. He describes the blocks of marble as being 8 "paces" (palms ?) long, by 4 high. Promis does not credit him as to the material ; all the remains of masonry at present on the spot being of the coarse brown stone from the neighbouring headland of Corvo ; and the fragments of architectural or sculptural decoration, which are of marble, are not more abundant than on similar sites in Italy (Memorie di Luni, pp. 61, 66). Müller (I. 2, 4) credits both Rutilius and Ciriacus, and thinks these marble walls must have been of Etruscan times. Targioni Tozzetti (op. cit. XII. p. 142) speaks of the walls as still of marble in his day.

[9] The Marchese Angelo Remedi and the Marchese Podestà have made excavations here of late years, and have discovered numerous Roman remains, but nothing Etruscan. Bull. Inst. 1858, pp. 8–10. A stone inscribed with Etruscan characters has been found in the Val di Vara, many miles inland, at the head of the Gulf of Spezia. Promis, op. cit. p. 61. No coins belonging to Luna have been discovered on the spot. Promis, p. 23. The bronze coin, with this name in Etruscan characters, has on the obverse a bearded, garlanded head, which Lanzi takes for that of the *genius* of the Macra ; and on the reverse, a reed, four globules, and a wheel divided into four parts, and surrounded with rays like a sun. Lanzi, II. pp. 26, 73, tav. I. 10 ; Passeri, Paralipom. ad Dempst. tab. V. 1. Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 337) is inclined to refer these coins to Populonia ; so also Mionnet (Supplem. I. pp. 199, 203), Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 4), and Millingen (Numis. Anc. Ital. p. 173). A series of coins, with a young man's head wearing the cap of an Aruspex, and with a sacrificial knife, an axe, and two crescents, but no inscription, on the reverse, is supposed by Melchiorri to have belonged to Luna. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 122. See the woodcut at the head of this chapter.

a trace of the ancient cemetery is to be recognised, either in the plain, or among the neighbouring heights, where it should be sought for, so that we might almost doubt the Etruscan antiquity of Luna; yet such is expressly assigned to it by the ancients. No record of it, however, has come down to us prior to Roman times.

The earliest mention we have of Luna is from old Ennius, who took part in the expedition against Sardinia, which sailed from this port in 539 (B.C. 215), under Manlius Torquatus; and the poet, struck with the beauty of the gulf, called on his fellow-citizens to come and admire it with him,—

"Lunaï portum est operæ cognoscere, cives!"[1]

The first historical notice to be found of Luna is in the year 559 (B.C. 195), when Cato the Consul collected a force in the port, and sailed thence against the Spaniards.[2] It is mentioned again in the year 568,[3] and in 577, in the Ligurian War, it received a colony of two thousand Romans.[4] In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, it is said to have been in utter decay, inhabited only by a venerable soothsayer—

Arruns incoluit desertæ mœnia Lunæ.[5]

But a few years later it was re-colonised by the Romans;[6] and inscriptions found on the spot prove it to have existed at the close of the fourth century of our era.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, Luna was desolated by the Lombards, Saracens, and Normans, but it was a yet more formidable, though invisible, foe that depopulated the site, and that eventually caused it, in the fifteenth century, to be utterly deserted.[7]

Luna, under the Romans, was renowned for its wine, which was the best in all Etruria;[8] and for its cheeses, which were

[1] Ennius, ap. Pers. Sat. VI. 9; cf. Liv. XXIII. 34.

[2] Liv. XXXIV. 8.

[3] Liv. XXXIX. 21.

[4] Liv. XLI. 13. Whether Luna or Luca is here the correct reading, is disputed. Paterculus (I. 15) has Luca.

[5] Lucan. I. 586. Here again some editions have "Lucæ." Dante, who probably records the local tradition, (Inferno, XX. 47), places this soothsayer in the mountains of Carrara.

[6] By the Triumvirate, under the Lex Julia. Frontin. de Colon. p. 19, ed. 1588.

[7] There is an old legend which ascribes its destruction to another cause. The lord of Luna won the affections of a certain Empress, who, to obtain her end, feigned herself dead; her lover playing the resurrectionist, and carrying her to his own house. This coming to the ears of the Emperor, he not only took vengeance on the offenders, but laid the city in the dust. Alberti, Descrit. d'Italia, p. 22.

[8] Plin. XIV. 8, 5.

stamped with the figure, either of the moon, or of the Etruscan Diana, and were of vast size, sometimes weighing a thousand pounds.[9] But what gave Luna most renown was her marble; known to us as that of Carrara. This does not appear to have been known to the Etruscans at an early period, for the few traces we find of it in the national monuments are not of very archaic character; and surely the people who made such extensive use of alabaster, and executed such exquisite works in bronze, would have availed themselves of this beautiful material, as soon as it became known to them: yet, on the other hand, it is difficult to understand how its *nivea metalla* could have long escaped their eye.[1] It does not seem to have been known to the Romans much before the Empire.[2] The earliest mention we have of it is in the time of Julius Cæsar;[3] but a stone which was whiter than Parian marble,[4] and yet might be cut with a saw,[5] was not likely to be neglected by the luxurious Romans of that age; and

[9] Plin. XI. 97; Martial, XIII, epig. 30:

Caseus Etruscæ signatus imagine Lunæ
Præstabit pueris prandia mille tuis.

Though the Greek writers translate the name of this town by Σελήνη, and though a moon seems to have been the symbol of Luna under the Romans, we have no ground for concluding that such was the meaning of the Etruscan name. Some have thought that Luna was derived from the form of its port—even Müller (Etrusk. I. 4, 8) held this opinion—but the name is not at all descriptive of the harbour, which cannot be likened to a moon, whether full, half, or crescent. Lanzi suggests that "LOSNA," the name attached to a goddess with a crescent as her emblem, represented on a mirror (Saggio, II. p. 26, tav. 8; see also Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 171), may be the ancient Latin form; Müller thinks it the Etruscan. But this monument is certainly Latin. It appears to me highly probable that Luna was an Etruscan word, misinterpreted by the Romans. For the three chief ports on this coast, as we learn from coins, had this termination to their names—LUNA, PUPLUNA (Populonia), and VETLUNA (Vetulonia); and as no inland town of Etruria had the same ending, it is not improbable that Luna had a maritime signification, and meant "a port"—this, which has no prefix to its name, being, from its superior size, pre-eminently "the port" of Etruria.

[1] The marble sarcophagi found in the tombs of Cervetri, Corneto, and Vulci, which, from their style of art are certainly not later than the 4th century, B.C., are pronounced not to be of the marble of Carrara, but probably of that from the Tuscan Maremma, though Canina (Etruria Marittima, I. p. 192) declares them to be of the marble of the Circæan Promontory, which was used by the Etruscans before they discovered that of Luna.

[2] Pliny (XXXVI. 4, 2) speaks of it as only recently discovered in his day.

[3] Mamurra, Præfect of Cæsar's army in Gaul, was the first who had his house lined with marble, and every column in it was of solid marble, either from Carystos or Luna. Corn. Nepos, ap. Plin. XXXVI. 7.

[4] Plin. XXXVI. 4, 2. Strabo (V. p. 222) says truly that the quarries of Luna yielded not only white, but variegated marble, inclining to blue.

[5] Plin. XXXVI. 29—Lunensem silicem serrâ secari. This *silex* has been supposed to be only a white tufo, not marble (Quintino, Marmi Lunensi, cited by Müller, I. 2, 4, n. 63); but the term was of general application to the harder sorts of rock, and the use of it here is expressive of the singularity of the circumstance that the stone should be sawn, and the word would lose its force if applied to a soft volcanic formation.

accordingly it soon came into extensive use, as the Pantheon, the Portico of Octavia, the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, and other monuments of that period, remain to testify; and it was to this discovery that Augustus owed his boast—that he had found Rome of brick, but had left it of marble. From that time forth, it has been in use for statuary, as well as for architectural decoration; and from the Apollo Belvedere to the Triumphs of Thorwaldsen, "the stone that breathes and struggles" in immortal art, has been chiefly the marble of Luna.[6]

[6] For further notices of Luna and its port, I refer the reader to Targioni Tozzetti's Toscana, X. pp. 403—466; but especially to the work of Promis, already cited, and to Repetti's Dizionario della Toscana.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

PISA.—*PISÆ.*

Alpheæ veterem contemplor originis urbem
Quam cingunt geminis Arnus et Ausur aquis.
RUTILIUS.

ON approaching Leghorn from the sea, I have always been inclined to recognise in it, Triturrita, with the ancient port of Pisa.[1] It is true that the modern town does not wholly correspond with the description given by Rutilius. It has now more than a mere bank of sea-weed to protect it from the violence of the waves; it embraces an ample harbour within its arms of stone; but it lies on a naturally open shore; it has an artificial peninsula, on which the Villa Triturrita may have stood; and, by a singular coincidence, there are still three prominent towers to suggest the identity.

[1] Rutil. I. 527 *et seq.*; II. 12. Called "Turrita" by the Peutingerian Table, which places it 9 miles south from Pisæ. The Maritime Itinerary has "Portus Pisanus" in the same position. Much doubt has been thrown on the antiquity of Livorno (Repetti, II. p. 717); and the highest generally ascribed to it is that of Roman times—either as the Ad Herculem of the Antonine Itinerary, on the Via Aurelia, 12 miles from Pisæ; or the Labro of Cicero (ad Quint. Frat. II. 6); or the Liburnum, mentioned by Zosimus (Annal. V. cited by Cluver); whence the modern name, Livorno, as well as the Ligurnum (Leghorn) of the middle ages. Cluver (II. p. 467), and Cramer (Ancient Italy, I. p. 175), place the Portus at the mouth of the Arno. Mannert (Geog. p. 353) on the other hand contends for the identity of Leghorn with the Portus Pisanus. He places Labro at Salebro and Ad Herculem at Violino. An intermediate opinion is held by Targioni Tozzetti (Viaggi in Toscana, II. pp. 398—420), who considers the port of Pisæ to have been a bay between the Arno and the site of Leghorn, now filled up with alluvial deposits from the river; and he finds Villa Triturrita in some Roman remains on the inner shore of this bay. It is well ascertained that the land has gained considerably on the sea in the Delta of the Arno, and that this coast has much altered since ancient times. Müller (Etrusk. I. 1, 2; I. 4, 8), who follows Tozzetti, considers this port to have been connected with the city by an ancient branch of the Arno, now stopped up, one of the three mentioned by Strabo, V. p. 222. If the VIIII of the Maritime Itinerary be a transcriber's error for XIIII, which may easily be the case, it would favour the claims of Livorno, for such is the true distance between that port and Pisa.

No traveller, now-a-days, who reaches Leghorn by sea, omits to make a trip to Pisa. Like the Itinerant Gaul of old, he leaves his vessel in the port, and hurries away to lionise that city. Pisa indeed is a great ganglion in the railway system of Italy, being on the highroad from London and Paris to the Eternal City, and connected by trains with Leghorn, Florence, and Bologna, as well as with Genoa and Rome.

Of the thousands that annually visit the elegant and tranquil city of Pisa, who remembers her great antiquity?—who thinks of her as one of the most venerable cities of Italy, prior to the Trojan War, one of the earliest settlements of the Pelasgi on this coast?[2] The Pisa of the middle ages is so bright a vision as to throw into dim shade the glories of her remoter antiquity. Pisæ is one of the very few cities of Etruria, which, after the lapse of nearly three thousand years, still retains, not only its site, but its importance, and has shrouded the hoariness of antiquity in the garlands of ever-flourishing youth.

We have said that Pisa occupies her original site; but her relative position has been greatly altered in the course of centuries. For she anciently stood on a tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Arnus and Ausar[3]—a site, if we substitute rivers for ravines, very similar to that commonly chosen for cities in southern Etruria. The Ausar, now the Serchio, altered its course somewhere about the twelfth century of our era, and found a more northerly channel to the sea. In Strabo's time Pisa was only two and a-half miles inland, but by the accumulation

[2] Pisæ is classed by Dionysius (I. p. 16) among the primitive cities of Italy, either taken from the Siculi, or subsequently built by the confederate Pelasgi and Aborigines. Another tradition ascribes its foundation to a Greek colony from Arcadia, who named it after the celebrated city of the Peloponnesus; another to some of the Greeks who wandered to Italy after the Trojan War (Serv. ad Æn. X. 179; Strabo, V. p. 222); but the connection with Pisæ of Elis seems to have been generally believed. Virg. Æn. loc. cit.; Serv. ad loc.; Plin. III. 8; Claudian. de Bel. Gildon. 483; Rutil. I. 565, 573; Solinus, Polyh. VIII. Servius records other traditions of its origin, one assigning it to the Celts; another, that its site had been occupied by an earlier town, by some called Phocis, by others Teuta, whose inhabitants the Teutæ, Teutani, or Teutones were of Greek race. Plin. III. 8. Cato (ap. Serv.), though admitting that this region was originally possessed by the Teutones, who spoke Greek, could not trace the foundation of Pisæ earlier than the arrival of the Etruscans in Italy; and he ascribes it to Tarchon. This tradition of the Teutanes, Müller (einl. 2, 9, n. 55) regards as confirmatory of a Pelasgic origin. Some say Pisæ was taken by the Etruscans from the Ligurians. Lycoph. Cass. 1356. cf. Justin. XX. 1. But the almost concurrent voice of tradition assigns to Pisæ a Greek origin, which its name seems to confirm; though on the other hand its name, which Servius says signified a moon-shaped port in the Lydian (*i.e.* Etruscan) tongue, may have given rise to these traditions.

[3] Strabo. V. p. 222. Plin. III. 8. Rutil. I. 566.

of soil brought down by these rivers, it is now removed six miles from the coast,[4] while the Serchio has left it nearly as far to the south.

Her remoteness from Rome may well account for the absence of historical mention of Pisa during the period of Etruscan independence. Virgil introduces her as sending aid to Æneas against Turnus[5]—a statement which can be received only as confirmatory evidence of her antiquity. Yet a modern writer of great weight does not hesitate to regard her as one of the Twelve chief cities of Etruria.[6] The earliest mention of Pisa in history occurs in the year 529 (B.C. 225), when just before the battle of Telamon, a Roman army from Sardinia was landed here.[7] Frequent mention is subsequently made of Pisa, which played a prominent part in the Ligurian Wars.[8] It was colonised in the year 574, at the request of its citizens.[9] Under the Romans, it was of considerable importance on account of its port, and was celebrated also for the fertility of its territory, for the quarries in its neighbourhood, and for the abundance of timber it yielded for ship-building.[1]

Of the ancient magnificence of Pisa scarcely a vestige remains. Various fragments of Roman antiquity have been discovered on

[4] In the tenth century, according to that wandering Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, Pisa was but four miles inland; and as in Strabo's time it was only two miles and a half, we may conclude that a thousand years earlier it stood almost close to the sea. Strabo (loc. cit.) represents the water, at the point of confluence of the rivers, rising to such a height in mid channel, that persons standing on the opposite banks could not see each other. Cf. Pseudo-Aristot. Mirab. Auscult. c. 94. Colonel Mure remarks the similarity of site of the Pisa of Etruria with that of Greece—both occupied "a precisely similar region, a low, warm, marshy flat, interspersed with pine-forest." Travels in Greece, II. p. 283. The analogy of site may explain the identity of name; which Mure is doubtful whether to derive from πῖσος—a marsh—or from πίσσα—the fir or pine-tree. The former, or an equivalent derivation, is favoured by Strabo (VIII. p. 356), and by Eustathius (ad Hom. Iliad. XX. 9); but the latter derives support from the actual existence of pine-woods, both around the city of Elis, and also on this coast, in the royal Cascine, where they over some square miles, and are in all probability the descendants of the ancient forests, where Rutilius, when weather-bound, amused himself with hunting the wild-boar (I. 621—8). The city is called Pissa or Pissæ by Lycophron, Polybius, and Ptolemy.

[5] Virg. Æn. X. 179. He calls her—urbs Etrusca.

[6] Müller, Etrusk. II. 1, 2. Strabo (V. p. 223) says that it had originally been a flourishing city. Mannert (Geog. p. 339), though he does not regard it as one of the Twelve, calls it "the natural rampart and frontier-wall of Etruria towards the north."

[7] Polyb. II. 27.

[8] Liv. XXI. 39; XXXIII. 43; XXXIV. 56; XXXV. 21; XL. 41; XLI. 5. Previously, in the Second Punic War, Scipio had made use of its port. Polyb. III. 56.

[9] Liv. XL. 43. Festus calls it a *municipium*. Pliny (III. 8) and Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72) mention it among the Roman colonies in Etruria.

[1] Strabo, V. p. 223. Pliny also speaks of its grain (XVIII. 20), of its grapes (XIV. 4, 7), and of its wonderful springs, where frogs found themselves literally in hot water (II. 106).

the spot; but, with the exception of sundry sarcophagi, broken statues, and numerous inscriptions, nothing remains above ground beyond some mean traces of baths, and two marble columns with Composite capitals, probably belonging to the vestibule of a temple of the time of the Antonines, now embedded in the ruined church of San Felice.[2] As to the city of the Pelasgi and Etruscans, it has entirely disappeared. The traveller looks in vain for a stone of the walls, which from the exposed position of the city must have been of great strength—in vain for a tumulus or monument on the surrounding plain—the city of the dead, as well as that of the living, of that early period, is now lost to the eye. Yet the necropolis of Pisa does exist; and traces of it have been found, not only on the neighbouring hills of S. Giuliano and Vecchiano, on the side towards Lucca, where are numerous tumuli, now broken down and defaced, so as hardly to be recognised as artificial; but also to the west of Pisa, in the royal *tenuta* of S. Rossore, where, in the winter of 1848–9, Signor François found numerous sand-hills, now far inland, which he proved by excavation to be artificial and sepulchral, yielding beautiful Greek vases with red figures in a severely archaic style.[3]

The only relics of Etruscan antiquity now at Pisa are a few sarcophagi and urns in that celebrated sepulchral museum, the Campo Santo.[4] Even these were not found on the spot. The eye experienced in Etruscan remains at once recognises them

[2] Repetti, IV. pp. 305, 372; Dempster (II. p. 248) infers from Seneca (Thyestes, I. 123) that Pisa was anciently renowned for her towers; but the true reading is—

"Pisæisque domos curribus inclytas,"

and the line refers to the city of Elis. The Italian Pisa, however, was renowned for her towers in the middle ages. Benjamin, the Jew of Tudela, who lived in the tenth century, records that nearly 10,000 towers were to be counted, attached to the houses—verily, as old Faccio degli Uberti says of Lucca—"*a guisa d' un boscheto.*" Other chroniclers increase this number to 15,000; and Petrarch vouches for a great multitude.

[3] These tombs lay so close together that he could not doubt that this was the necropolis of ancient Pisa. He found traces of similar sepulture at intervals all across the plain from Pisa to the mountains of Leghorn, where Etruscan tombs have also been discovered. Bull. Inst. 1849, pp. 22-24.

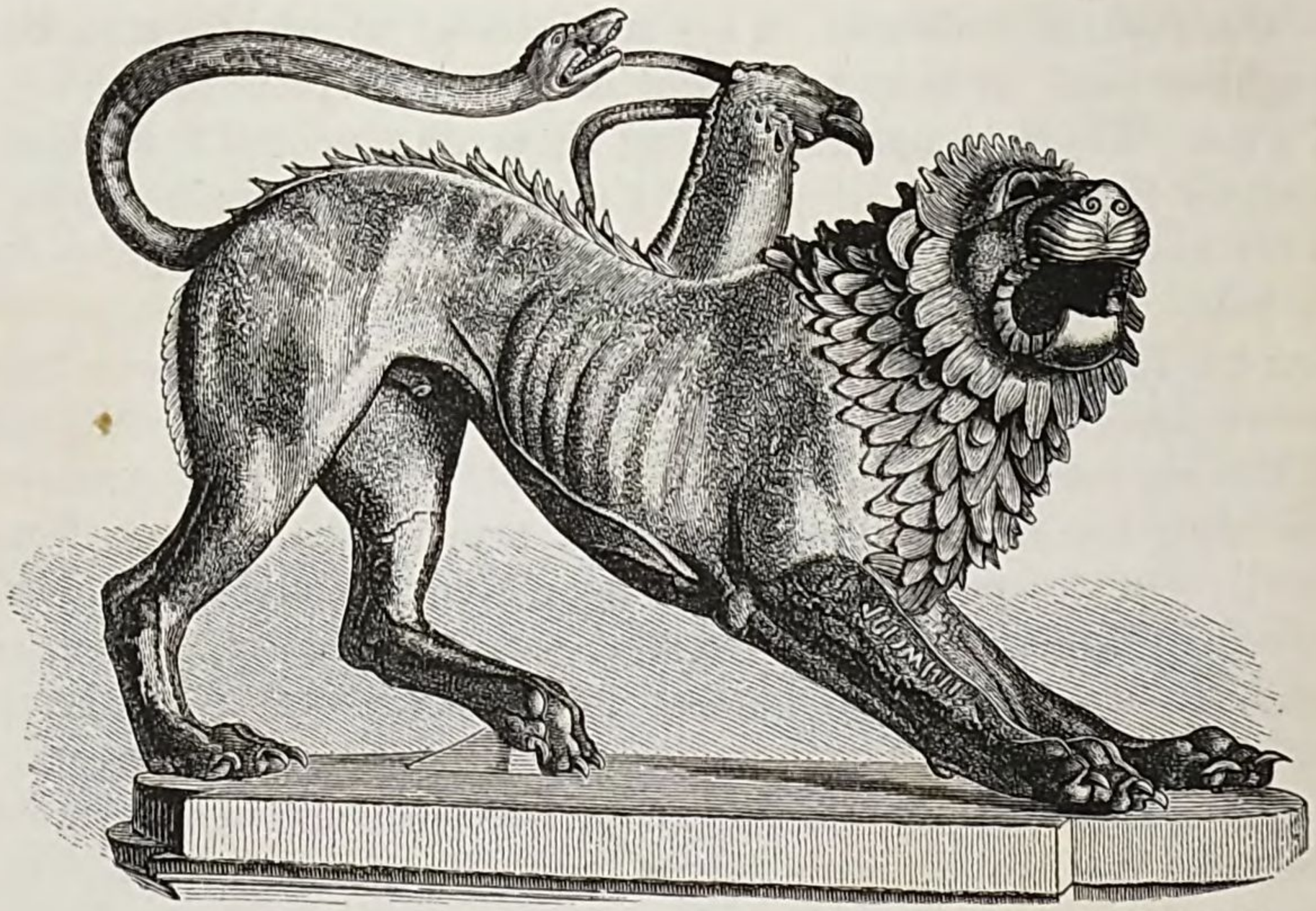
[4] There are some small copper coins with the head of Mercury on the obverse, and an owl, with the legend PEITHESA, in Etruscan characters, on the reverse, which most probably belong to Pisa. The opinion of early Italian antiquaries was generally in favour of Perusia; Lanzi (Sagg. II. pp. 27, 76) hints at the Arretium Fidens of Pliny. Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 5) was hardly less extravagant in ascribing these coins to Veii (cf. Mionnet, Suppl. I. p. 204). They have also been assigned to Pitinum in Umbria; but Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 338) suggests that Peithesa may be the old Etruscan form of Pissa; and Cramer (Ancient Italy, I. p. 173) remarks that if we suppose its pronunciation to have been Pithsa, it would not be far from the Pissa of Lycophron. Millingen (Numis. Anc. Ital. p. 170) thinks that these coins belong to some forgotten town, near Todi in Umbria, because they are generally found in that neighbourhood.

as the *roba* of Volterra. They were found at Morrona, in the neighbourhood of that town, and presented in 1808 to the city of Pisa. There is nothing among them of remarkable interest. Most of them are small square cinerary urns, or "ash chests," as the Germans term them, with stunted and distorted figures on the lids. One of these recumbent figures holds an open scroll, with an Etruscan inscription in red letters. Among the reliefs are—a banquet; a sacrifice; a soul in a *quadriga*, conducted to the shades by Charun, armed with his hammer; an Amazon defending her fallen comrade from a bear, which emerges from a well; Orestes persecuted by a Fury; Neoptolemus on an altar, defending himself against Orestes, who rushes up, sword in hand, to slay him; the parting of Admetus and Alcestis; a griffon contending with three warriors. But the most interesting Etruscan monument here, though of wretched art, is an urn, on whose lid reclines a female figure holding a *rhyton*, or drinking-cup, in the shape of a horse's fore-quarters. In the relief below is represented a she-demon, or Fury, winged, torqued, buskined, and half-draped, sitting, spear in hand, between two warriors. In character and attitude she bears a strong resemblance to one of the demons painted on the walls of the Grotta del Cardinale at Corneto, who sits as guardian over the gate of Hell, and probably represents the Fury Tisiphone—

> Tisiphoneque sedens, pallâ succincta cruentâ,
> Vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.[5]

In duty bound, I have noticed these Etruscan relics. Yet few who visit this silent and solemn corner of Pisa, where the grandeur and glory of the city are concentrated, are likely to give them much attention. Few will turn from the antique pomp, the mosque-like magnificence of the Cathedral—from the fair white marvel of the Leaning Tower—from the cunningly wrought pulpit and font of the Baptistery—or even from the frescoed visions, the grotesque solemnities of the Campo Santo, to examine these uncouth memorials of the early possessors of the land.

[5] Virg. Æn. VI. 555.



From a Photograph.

ETRUSCAN CHIMÆRA, IN BRONZE.

CHAPTER XL.

FIRENZE.—*FLORENTIA.*

Florence, beneath the sun,
Of cities, fairest one!—SHELLEY.

Di te, Donna dell' Arno, anch' io favello.
Tu, in regio trono alteramente assisa,
L'imperioso ciglio
Volgi all' Etruria!—FILICAJA.

FLORENCE, the Athens of modern Italy, in the days of Etruscan greatness and of the earliest civilisation of the land, was nought. She cannot claim an origin higher than the latter years of the Roman Republic.[1] Yet she may be regarded as the representa-

[1] Frontinus (de Coloniis, p. 13, ed. 1588) says Florentia was a colony of the Triumvirate, established under the Lex Julia; which has led some to conclude that such was the date of her foundation. Repetti, II. pp. 108, 150. Yet Florus (III. 21) ranks her with Spoletium, Interamnium, and Præneste, those "most splendid *municipia* of Italy," which, in the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, suffered from the vengeance of the latter. Some editions have "Fluentia," but this can be no other than Florentia, as the same name is given by Pliny (III. 8) in his list of the colonies in Etruria—Fluentini præfluenti Arno oppositi. Cluver (II. p. 508) admits the higher antiquity; while Mannert (Geog. p. 393) thinks the city dates its origin from the Ligurian wars. In the reign of Tiberius, Florentia was an important *municipium*, one of those which sent deputies to Rome, to deprecate alterations in the course of the tributaries of the Tiber; their plea being that if the Clanis were diverted into the Arnus, it would bring destruction on their territory. Tacit.

tive of the ancient Etruscan city of Fæsulæ, whose inhabitants at an early period removed from their rocky heights to the banks of the Arno[2]—an emigration in which Dante, in his Ghibelline wrath, finds matter of vituperation—

quello ingrato popolo maligno,
Che discese di Fiesole ab antico,
E tiene ancor del monte e del macigno—

though it would puzzle a poet now-a-days to find any analogy between the courteous and polished Florentines and the rugged crags of Fiesole.

Museo Etrusco.

It is not my province to make further mention of Florence, than to notice the collection of antiquities gathered from various sites in Etruria, and now preserved in the National Museum in this city.

This collection has of late been removed from the Uffizj to the Museo Egizio in the Via Faenza. It is open in summer from ten to four, and in winter from nine to three. Admission one franc; on Sundays free.

Black Pottery, or Bucchero.

First Room.—The first room you enter contains the black, unglazed ware of Etruria, commonly called *búcchero*. It is coarse, unbaked pottery; its forms are uncouth, its decorations grotesque, its manufacture rude in the extreme, and it has little artistic beauty, yet it is of extraordinary interest as illustrative of Etruscan art in its earliest and purest stages, ere it had been subjected to Hellenic influences.

The stranger here finds himself in a new world of Etruscan art, for this characteristic and genuinely Etruscan ware is not to be seen in the Museo Gregoriano at Rome, or in the British Museum, or, save to a limited extent, in the Louvre, or, I believe,

Annal. I. 79. Vestiges of her Roman magnificence remain in the ruins of the amphitheatre near the Piazza di Santa Croce.

Livy (X. 25) speaks of an Etruscan town, Aharna, or as some readings have it, Adharnaha, which Lanzi translates Ad Arnum, and thinks that Florence may be indicated (Sagg. I. p. 377; II. p. 394); but from the context it appears that Livy could hardly refer to a city so distant from Rome.

[2] The fact is not stated by the ancients, but has for ages been traditional. Inghirami (Guida di Fiesole, p. 24) refers the emigration to the time of Sylla; Repetti (loc. cit.) to that of Augustus. According to old Faccio degli Uberti, the city received its name from the "flower-basket" in which it is situated.

Al fine gli habitanti per memoria
Che lera posta en un gran cest de fiori,
Gli dono el nome bello unde sen gloria.

in any other public collection in Europe, save at Chiusi, and at Palermo, which now contains the Museo Casuccini, once the glory of the former city.

This ancient pottery is so arranged in this room that the inquirer can readily trace its progress from its earliest and rudest beginnings to its development in the well-known ware of Chiusi and its neighbourhood. Case I. contains the most archaic vases, of brown clay without any glaze, and not baked, but merely sun-dried, clumsily shaped by the hand, not by the lathe; imitations, it may be, of pots hollowed from blocks of wood—just such pots, in fact, as are made now-a-days by the naked Indians of South America, or as were fashioned of old by the primitive Celts and Teutons.[3] Few show any decorations, and those are mere circles scratched round the body of the vase, or incised lines, or punctured dots, with a very rude attempt at design.

Case II. exhibits the earliest specimens of Etruscan black ware, still extremely rude both in form and decoration, yet showing an advance on the brown. Though wrought by the hand, this ware sometimes bears a slight lustre. It is either plain, or rudely scratched with patterns some of which are familiar, as chevrons or meanders, others of more uncouth design. One pot has large concentric squares; another, found at Orvieto, is very rudely made, and carelessly decorated with meanders; a third from Cortona has three bands of varied ornaments on the neck, and a broad belt on the body of the vase, all simply scratched on the clay.

In Case III. begins the earliest black ware of Chiusi, with figures in relief, of which a vase on the lowest shelf offers a curious example; and you can trace the progress of this pottery round the room, till in Cases XIV. and XV. you see it in its highest development, retaining the old forms, but improved in elegance, and displaying a certain degree of polish.

This ware, which is almost peculiar to Chiusi, Sarteano, Cetona, and the neighbourhood, consists of tall *amphoræ*, or *olpæ*, with cock-crowned lids, or of quaint, knobbed jars or pots with strange figures in relief—veiled female heads, grinning masks, tusk-gnashing gorgons, divinities of most ungodlike aspect, sphinxes, *pegasi*, chimæras of many a wild conception, couching lions or panthers, and many a grotesque specimen of beast, fowl, fish,

[3] Dr. Birch (Ancient Pottery, p. 445, 2nd edit.) points out the resemblance this brown ware bears to the Teutonic vases found on the banks of the Rhine, and says it is often scarcely to be distinguished from the Celtic ware of France and Britain. The pottery of races in a low stage of civilisation is pretty similar all the world over.

and flower—symbols, it may be, of the earliest creed and rites of the Etruscans, or dim allusions to their long-forgotten myths.

The oriental character of this pottery is manifest in its decorations, and its forms are rude and clumsy, in comparison with those of Greek vases, seeming to indicate a far more primitive epoch, and a very inferior civilisation. The smaller ware—the jugs, pots, and goblets, with handles decorated with every form of life, real or unreal, and with bands of minute figures of mysterious import, and of Egyptian rigidity—are not less archaic and curious, though not strictly confined to the said district of Etruria.



ARCHAIC BLACK VASE FROM CHIUSI.

On the upper shelves are not a few of the tall slender-necked vases with a cock or a dove on the lid, and with veiled *larvæ*, or the spirits of the dead, and other quaint devices studding them in relief, as shown in the strange jug, illustrated in the annexed woodcut. It will be found in Case VI., and is numbered 1709. This vase was probably purely sepulchral. The animals in the lower band are lions, carrying stags, conveniently packed on their shoulders, as a fox carries a goose. Wild beasts with their prey are most common sepulchral emblems, not only on Etruscan but on Oriental and early Greek monuments.[4] The heads in the upper band seem to have an analogy with the *silhouettes* on the painted pottery of Volterra. The three things between them appear to be *alabasti*—common sepulchral furniture. The horse is a well-known funereal emblem, indicative of the passage from one state of existence to another. The eyes scratched on the spout have evidently an analogy to those so often painted on the

[4] See Vol. I., p. 391.

Hellenic vases; and have probably the same symbolic meaning. The heads which stud the handle and top of this vase are supposed to be those of *Larvæ*, or the spirits of the defunct.

This ware, be it observed, is not baked, but merely sun-dried, unglazed, and imperfectly varnished, and often incapable of retaining liquid. Hence it may be inferred that much of it was made expressly for sepulchral purposes. It is certainly more truly illustrative of the religious creed of the Etruscans than the painted pottery found in the tombs. The cock which crests so many of these jars must have had a sepulchral reference, though of what it is symbolical is not evident; perhaps of the funeral games, as we know this bird was introduced in Greek art as the symbol of athletic contests.



CANOPUS FROM CHIUSI.

On the middle shelf of the same case stand a few *canopi*—vases shaped like the head and shoulders of a man, the effigy of him whose ashes were deposited within. These curious Egyptian-like pots are found chiefly at Chiusi. Those in Case VI. are the most worthy of notice. The central one has the head of an ox, with an open mouth for a spout, and bears very singular reliefs of bulls, each hobbled and held by a man. Another also is peculiar, representing the upper half of a man, whose head is fastened to his shoulders by a metal pin. The vase shown in the annexed woodcut, with its lid in the form of a cap tufted by a bird, is a good specimen of an Etruscan *canopus*.

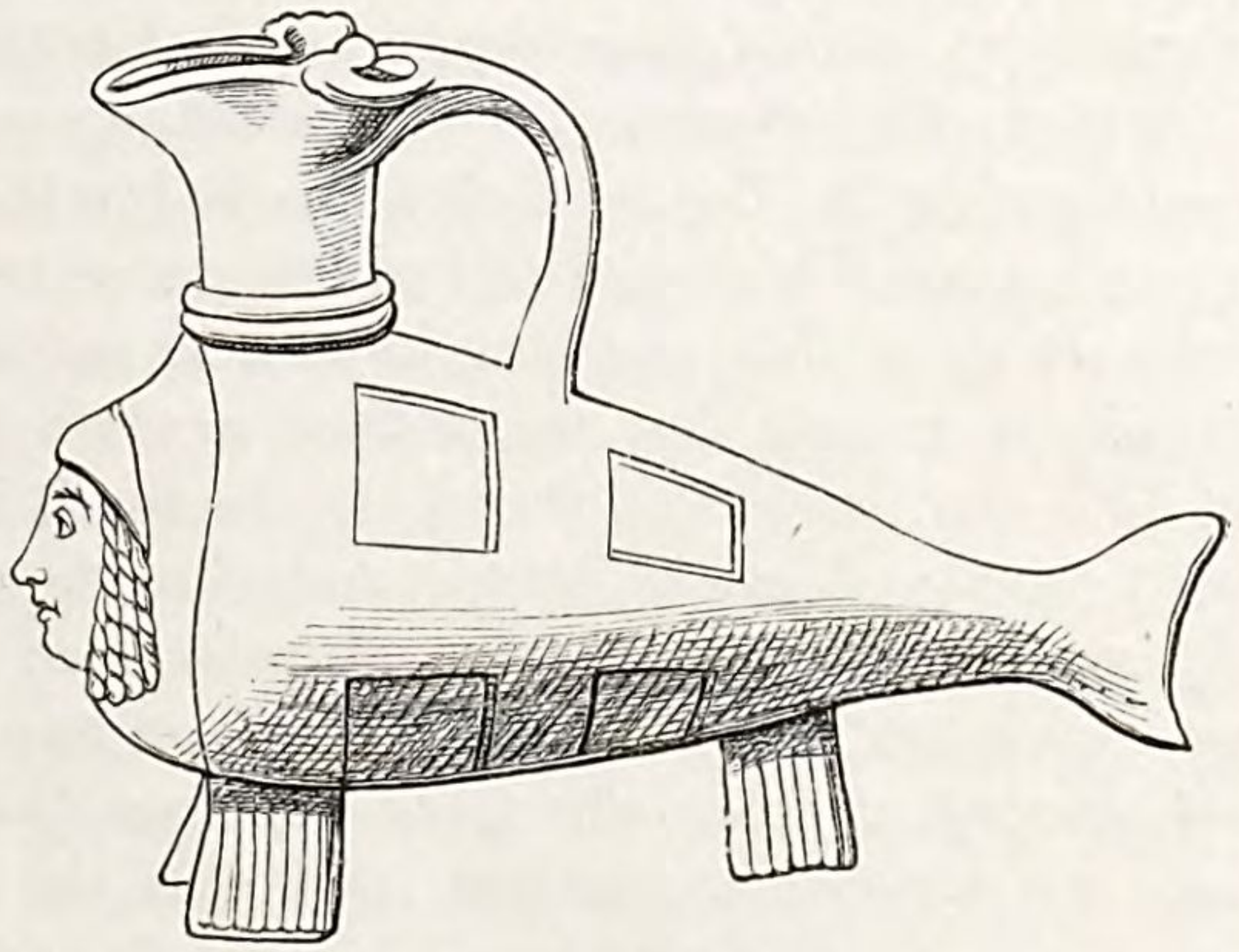
On the lower shelves are several circular bowls with upright handles, which give them the appearance of baskets (as in Cases VII., VIII.)—singular stands, which for want of a better name, and in ignorance of their purpose, have been styled "asparagus holders" (Case VII.),—a variety of drinking-cups with bands of minute Egyptian-like figures in flat relief,—some oblong strips of black ware, commonly called *lavagne*, or slates, or *abaci*, but which the late Professor Migliarini, when Director of this Museum, used jocularly to term Etruscan "visiting-cards," and which were probably writing-tablets (Case VII.).

But perhaps the most curious articles in this black ware are

the *focolari*, or *ricipienti* as they are called, of which, however, there are no superior specimens in this collection. And how, oh reader! shall I make thee understand what a *focolare* is? It is a square, paw-footed, wall-sided tray of earthenware, half open in front, set about with prominent figures of veiled women, supposed to represent the spirits of the dead,[5] or of winged demons, masks, or chimæras; and it contains, when found in the tomb, the strangest set of odds and ends of crockery, which have, naturally enough, been mistaken for a tea-service in its tray.[6] Indeed the resemblance to that homely piece of furniture is



FEMALE HEAD ON THE FISH-VASE.



JUG IN THE FORM OF A FISH.

striking, though the sugar-basins inconveniently outnumber the cups and saucers; but there are these, as well as milk-jugs, and spoons and ladles, all of the same black ware. It is just such a quaint, clumsy, primitive thing as you could imagine—peculiarities of art apart—might have served as a tea-tray in the time of Alfred, if our sturdy Saxon ancestors could have condescended to such effeminate potations. Certain strange articles, however, quite upset the tea-tray—*unguentaria*, or perfume-bottles, and vases in the shape of cocks, ducks, and other animals. Such a pot, for instance, as that shown in the above woodcut, which is in the form of a fish, with a woman's head (Case VII.).

The purpose these *focolari* served is matter of dispute. Some think them intended for the toilet, and the pots and pans for

[5] Inghirami opines that these heads of Larvæ were introduced on this pottery to remind survivors of their duties in performing the sepulchral rites. Mus. Chius. I. p. 17. Gerhard thinks they may have reference to the sacerdotal costume of the Etruscans. Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 58.

[6] Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 444.

perfumes; others take them for culinary apparatus, or braziers; while others regard them as purely sepulchral in application and meaning. If the latter view be correct, I should still consider them as imitations of domestic furniture once actually in use, and pertaining rather to the *triclinium* than to the toilet. Those which are raised from the ground by claw-feet, seem intended to stand over a fire. In domestic life they were probably used to keep meats or liquids hot, like the *escharæ*, or braziers, found at Pompeii. At the sepulchre they may have served the same purpose for the funeral feast, or they may have been for fumigation, equivalent to the censers or wheeled cars of bronze, *thymiateria*, sometimes found in early Etruscan tombs.[7]

Within this chamber is one fitted up as an Etruscan tomb, representing the Tomba Golini, opened in 1863, near Orvieto, with exact copies of the paintings which decorate its walls. The door with its stone slabs working in sockets made in the threshold and lintels, is ancient, but taken from a tomb at Chiusi. The walls of both the chambers into which the tomb is divided, are covered with figures of great interest and considerable beauty, a detailed description of which I have already given when treating of the necropolis of Orvieto,[8] and, therefore, have only to add for the satisfaction of those who have not seen the originals, that these are very faithful transcripts, and that the subjects are seen to much more advantage here than in the tomb itself, where from the intense humidity the figures are not easily distinguished from the ground on which they are painted.

In the window is a tall *amphora* from Pompeii, with figures painted, and two huge *amphoræ* from Basilicata in the florid style.

Painted Pottery.

Second Room.—The next room contains a collection of figured vases. The old Government of Tuscany did not avail itself of the opportunity it possessed of forming the finest collection of Etruscan antiquities in the world. Most of the articles

[7] Inghirami thinks they were not actually used as braziers, but were left in the tomb, at the close of the funeral ceremonies, as substitutes for those of bronze which had been used. Mus. Chiusino, I. p. 29. These wheeled cars or censers have been found in the most ancient tombs, viz. the Grotta d'Iside at Vulci (see Vol. I. p. 461), and the Grotta Regulini-Galassi at Cervetri (Vol. I. p. 267; cf. Mus. Chius. tav. 39; Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 8, p. 66), and specimens of the ordinary braziers of Etruscan sepulchres are to be seen in almost every museum of such antiquities. For illustrations see Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tavv. 26, 27; Inghirami, Mus. Chius. tavv. 31, 32, 40.

[8] See Chap. XXXVII. pp. 52–61.

discovered in the Duchy passed to Rome or into foreign countries, —comparatively little found its way to Florence. With this apathy at head-quarters, the collection of vases cannot be expected to be extensive, although much has since been done by the Italian Government to enrich it. Yet it is characteristic. Most of the Etruscan sites within the limits of Tuscany are here represented by their pottery, and there are even some good vases from other districts of Italy; collected, of old, I believe, by those princely patrons of art, the Medici.

The chief glory of this collection strikes the eye on entering. It stands in a glass case in the middle of the room. It is a huge, wide-mouthed *krater*, the largest painted vase, perhaps, ever found in Etruria—certainly unrivalled in the variety and interest of its subjects, and the abundance of its inscriptions. It is about twenty-seven inches in height, and little less in diameter; and has six bands of figures, all in the Archaic Greek style—black, tinted with white and red, on the yellow ground of the clay. It has eleven distinct subjects, eight of which are heroic, some quite novel; and no fewer than one hundred and fifteen explanatory epigraphs; besides the names of the potter and artist. The design, as in all vases of this style, is quaint and hard, yet the figures are full of expression and energy, and are often drawn with much minuteness and delicacy. Unfortunately it was found broken into numerous pieces; it has been tolerably well restored, but some fragments are still wanting. Yet even in its imperfect state it is so superb a monument, that the Tuscan Government was induced to relax its purse-strings, and purchase it for one thousand *scudi*.

This vase may be called an Iliad, or rather an Achilleid, in pottery, for its subjects have especial reference to the great hero of the Trojan War—from the youthful deeds of his father, and the marriage of his parents, down to his own death, interspersed with mythological episodes, as was the wont of the bard,

"Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own."

This "king of Etruscan vases," as it has not unaptly been termed, was found at Fonte Rotella, near Chiusi, by Signor Alessandro François in 1845.[9]

In the same case are a few choice vases, of which the following are most worthy of notice :—

[9] Further notices of this remarkable vase will be found in Bull. Inst. 1845, pp. 113–119 (Braun); and pp. 210–214 (Gerhard); Ann. Inst. 1848, p. 382 (Braun); Bull. Inst. 1863, pp. 188–192 (Brunn). See also the Appendix to this Chapter, Note 1.

Kylix.—Theseus slaying the Minotaur. *Œnochoë.*—Dionysus with Mænads. *Kylix.*—Man on a banqueting-couch. *Œnochoë.* —Satyr and Mænad.

The glass cases round the room contain specimens of Greek ceramic art in its different styles and stages; but all discovered in the sepulchres of Etruria. Cases I. to V. contain archaic Greek vases, some of the style vulgarly called Babylonian or Phœnician. An *amphora*, in Case I., is a good specimen of the transition from the oriental style to that denominated the Archaic Greek. In the same Case you see a good example of the latter style, with black figures, representing Hercules and Minerva in a *quadriga*, contending with the Titans. In four *kylikes* on the top shelf, you have specimens of the vases with eyes, so difficult of explanation; and one of them bears also a curious scene of satyrs gathering the vintage. An *amphora* shews Apollo seated under a palm-tree playing the lyre to his sister, who is recognised by her quiver. An *œnochoë* in Case IV. has a singular scene of two Satyrs, each bearing a Mænad on his shoulder, and a large wine-jar in his hand. Here also is an *amphora*, with Hercules bearing the Cercopian brothers, fastened head-downwards to a pole, which he carries across his shoulder, just as in the well-known *metope* from the temple at Selinus. The legend tells us that in spite of their uncomfortable position the brothers found matter for laughter; but as they are here depicted, with their hair and arms depending helplessly in the air, they seem rather in a condition to excite a smile themselves, than to raise one at the expense of their conqueror. Another vase shows Hercules "taking a cup of kindness" with his patron, "the grey-eyed goddess."

For its wonderful state of preservation, none can compete with an *amphora* in Case V., which represents the myth of Philoctetes and Ulysses. In the same Case is a *hydria*, displaying a spirited *quadriga*.

All the foregoing are of the Archaic Greek style, with black figures. Cases VI. and VII. contain vases of the best style, with yellow figures. An *œnochoë* in Case VI. represents a marriage; the bride veiled, attended by her *pronuba*, is giving her hand at a column. A *kalpis* shows Triptolemus on his winged car, between Demeter and Persephone. Another beautiful vase of the same form, represents Hermes in pursuit of the nymph Herse, whose sisters run off to inform their father. On the shoulder of the vase two naked girls, named "Dorka" and "Selinike," are

performing the Pyrrhic dance, to the great admiration of other ladies looking on. In these Cases are tall *amphoræ*, like those of Nola and Sicily, and a remarkable *krater* of large size, showing Poseidon striking a Titan to the earth with a huge rock. It is a *psykter*, or double vase, the inner for the wine, the outer for the snow to cool it. A *kelebe* displays a spirited combat between Centaurs and Lapithæ. A *stamnos* shows Hercules playing the double pipes between two Satyrs, one of whom carries his club.[1]

The most beautiful of these vases are from Vulci. In the window is a large *lebes*, of archaic art, on a tall stand, and here are also two glass cases full of choice fragments of Greek pottery, all found in Etruscan tombs.

The other cases in this room, from VIII. to XV., contain the pottery of the Decadence, displaying comparatively coarse forms, careless design, inferior taste, and love of the nude; resembling the ware of Magna Græcia rather than that of the pure Hellenic style more commonly found in Etruria; though a few of the vases are Archaic Greek. Some are from Volterra, and exhibit the characteristic defects of her pottery. Several are from recent excavations at Orvieto, though very inferior to the produce of Mancini's *scavi*, as seen in the collection of the Conte della Faina at that town, which is of a much earlier and better period.

A fragment of a Greek vase in the central glass-case represents a curious chimæra, the *hippalectryon*—the "horse-cock," or "cock-horse"—mounted by a youth, as shown in the woodcut on the next page. This monster is spoken of by Aristophanes in his "Frogs," where it is made a puzzle to Dionysus, who declares he had lain awake the greater part of the night trying to find out what sort of bird it could be. To this Æschylus replies that it was known as a device painted upon ships; and Euripides adds that it was a figure such as was often represented on Median tapestry. Aristophanes generally qualifies it with the epithet *ξουθός*, or "tawny."[2] This chimæra has also been found on ancient gems, and recently on a cornelian from Arezzo. It was used also as a device on shields, for so it is represented on a warrior's buckler on an *amphora* from Chiusi.[3]

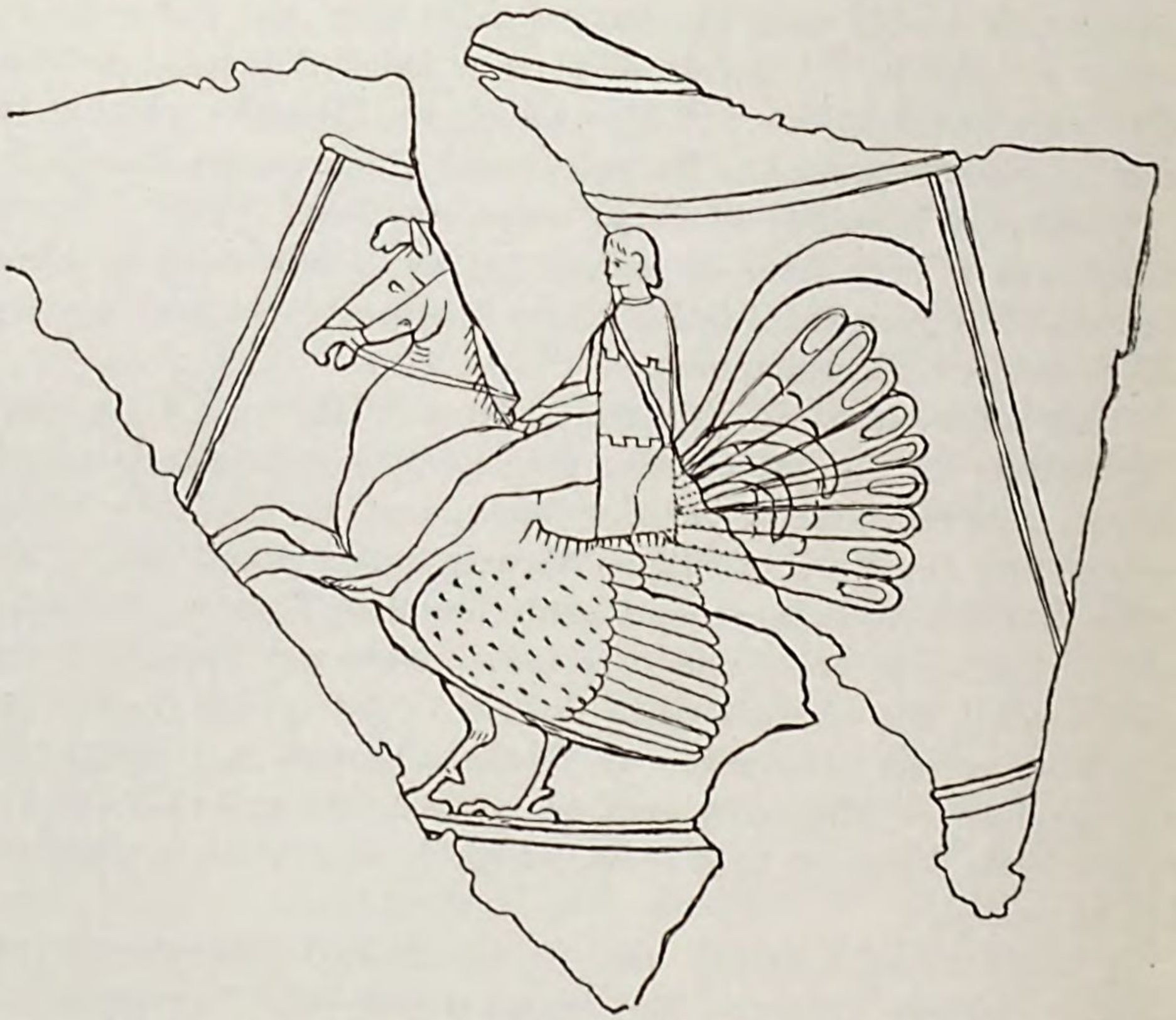
It is strange to find so ancient and classical an origin for our

[1] A description of some of the vases in this collection is given by Heydemann, Bull. Inst. 1870, pp. 180—187.

[2] Aristoph. Ran. 932, 937; Aves, 800; Pax. 1177.

[3] See an article by F. G. Gamurrini, Ann. Inst. 1874, pp. 236—243.

old friend of the nursery, and an illustration of the familiar doggrel in this fragment of Greek pottery, which may well date as far back as the days of the great comedian of Athens.



HIPPALECTRYON, OR "COCK-HORSE," FROM A GREEK VASE.

Unpainted Pottery.

Third Room.—Case I. contains a mould of a pretty female face, found at Orvieto, with a cast from it, together with some early red dishes from Cervetri, a number of archaic figures of household gods from various sites, and votive offerings of limbs, eyes, breasts, and other portions of the human frame, as well as representations of domestic animals and cattle, all in terra-cotta. In Case II. is a collection of black relieved pottery, of the latter days of Etruria, of elegant forms and brilliant polish, imitations, for the most part, of vases in metal, some decorated with beautiful reliefs. Among them notice a graceful *krater*, on the top shelf, adorned with vine-leaves and fruit in relief, and two *phialæ*, each with a spirited race of four *quadrigæ*. Case III. contains specimens of the unglazed, uncoloured pottery recently found at Orvieto, plain in material, but of elegant shapes, and decorated

with figures, fruit, and foliage in relief. Certain vases of this description, found on that site, were originally silvered in imitation of metal, and one pot with reliefs retains traces of gilding. Case IV. exhibits Etruscan heads and masks in terra-cotta; generally portraits, which were buried with the dead, probably to recall their features to the memory of surviving relatives on their periodical visits to the tombs. Here observe a singular relief of Ulysses lashed to the mast of his ship, which the rowers are urging at full speed through the waves, to escape from a Siren, who seizes the gunwale, and endeavours to stop the vessel. Notice also a quaint female head, in very archaic style, with hair, eyes, and ornaments coloured—from Orvieto. Case V. contains some good specimens of the red ware of Arretium; also a few ancient moulds for casting the same.

Below the last four cases are some curious *Canopi* of red and black ware; the heads fastened to the pots by metal pegs, and the arms attached to the handles in the same manner. Each head has a hole in its crown, probably to let off the effluvium. Two of these portrait-pots are throned in curule chairs, also of terra-cotta. All from Chiusi.

Flanking the doors of this room are four reliefs in terra-cotta, from Sarteano.

A door to the left opens into a small chamber filled with Greek vases from the once celebrated Campana Collection at Rome. They are of various styles and forms, but all have been restored, and imperfectly, so that, although some have evidently been beautiful, there is nothing to merit a particular description.

JEWELRY AND GLASS.

Fourth Room.—This octagonal chamber contains four glass-cases. In that to the left are exhibited the few articles of Etruscan jewelry which grace this collection. There are three necklaces, and several chaplets of laurel leaves in gold, some massive earrings, from which depend vases of delicate work; but there is nothing to give an adequate idea of the exquisite taste and wonderful elaboration of filagree-work to which the Etruscan jewellers attained. There are some good *scarabei*, and a small figure carved in amber. In the case opposite is a choice collection of variegated glass, mostly of the description called Babylonian, though found in Greek and Etruscan tombs, as well as in those of Egypt and Assyria. But the gem of this case is a tiny

amphora, with white figures in relief on a black ground, in the style of the Portland vase, though very inferior in size, as well as in art. Among the gems I sought in vain for one representing two Salii, carrying five *ancilia*, slung on a pole between them.[4]

The other three cases contain specimens of the early money of Etruria—the *æs rude* and *signatum*—from various sites of that land, as well as the *æs grave* and its divisions, from Rome, and other cities of Latium; but the precise localities to which the coins respectively belong, are not generally indicated.

Sepulchral Inscriptions.

Fifth Room.—The walls of this long gallery are covered with large sepulchral tiles, bearing inscriptions, the greater part Etruscan, but a few Latin—all, however, from Etruscan cemeteries. On benches below, are ranged numerous ash-chests of terra-cotta, and on shelves, many small cinerary pots, also inscribed. Among the latter is one from Chiusi, bearing the name of "Tarchu," a name rarely seen in Etruscan inscriptions before the discovery of the "Tomb of the Tarquins" at Cervetri.[5] Another bears the historic name of "Vipina"—Vibenna.

Bronzes.

Sixth Room.—Here stands the celebrated statue of Minerva, found at Arezzo, in 1534. She is represented nearly of life-size, with her right hand and arm extended as in the act of haranguing. Her left arm, wrapt in her drapery, rests on her hip. The neck of the statue has suffered much from corrosion; the face also in a less degree. The sockets of the eyes are empty, and were probably filled with gems. Her *himation* which hangs over her left shoulder, and is drawn tightly across her body in front, contrasts with the many small folds of her *chiton*, which reaches to her feet. Her helmet is crested with a serpent, an Etruscan feature. Yet the pose of the figure is Greek rather than Etruscan, showing great ease and dignity combined. If the statue be really from an Etruscan chisel, it betrays the influence of Greek art in no small degree.

[4] This celebrated gem, illustrated by Inghirami (VI. tav. B. 5, 6); and Gori (I. tab. 198), is in the Uffizj collection.

[5] This inscription would read thus in Roman letters—"Mi Tesan Keia Tarchu Menaia." Micali gives an illustration of this pot in Mon. Ined. tav. LV. 7.

The cases around the walls of this octagonal chamber are filled with bronzes. In that to the right as you enter, are some singular figures, three male and one female; the men wearing helmets of an unusual and very simple form, and carrying short lances, which they hold with both hands, turning their heads over the left shoulder. The woman, draped to her feet, wears a cap shaped very like the helmets, and her hair in long tresses before and behind. These figures, 14 inches high, though disproportionately lanky, have much character, and differ widely from the generality of Etruscan bronzes. In the same case are two warriors of symmetrical proportions, one with a Greek helmet, spear, and shield, in the attitude of attack; a number of small idols, chiefly female, and a herd of stags, hares, and other animals, all in bronze, and all found at a spot called Brolio, in the Val di Chiana, now recognised as an Etruscan site.[6]



From a Photograph.

BRONZE STATUE OF MINERVA, FROM AREZZO.

In the case beyond the Minerva are two bronze figures of Etruscan warriors; the larger, about a foot in height, is very similar to the beautiful Mars from Monte Falterona, now in the British Museum. His helmet has a straight cockade on each side, flanking it like asses' ears; he wears a cuirass and greaves, and carries an embossed Argolic buckler, but the sword he held in his right hand is gone. Here are numerous other

[6] For a description of these bronzes, see Bull. Inst. 1864, pp. 139–141, Migliarini.

archaic figures of divinities and heroes; one of Athene Promachos, in a talaric *chiton:* besides centaurs, pegasi, and other chimæras, with sundry figures of animals, among them a dog with an Etruscan inscription on his back—probably a votive offering.[7] A *pegasus* attempting to rear, with a human arm holding up his fore-leg, and thus restraining him, seems to suggest that Rarey had his prototype in Etruria, centuries before the Christian era.

The next case contains some elegant female figures, which formed the handles to mirrors, or *paterœ;* several groups of warriors, carrying a dead or wounded comrade; also two winged Lasas bearing a corpse. These groups were the handles to the lids of the so-called "*ciste mistiche,*" the toilet-cases of the Etruscan fair. Here are also some graceful female statuettes of larger size than usual, and two pretty figures of youths playing the lyre, and dancing with castanets.

The case opposite the Minerva is devoted to mirrors, mostly from Chiusi, and with subjects incised, but none of extraordinary beauty, though several are of considerable interest. One of them is remarkable as showing how incorrectly and confusedly Greek myths were sometimes rendered by Etruscan artists. The mirror is in excellent preservation, with a beautiful green *patina,* and with a border of lotus-flowers. It represents "EIASUN" (Jason), with a *chlamys* only on his shoulders, bowing as a suppliant, and embracing the knees of "PHUPHLUNS" (Dionysos) who stands in front of a temple, indicated by a pediment and an Ionic column. At the right hand of the god stands the fair Ariadne—"ARATHA"—clad in a long *peplos,* who looks down on the suppliant youth, while "KASTUR," (Castor) standing behind her, and a little winged genius, "AMINTH," in the foreground, complete the scene. It is evident that the Etruscan artist has confounded Jason with Theseus, whom he probably intended to represent imploring Bacchus to restore him the bride he had so heartlessly abandoned in the island of Naxos. The mistake is natural enough, seeing that both those heroes deserted the nymphs they had seduced from the paternal roof. The mirror was found at Bolsena, and, as is common with bronzes from that district of Etruria, is inscribed with the word "SUTHINA."[8]

Another mirror in this collection has peculiar interest on account of the place of its discovery—Sestino, the ancient

[7] This inscription in Roman letters would be—"S. CALUSTIA."

[8] Bull. Inst., 1870, pp. 152–4.—Gamurrini

Sestinum, a town situated among the Umbrian Apennines, near the source of the river *Pisaurus* or Foglia. It is the first object of Etruscan antiquity which has been discovered in that region. It differs from ordinary Etruscan mirrors in being perfectly flat, like the mirrors of Greece and Egypt, instead of concave; and also in displaying in the figures incised on it, not a subject from the Greek mythology, as usual, but a scene of native and rural life. It exhibits, in fact, a rustic dance beneath a portico. A woman clad in transparent drapery, like the nymphs in the painted tombs of Corneto, and wearing a pointed *tutulus*, and large disk-earrings, is dancing to her partner opposite, when another man from behind suddenly seizes her round the waist. Other women are looking on. In front a man sits on the ground, holding a dog by a rope attached to his collar, and threatening him with a stick. Below the dancers is an inscription in Etruscan characters, which resembles the curious epitaphs on the tombs at Orvieto, "MI . MA . LENA . LARTHIA . PURUHENAS."[9]

The last case contains numerous little figures of deities and Lares, some Roman, but many genuine *Tuscanica signa*, to be distinguished by their archaic and often grotesque character. Some are as rudely misshapen as those from the Nuraghe of Sardinia, or the early sepulchres of Malta; others are fearfully elongated; others have all the Egyptian rigidity, especially the females, many of whom, with one foot slightly in advance of the other, are holding out their gowns with one hand as if preparing for the dance, in the peculiar attitude which characterizes the Spes and the Nemesis of the Romans. Certain of these figures are from Arezzo; some from Bibbona in the Tuscan Maremma; and some from Adria, at the mouth of the Po.

I must not omit to notice two archaic damsels in fetid limestone, from Chiusi, very similar to the Proserpine in the Museum of that town, who mount guard over the inner door of this chamber. I recognised them as formerly in the Ottieri collection at Chiusi.

CINERARY URNS.

Seventh and Eighth Rooms.—In the centre of the Seventh Room stands the CHIMÆRA, a celebrated work in bronze, discovered at Arezzo in 1534, at the same time as the Minerva. It is the legitimate compound,—

Πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα.[1]—

[9] Bull. Inst., 1875, p. 88—Gamurrini.

[1] Hesiod. Theog. 323.

having the body of a lion, a goat's head springing from its back, and a serpent for a tail—the latter, however, is a modern restoration. The figure is full of expression. The goat's head, pierced through the neck, is already dying, and the rest of the creature is writhing in agony from this and another wound it has received from the spear of Bellerophon. The style of art much resembles that of the celebrated Wolf of the Capitol, but is less archaic; and its origin is determined by the word "TINSKVIL" in Etruscan characters carved on the right foreleg.[2]

Behind the Chimæra are two massive slabs of *nenfro*, with very archaic figures of animals in rude relief, in square compartments. They seem to have formed the cover-stones to a tomb, and to have been laid together gable-wise.

By one window is a headless female of marble, life-size, with an Etruscan inscription of two lines on the drapery. From a hole in the neck, it appears that the head was separate, and fitted into the trunk with a plug, as is the case with many figures of terra-cotta. By the other window is a curious flat *stele*, bearing reliefs, on one side displaying a sitting female figure of archaic character; on the other a sphinx; the slab terminating above in an antefixal ornament. In character this monument bears considerable resemblance to the curious slab-*stelæ*, recently found at Bologna.

This room and the next are filled with sepulchral urns, or ash-chests, the greater part from Volterra, being a selection made in 1770 from the fruits of the excavations then carrying forward, and at that time reputed the most beautiful relics of Etruscan antiquity extant. A few have been subsequently added from the same city, and from Chiusi. They are either of travertine, alabaster, or of a yellow tufaceous stone. Out of one hundred, very few are of remarkable beauty as works of art. Indeed, he who has visited Volterra, Perugia, or Chiusi, will find little to admire in the urns of this Museum. The figures on the lids are of the stumpy, contracted form usual in the "ash-chests" of Volterra. All are reclining, as at a banquet, the men, as usual, are crowned with chaplets, and hold a goblet; many of them retain traces of the *minium* with which they were coloured. The women generally have a fan or a mirror in one hand, and a pomegranate in the other; though several, of more depraved taste, hold

[2] See the woodcut at the head of this chapter. The inscription "Tinskvil" is almost identical with the "Tinskil" on the shoulder of a griffon in the Museum of Leyden. For further notices, see Lanzi, Saggio, II. p. 236; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 61, tav. 42; Inghir. Mon. Etrus. III. tav. 20; Gori, Mus. Etrus. I. tab. 155.

a *rhyton*, or drinking-cup.[3] We learn from them somewhat of the habits of the Etruscan ladies. Indeed, if we may believe all that has been said about them, they were "terrible ones to drink," and were apt to be forward in pledging any gentleman to whom they took a fancy, not waiting, as modest ladies ought, till they were challenged to take wine.[4] Very different was the condition of the Roman woman in early times. She was not allowed to drink wine at all, unless it were simple raisin-wine. And, however she might relish strong drinks, she could not indulge even by stealth; first, because she was never intrusted with the key of the wine-cellar; and secondly, because she was obliged daily to greet with a kiss all her own, as well as her husband's male relatives, down to second cousins; and as she knew not when or where she might meet them she was forced to be wary, and abstain altogether. For had she tasted but a drop, the smell would have betrayed her—"there would have been no need of slander."[5] The precautionary means, it may be thought, were worse than the possible evil they were intended to guard against. So strict, however, were the old Romans in this respect, that a certain Egnatius Mecenius is said to have slain his wife, because he caught her at the wine-cask—a punishment which was not deemed excessive by Romulus, who absolved the husband of the crime of murder. Another Roman lady who, under the pretence of taking a little wine for her stomach's sake and frequent infirmities, indulged somewhat too freely, was mulcted to the full amount of her dowry.[6]

The ladies of Greece do not appear to have behaved better in this respect than those of Etruria, if we may believe their own countrymen. "The love of wine," says Athenæus, "is common to the whole race of women," and he quotes many Greek writers in support of his opinion. Among them, Alexis, who, in his

[3] The *rhyton* is a drinking-cup, originally, perhaps, in the form of a cow's horn, as it is often so represented in the hands of Bacchus on the painted vases (when it would more correctly be called a *keras*), but it frequently terminates in the head of a dog, fox, bull, stag, boar, eagle, cock, or griffon. In this case it is in the form of a horse's head and fore-quarters—a favourite shape with the Etruscans. It is sometimes represented in ancient paintings with the wine flowing in a slender stream from the extremity. As it could only stand when inverted, it was necessary to drain it to the bottom before it could be laid down. It may therefore be regarded as indicative of a debauch. By the Greeks it was considered proper to heroes only. Athen. XI. c. 4.

[4] Theopompus, ap. Athen. XII. c. 14.

[5] Polybius, ap. Athen. X. c. 56. Alcinus (ap. Athen. loc. cit.) confirms the statement of Polybius, but extends it to the Italian women in general.

[6] Plin. XIV. 14. On an *amphora* from Volterra, in this same collection, two naked females are represented pledging each other in *rhyta*.

Dancing-Girl, says "Women are quite satisfied, if they get enough wine to drink,"—and Axionicus, who utters the warning —"Don't trust a woman to drink water alone!"—and Xenarchus, who says, "I write a woman's oath in wine;" and who puts this pretty sentiment into a woman's mouth, "May it be my lot to die drinking an abundance of wine!"[7]

The reliefs on the urns are, with few exceptions, in a poor style of art; yet, as illustrative of the Etruscan belief and traditions, they are not without interest.

In this room the urns are numbered up to 31; in the next from 32 to 101. As the numbers, however, are not attached to the urns, but to the places they occupy, my indications may be rendered inapplicable by any shifting of the monuments.

The subjects are often mythological. Winged *hippocampi*, or sea-monsters, sometimes with a figure on their back, to symbolize the passage of the soul to another state of existence (No. 12). Scylla, with fishes' tails instead of legs, amidst a shoal of merry dolphins (94); or twining her coils round the companions of Ulysses (95). Griffons, and other chimæras, or winged demons, guarding the urn which contains the ashes of the dead (98—101).

Here are many scenes from the Heroic Cycle of the Greeks. Not a few illustrations

"Of the dark sorrows of the Theban line."

Here Laius is dragged from his chariot, and slain by his son Œdipus, who strikes him down with the broken wheel (29). There Œdipus is blinded, not by his own hand, according to the Greek tradition,[8] but by three warriors, one of whom thrusts a dagger into his eye (3). Of the following events here are also illustrations. The Siege of Thebes (41). The mutual slaughter of Eteocles and Polyneices (No. 4, this urn being remarkable for its elaborate sculpture). The death of Œnomaus, thrown from his chariot, old Charun, "griesly grim," seizing one of the horses by the ear, and a Fury standing behind with sword upraised (39, 10). Theseus slaying the Minotaur (35). The parting of Admetus and Alcestis (5, 17, 34, 36—38). The Rape of Helen: the son of Priam sits by his ship, waiting for the fatal gift of Venus, who escapes to him by night, and unveils her charms as she approaches; a Fury waves a torch over the guilty pair (45). Philoctetes in a cave in Lemnos, with Ulysses and other Greeks around him (52). Telephus visiting the Grecian Camp before

[7] Athen. X. 56–58. [8] Æschylus, Sept. ad Theb. 783–4; Soph. Œdip. Tyr. 1270.

Troy, and threatening to slay the youthful Orestes (46—49). The burial of Antilochus, the beautiful, the brave son of Nestor (55). The death of Troilus, dragged from his horse by Achilles (51). Paris taking refuge at an altar, to escape from the fury of his brothers; Aphrodite steps in, and saves the victorious shepherd (42—44). The taking of Troy: the Greeks descending from the wooden horse, while the Trojans are revelling within; the gate is represented arched, and decorated with three heads, like the Porta all' Arco of Volterra (54). The death of Neoptolemus, slain by Orestes at the shrine of Delphi (62—65). Ulysses plying the Cyclops with wine (58, 59); or in his galley struggling to free himself from his self-imposed bonds, that he may yield to the allurements of "the Sirens three," who with flute, lyre, and Pandean pipes, sit on the cliffs of their fatal island (27, 56); or resisting the enchantments of "the fair-haired" Circe (57); or combating the suitors (61), who are also represented at their revels before his return (85, 86). The boar of Calydon at bay (32, 33).

Here "the King of men"—*lo gran Duca de' Greci*, as Dante terms him—is about to immolate his virgin-daughter (50):—

Onde pianse Ifigenia il suo bel volto,
E fe pianger di sè e i folli e i savi,
Ch' udir parlar di così fatto colto.

And there Clytæmnestra is slain at an altar, or on her guilty couch (6, 9, 60); the avengers of blood, in one instance, being *three*. On another urn Orestes and Pylades are sitting as victims, with their hands bound, at the altar in Tauris; the libation is poured on their heads, and the sacrificial sword is ready to be drawn by the priestesses of Artemis (83, 90). On a fourth urn the drama is advanced another step. Iphigeneia discovers it is her brother she is about to sacrifice, and she stands leaning on his head, with her hands clasped, in deep dejection, hesitating between love and duty. The second priestess has her weapon still raised to slay Pylades; and a third brings in a tray with libations and offerings. The daughter of Agamemnon is naked; but her fellows are attired in all respects like the Lasas and Furies, commonly represented in Etruscan funeral scenes. This monument is in a superior style to most of its neighbours (26). Orestes and Pylades assailed by the Furies (66, 67).

Many of these urns bear more appropriate subjects than scenes from the mythology of the Greeks. They represent the final parting of relatives and friends. The deceased is taking a last

farewell of some relative, when the minister of Death, mallet in hand, steps between them, and indicates a door hard by as the entrance to the unseen world (74, 81)—

> "the gates of grislie Hell,
> And horrid house of sad Proserpina."

In another case a similar demon rushes between the friends, seizes one, and thrusts them far apart (83); or a second demon extinguishes a torch. Here a husband is taking leave of his wife, ere he mounts the steed which is to convey him to the land whence no traveller returns (82)—or a like fond pair are pressing hands for the last time at a column, the funeral pine-cone on which marks the nature of their farewell (80). There, the winged messenger of Hades enters the chamber, and waves her torch over the head of the dying one—or two sons are performing the last sad rites to their father; one is piously closing his eyes, and the other stands by comforted by a good spirit, while the Genius of Death is also present, sword in hand, to indicate the triumph he has achieved (73).[9]

The subjects on some of these urns are not easy of explanation, illustrating, it may be, some Etruscan myth, of which no record has reached us. One in particular, here numbered 20, has defied all scholarship to unriddle it. A bear climbing out of a well, though held by a woman by collar and chain, is contending with some armed men, and a winged Lasa stands by holding a torch.[1]

One of the cinerary urns formerly in this collection, but whether still gracing it or not I cannot say, bears the figure of a panther—an uncommon device on urns. On the lid reclines a male figure, with a most expressive head; he is designated "ARNTH CAULE VIPINA," an inscription in which you may recognise the name of Cæles, or Cœlius, Vibenna, the Etruscan chieftain who, as some Roman traditions assert, assisted Romulus against the Sabines, and gave his name to the Cælian Hill, on which he made a settlement.[2] The bronze tablet, however, found at Lyons, on which is preserved a fragment of an oration by the Emperor Claudius, represents him, according to the

[9] There are many other urns with parting subjects, besides those specified above. But they speak for themselves.

[1] There are sundry versions of this myth; in some the monster has a human body with a bear's head; in others he is a man with a bear's skin over his head; in some he seizes a bystander, in others he has a libation poured upon him as a victim. In all he is issuing from a well, and is chained. See Conestabile, Monumenti di Perugia, tav. 48, 49. Other urns with unintelligible subjects are numbered 13, 19, 23, 24.

[2] Dion. Hal. II. 36; Festus *v.* Cœlius Mons.

Etruscan annals, to have been the chieftain and friend of Mastarna, who having shared the varied fortunes of his lord, brought the remnants of his army from Etruria to Rome, where he settled on the Cælian Mount, to which he gave the name of his chief, and eventually became king under the name of Servius Tullius.[3] This relation between these two noble Etruscans is confirmed by the paintings in the François tomb at Vulci, where Mastarna is represented liberating Cæles Vibenna from captivity. From what city of Etruria the latter illustrious warrior came to Rome, we know not, though it is probable that he was from the northern district of Etruria.[4] The individual whose ashes are inclosed in this urn may be presumed to have been of the same illustrious stock.

Eighth Room.—In the centre of this room stands the ARRINGATORE, or Orator, a fine semi-colossal statue in bronze, of a senator or Lucumo, clad in tunic and *pallium*, and high-laced buskins, and with one arm raised in the attitude of haranguing. On the border of the *pallium* is an Etruscan inscription, which in Roman letters would run thus :—

"AULESI. METELIS. VE. VESIAL. KLENSI.
KEN. PHLERES. TEKE. SANSL. TENINE.
TUTHINES. CHISVLIKS"—

showing this to be the statue of Aulus Metellus, son of Velius, by a lady of the family of Vesius. Notwithstanding this proof of its origin, the monument is of no early date, it has none of the rigidity of archaic art, and is probably of the period of Roman domination, before the native language had fallen into disuse.[5]

[3] Gruter, p. 502.

[4] Festus (*s. v.* Tuscum Vicum) who chops the name of Cæles Vibenna in half, and makes two brothers out of it, mentioned the city whence they came, but the word is imperfect—its termination in "*entes*" alone remaining. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 15) would read this "Volcientes," because Vulci was near Volsinii, to which city, from a comparison of Propert. IV., 2, 4, he would refer the hero. The Lucumo, whom Dionysius (II., 37) represents as coming to the assistance of Romulus "from Solonium, a city of the Etruscans," both Müller and Niebuhr (I. p. 297) identify with Cæles Vibenna; but as no such city is mentioned by any other writer, it is probable that the text is corrupt; though whether we should read "Vetulonium" as Cluver (II. pp. 454, 473) imagines, or "Volsinium," as Müller opines, or "Populonium," as Casaubon and others would have it, is not easy to determine. The name of Vibenna—Vipi, Vipina, Vipinanas—has been found on sepulchral inscriptions also at Toscanella, Volsinii, and Perugia, and the word "Vipinal" is found painted on a small cinerary pot in this Museum of Florence.

[5] Lanzi (Sagg. II. p. 547) regards this statue as votive, and gives the inscription in Etruscan characters (tav. III. 7). It is also given by Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. p. 64, tav. 44, 2), and by Conestabile, Mon. Perug. tav. 99, 2. The last-named writer considers this statue as one of the best productions of Etruscan torentic art of the

There is an ungainly and awkward air about the figure, which marks it as decidedly non-Hellenic. It was found in 1566, at a spot called Pila, near the shores of the Thrasymene. A back view of it is shown in the woodcut opposite, taken from a photograph.

The Amazon Sarcophagus.

But the glory of this room and of the Museum is a large sarcophagus of marble, covered with exquisite paintings—one of the most wonderful as well as beautiful monuments of ancient art ever rescued from the sepulchres of Etruria. It was found in 1869 by the advocate Giuseppe Bruschi, on the Montarozzi, about a mile from Corneto. The tomb had been opened before, and rifled of all its portable furniture, but the spoilers had left untouched the two sarcophagi it contained, of which this is by far the more beautiful. It is shown in the woodcut opposite, in front of the Arringatore.

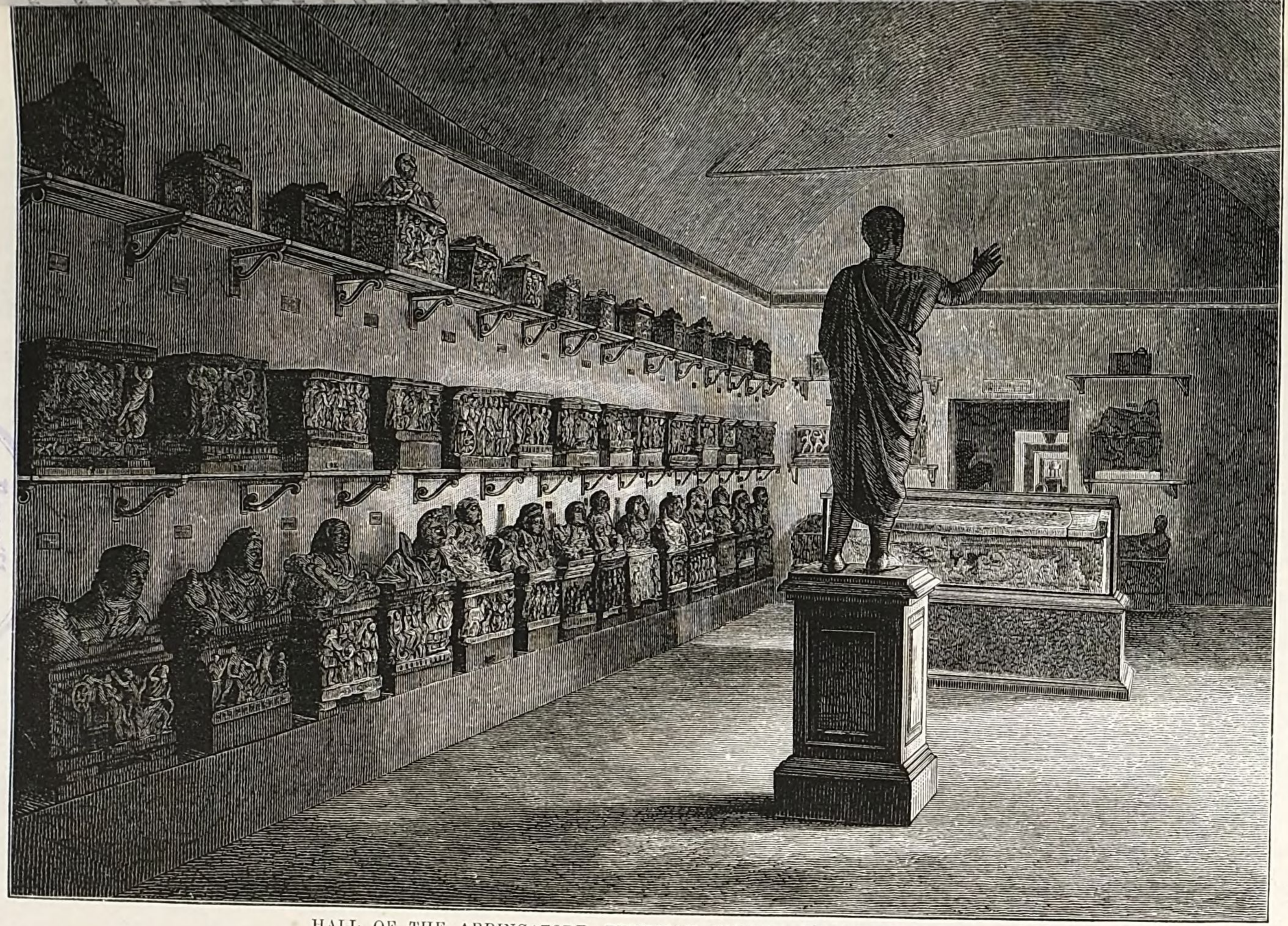
This monument is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and rather more than 2 wide. The paintings, which are on all four sides, represent combats of Greeks with Amazons. In one of the principal scenes the Amazons are fighting in chariots, in the other on horseback, and in both the end-scenes on foot. We will first describe the chariot-scene.

From each end of this scene a *quadriga* rushes in, drawn by magnificent white horses,

> "Four fiery steeds, impatient of the rein,"

a pair of Amazons in each car, contending with an equal number of warriors on foot. In the *quadriga* which is charging from the left, the *auriga*, or driver, is in front, in yellow tunic, red Phrygian cap, and long hair streaming in the wind as she holds the reins in her right hand, and a blue shield on her left arm to protect her comrade; who, bareheaded, in a white *chiton*, grasps the *antyx*, or front bar of the chariot, to steady herself as she hurls her lance at one of her foes, and brings him to the ground beneath her horses' feet. Both his thighs are pierced by her spear; he drops on one knee, yet gallantly cuts at the horses with his short sword. His comrade, a youthful Greek, rushes to the rescue, and endeavours to protect his fallen friend with his large round shield. Both these warriors wear white cuirasses, yellow Corinthian helmets with lofty white crests, greaves also

third period, or that in which this art reached its highest development; and he confidently ascribes it to the middle of the 5th century of Rome, or about 300 B.C., op. cit. V. pp. 444.



HALL OF THE ARRINGATORE, ETRUSCAN MUSEUM, FLORENCE. *From a Photograph.*

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

yellow, to represent brass; and their flesh is painted red to distinguish them from their foes of the fair sex. Both these Amazons, as well as the rest on this sarcophagus, wear earrings, necklaces, and bracelets—a tacit mode of expressing the fact that in no woman, whatever pretence of misanthropy she may make, is vanity completely extinct. The *quadriga* which comes in from the right is in every respect equal to its fellow. The horses charge in magnificent style. The fighting Amazon here is in front; her head bare, her hair dishevelled, eagerness in her eye, decision in her mouth, she leans forward to pull her bow, and with equal success, for she has brought one of her adversaries to the ground. Her *auriga*, dressed precisely like her fellow in the opposite chariot, stands behind, holding the *pelta*, or yellow Amazonian shield, on her left arm, her rod or whip and the reins in her right. The prostrate Greek in vain endeavours with the end of his broken spear and uplifted shield to protect himself from the horses' hoofs; but his companion, a bearded warrior, stands over him in a spirited attitude, and thrusts his lance into the neck of the nearest horse, which rears as the blood gushes from the wound.

On the other side of the sarcophagus the contest is continued, the Amazons being on horseback. Here the combat is divided into five groups; the most striking of which is in the centre. An Amazon, mounted on a magnificent white horse, the beau-ideal of a wild horsewoman, with bare head and long hair streaming in the wind, is defending herself against two Greeks on foot. She wears a white *chiton*, or chemise, red drawers, and yellow shoes. Her right arm is raised over her head as she cuts furiously at one of her adversaries with her sword. He is a bearded man, with a majestic countenance, calm, and dignified, and he parries her blows with his shield, while he aims at her horse with his lance. The heroine is assailed from the other side by a beardless warrior, who attacks her with his sword. The veteran Greek wears a highly ornamented cuirass over a red tunic; the younger a blue *chlamys*, but no breastplate.

On each side of this group is a combat between a Greek and an Amazon on foot, in both of which the Greek triumphs, striking his fair foe to the ground. In one of these groups her figure is almost obliterated; in the other the wounded Amazon rests on her hams, with her legs stretched out in front, yet still defends herself with her shield and broken spear. In vain; for her adversary seizes her by the hair, and

after wounding her in the bosom, gives her the *coup de grace* with his sword.

In both corners of this scene an Amazon on horseback contends with a Greek on foot. To the right the fair warrior, in red tunic, white drawers, yellow Phrygian cap, and red shoes, with a lion's skin over her shoulders, gallops up gallantly to attack the Greeks. Her horse is a superb white charger, carrying his head and tail in pure blood style, and is adorned with a necklace of gold, and *phaleræ*, or bosses of the same metal, attached to the bridle; and she sits him with all imaginable ease and grace, though without a saddle, and guides him, not with the reins which hang on his neck, but by her heel, thrown back to his flank. She carries a spear in each hand, and with one she is taking aim at her opponent, who, with lance poised, and shield upraised, stands awaiting her attack. He is accoutred in the same way as the Greeks already described, but has also a sword slung at his side.

The group in the left corner is very similar, varying only in the details.

The ground of these two scenes is coloured a pale purple or violet, and the surface of the stone seems to have been left purposely rather rough, the better to hold the colour.

At each end of the sarcophagus a Greek is engaged with two Amazons on foot. In one case he has overthrown one of his foes, who lies at his feet naked, save her Phrygian cap and red shoes. She has still a blue *pelta* on her left arm, and raises her right, though without a weapon, to deprecate the imminent thrust of his spear. A second Amazon in a white *chiton*, with yellow cap and dishevelled hair, rushes forward, with pink *pelta* and brandished spear, to protect her fallen comrade. This group is much injured, and in parts obliterated.

At the other end of the sarcophagus, a pair of Amazons are getting the better of their foe. He is a veteran warrior with a grand head in helmet and crest, but being wounded in the thigh, he drops on one knee, and defends himself vigorously with sword and shield. One of his fair opponents, holding a bow in her left hand, strikes at him with a battle-axe. The other attacks him from behind with a spear. Both wear Phrygian caps, red or yellow shoes, and long *chitones*, one white, the other red, reaching to the middle of the leg and girt about the waist. The red *chiton* is of the Doric form, open at the side, and its "wings" flying apart with her violent action, disclose the thigh of the wearer.

The ground of these two end-scenes is not purple, but a dark grey approaching to black.[6]

The lid of the sarcophagus is simply gabled, with a woman's head at each angle in relief, and a naked boy attacked by dogs in the small pediment at each end. On the lid is an Etruscan inscription of two lines, rudely marked in black paint. Another inscription, nearly similar, has been scratched on the painted scene below, defacing the heads and weapons of the combatants.[7] It will be remarked that the lid is of a different and coarser material than the sarcophagus, which is of marble resembling alabaster, and probably from the Circæan promontory,[8] and especially that the art displayed on the lid is much ruder and less advanced than that of the paintings. There can be little doubt that the sarcophagus is a work of Greek art; that the lid was fitted to it subsequently, and decorated and inscribed by an Etruscan hand; and that, later still, some other Etruscan, dead to all feeling for the beautiful, passed his ruthless hand over the exquisite paintings on the sarcophagus, leaving the second inscription to attest his barbarism. In short, this sarcophagus appears to bear the same relation to its lid that many of the beautiful bronze *ciste* bear to their figured handles—the latter betraying the coarseness, inelegance, and realism of ordinary Etruscan work; the former breathing the refinement and ideality of Hellenic art.

"The outlines of these paintings," says a competent critic, "are drawn with great energy and by a decided hand. The scale of colours is simple but harmonious. The darker shadows are scratched in. The half tints are suggested by means of very delicate simple tints rather than clearly expressed. Every movement reveals a perfect knowledge of the human body. This is particularly manifest in the extremities, which, in spite of their small size, are rendered with wonderful fidelity. The details are accurately expressed, yet not so as to predominate over the essential elements of the composition. The drawing of the horses is above all praise, and may even be pronounced superior

[6] The only illustrations of these paintings I have seen are those published by the Archæological Institute of Rome, Mon. Inst. IX. tav. LX.; but they give a very inadequate idea of the beauty of the originals. They fail even to impart the impression of the pure Greek art, which strikes the beholder at first sight.

[7] The inscription on the lid would run thus in Roman letters—"RAMTHA. HUVK. NAITHUIATI. NACNVA. LARTHIAL APAIATRUS VILETERAIAS." That on the sarcophagus appears to be intended for a correction—"RAMTHA. HUVKNAI. THUI. KESU. ATI. NACNA. LARTHIAL. APIATRUS VILETERAIS."

[8] Whether it be of marble resembling alabaster, or of alabaster resembling marble, is disputed. Otto Donner pronounces it to be of alabaster. Bull. Inst. 1869, p. 257.

to that of the human figures. In short, these paintings belong to a perfect development of the art, and show the artist to have been capable of expressing the most difficult conceptions." [9]

The subjects are Greek; the composition, the treatment, the design, the type of countenances, the costumes, the weapons, the general as well as the individual characteristics, all breathe the spirit of Greek art. Why then should we hesitate to pronounce these paintings the work of Greek hands? Certainly not because this *chef d'œuvre* was found in Etruria, where so many thousands of monuments of unquestionably Hellenic art have been, and are yearly being rescued from oblivion.[1]

The paintings on this sarcophagus are not in fresco or encaustic, but in distemper, the colours being laid on the marble itself, without any intermediate stratum. The glutinous vehicle, however, whatever it may have been, has lost its adhesive properties, so that the colour now comes off at the slightest touch.[2]

Bronzes.

Ninth Room.—A small chamber opening from Room VII. contains a further collection of bronzes.

In a central glass case is a splendid suit of Etruscan armour, found by Signor Golini in a tomb opened by him near Orvieto in

[9] Dr. Helbig, Bull. Inst. 1869, p. 198; see the article, pp. 193–201. I could not perceive that the shadows were scratched in. Helbig truly observes that the impression produced by these paintings is very like that made by the Attic *lekythi*, with figures painted with various colours on a white ground.

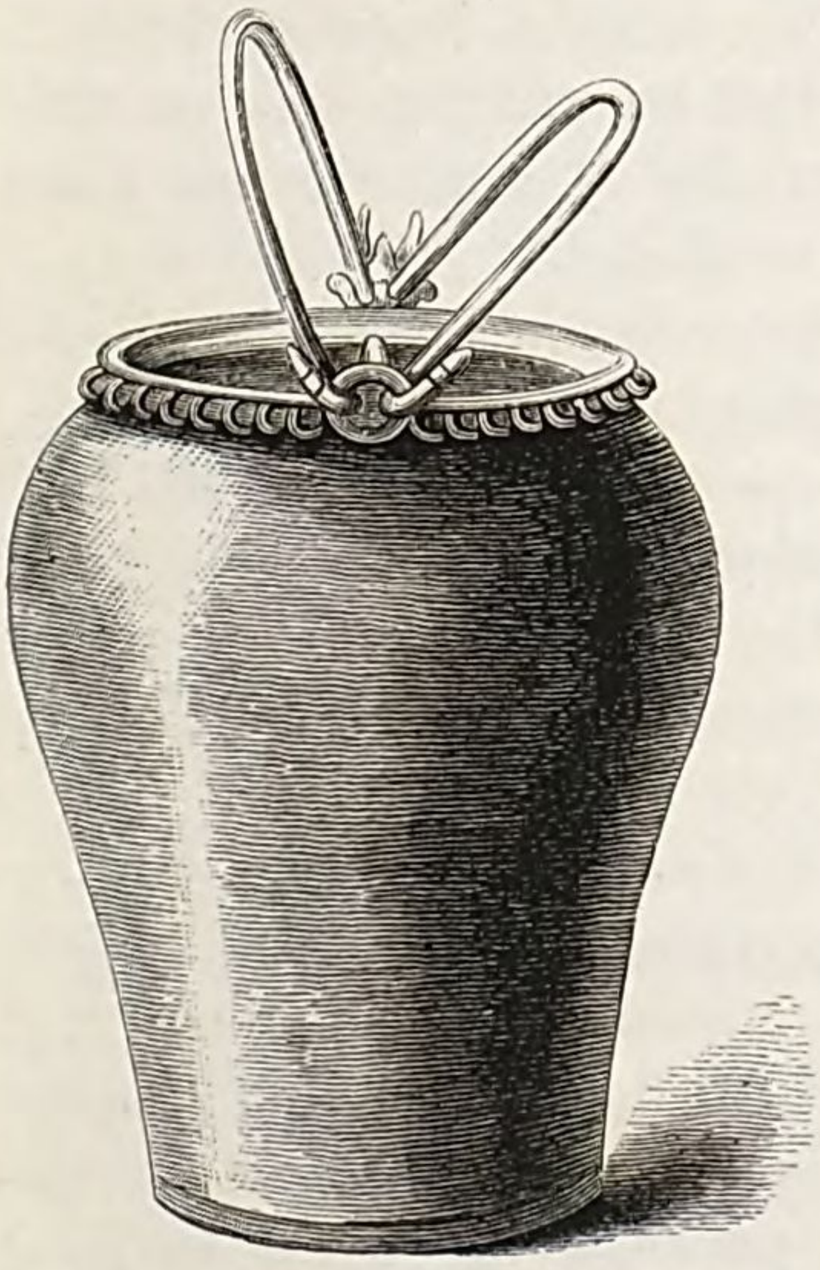
[1] Dr. Helbig points out the ideality that pervades the entire composition, in the general characteristics of the individual figures as well as in their physiognomy, an ideality which is departed from here and there a little in the heads of the warriors, showing that the artist had wished to individualise them, but that only the head of the young warrior who has fallen wounded beneath the horses of the *quadriga* to the right betrays, and in a small degree, the influence of Italic realism. He gives his opinion that no monument yet discovered in Etruria reveals the character of pure Greek art so clearly as this, and that if it had not been found on Etruscan soil, and had not been of a material undoubtedly Italic, no one would hesitate to declare it a work of Greek art (op. cit. p. 199). Doctors differ, however, in matters of art, as well as of science, for Dr. Kluegmann (Ann. Inst. 1873, pp. 239–251) confidently pronounces these paintings not to be by a Greek hand, but by an Etruscan artist following the rules of Greek art merely as a basis for his own style; and, in support of his view, he points out the unwarlike dresses of the Amazons, the strange nakedness of two of them who are vanquished, and the absence in the male warriors of that ideality which always reigns in monuments of the full and free development of Greek art, and the want of which reduces these warriors from heroes to simple *hoplitæ*, such as are frequently represented on Etruscan monuments. He points out the affinity between these paintings, and those representing the Rape of the Leucippides, on a wooden sarcophagus found at Kertch.

[2] Otto Donner, who has carefully examined this monument, takes the vehicle to have been white of egg, with or without the milky juice of figs. Bull. Inst. 1869, p. 203.

1863. It consists of an Etruscan *cassis* or casque (represented in the annexed woodcut) with a button on the crown, and with broad cheek-pieces (*paragnathides*) adorned with three large bosses in relief, the whole of fine workmanship, and with a perfect *patina;* a cuirass in two parts, front and back-piece, hinged at the shoulder, and beautifully modelled, reproducing in bronze the parts of the body it was designed to protect; with a pair of greaves modelled in the same manner to the leg, to which they seem to have clung with a spring; a large *aspis*, or circular shield, without boss, but with its rim decorated with a double *guilloche* pattern, and retaining, when first discovered, its lining of wood.



ETRUSCAN HELMET OF BRONZE.



SITULA OF BRONZE.



ŒNOCHOË OF BRONZE.

Both greaves and cuirass show manifest traces of gilding. In the same case are two *situlæ*, and an *œnochoë* of bronze from the same site, represented in the woodcuts.

In another case by the window is a bronze *situla*, only six inches high, but decorated with reliefs representing Hephaistos brought back to Olympus by Dionysos and Ariadne, attended by Satyrs and Mænads. The art is Etruscan, modified by Hellenic influence. The word "SUTHINA," in Etruscan letters, inscribed on the body of the donkey on which Ariadne is reclining, seems to mark this pot as a votive offering.[3] It retains traces of gilding. It was discovered in a tomb near Bolsena in 1871. Another bronze pot shaped like a tankard, also bears the inscription "SUTHINA."

In the case by the window, is a *situla* of silver, and of much earlier date, with very archaic figures scratched on it in a band. The women bearing boxes are purely Egyptian in character. Among the military bronzes you may notice a Greek helmet with nose and cheek pieces, the latter hinged, very unlike the Etruscan casque described above; spear-heads, battle-axes, bits, spurs, the boss of a chariot wheel, and little instruments for laming cavalry —small balls with four legs or points, three of which always rest on the ground, while the fourth points upwards.

Of bronzes for civil or religious purposes, there are flesh-hooks, surgical instruments, knives, some sacrificial, others of a crescent shape supposed to be razors, *fibulæ*, strigils, buckles, buttons, keys, hinges, springs, mirror-cases with beautiful reliefs on their lids, and the thousand and one articles of domestic use which composed the furniture of Etruscan tombs.

In one case by the window are some elegant bronze handles to vases which have perished; one bearing an Etruscan inscription— "THANIAS . CEINEAL . SUTHINA,"—another, formed of the body of a youth, bending back, and grasping the long curls which depend from his head; a third, of the body of a bearded man in a similar position, but with one hand over his head, as if asleep, the other holding a vase. There are also some lions' feet to bronze couches, adorned with groups of archaic figures. Of iron there are sundry weapons and implements, domestic and agricultural. But it is in ivory that this museum is particularly rich. There are some interesting plaques with figures in relief; among them a pretty fragment of Europa on the bull, and another with a group of two sleeping children, perhaps the royal twins of Rome, approached by a she-wolf and her cubs—from a tomb at

[3] This word is often inscribed on bronzes found at Volsinii, see Chap. XXXV. p. 529. Gamurrini thinks it must signify "sepulchral," and therefore sacred and not for common use. Bull. Inst. 1875, p. 87.

Chiusi. Here are also some beautiful handles of ivory, bearing reliefs, probably the handles to bronze mirrors; on one is carved a warrior, carrying his helmet by a ring at the crown; on another, an Etruscan marine deity, with wings and fish-tails.

In this same room is an article in bronze, which years ago used to be inquired after by English travellers, as the "compass," by which the Etruscans steered to Carnsore Point, in the county of Wexford. The first party who asked for this instrument met with a prompt reply from Professor Migliarini, then Director of Antiquities in Tuscany. He ordered one of his officers to take the *signori* to the Room of the Bronzes, and to point out the Etruscan compass. "Compass!" the man stared and hesitated, but on the repetition of the command led the way, persuaded of his own ignorance, and anxious to discover the article with which he was not acquainted. The search was fruitless—no compass could be discerned, and the English returned to the Professor, complaining of the man's stupidity. The learned Director, indicating the case and shelf where it was to be found, ordered him to return with the party. A second search proved no more successful; and the officer was obliged to confess his ignorance. Whereon the Professor went with the party to the room, and taking down a certain article, exhibited it as the compass. "*Diamine!*" cried the man, "I always took that for a lamp, an eight-branched lamp." "Know then in future," said Migliarini with great gravity, "that this has been discovered by a learned Irishman to be an 'Etrusco-Phœnician nautical compass,' used by the Etruscans to steer by on their voyages to Ireland, which was a colony of theirs, and this inscription, written in pure Etruscan or Irish, which is the same thing, certifies the fact—'In the night on a voyage out or home in sailing happily always in clear weather is known the course of going.'"[4]

Terracottas.

Tenth Room.—In this passage, ranged along the walls, are

[4] Sir William Betham, when he found this mare's nest (Etruria Celtica, II. p. 268), had evidently made acquaintance with the relic only through illustrations, which all present but one view of it. Had he personally inspected it, he must have confessed it a lamp, with the holes for the wicks, and reservoir for the oil. The inscription runs in a circle round the bottom, and in Roman letters would be — Mi. Suthil. Velthuri. Thura. Turke. Au. Velthuri. Phnisual. In the centre is a Medusa's head, with wings on the temples, as on the lamps in the Tomb of the Volumni at Perugia. This monument has been illustrated by several of the early writers on Etruscan antiquities. Dempster, de Etruriâ Regali, I. tab. 8; Gori, Museum Etruscum, I. p. xxx.; Lanzi, Saggio, II. tav. 14, 3.

little ash-chests of baked clay—miniatures of those in stone, bearing pretty figures reclining on their lids, not often as at a banquet, but generally sketched in slumber, muffled in togas. The toga, be it remembered, was originally an Etruscan robe, borrowed by the Romans, and was used in Juvenal's time as a shroud alone throughout a great part of Italy—

> Pars magna Italiæ est, si verum admittimus, in quâ
> Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus.[5]

Its sepulchral use is exemplified in these recumbent figures. There is little variety in the reliefs on these urns, which seem to have been multiplied abundantly from the same moulds. The subjects are generally marine monsters, the mutual slaughter of the Theban brothers, or Cadmus striking down with his plough the warriors sprung from the dragon's teeth he had sown at Thebes. These little urns were all painted, both the figure on the lid, and the relief below, and some retain traces, more or less vivid, of this colouring. In this passage are two of the tall red sepulchral vases of Cære or Veii, with archaic reliefs, and some cinerary urns of stone in the form of houses or temples, with the tile-work of the roof, carved in detail. Here is also a fragment of an archaic relief from Chiusi, representing a race of *trigæ*, or three-horse chariots.

In the Palazzo Buonarroti at Florence, is a slab of sandstone with the figure of an Etruscan warrior in relief. He is almost naked, having a cloth only about his loins; his hair hangs loosely down his back; he holds a spear in one hand and a lotus-flower, with a little bird on the stalk, in the other. The clumsiness, the Egyptian rigidity of this figure, mark it as of remote antiquity; indeed it is generally regarded as the earliest known work of the Etruscan chisel in stone. It bears an inscription in Etruscan characters. This curious relief was discovered ages since at Fiesole.[6]

In the possession of the Marchese Strozzi of Florence is a *specchio*, which has been pronounced to be "perhaps the most

[5] Juv. Sat. III. 171.

[6] Buonarroti, Michael Angelo's nephew (p. 95, Explic. ad Dempst. II.), could not tell the date of its discovery; he only knew he had received it from his ancestors. The relief is about 3 ft. 9 in. high. The Etruscan inscription would run thus in Roman letters—LARTHIA NISES. This monument is illustrated by Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. ii., tab. 18, 1; and by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 80, tav. 51. Conestabile (Mon. Perug. III. p. 212) regards it as not much later than the days of Demaratus.

beautiful and elegant mirror that ever issued from the tombs of Etruria." It was found near Sorano, in a sepulchre which is supposed to have belonged to the necropolis of Sovana. The figures are not incised on the bronze as usual, but are in low, flat relief, and so elaborately and delicately carved, as, though belonging to the best period of art, to mark a point on the verge of the decadence. At the first glance they seem to represent the Judgment of Paris, but you presently perceive that although there is the usual number of figures, Juno is absent from the scene. The Phrygian shepherd is there, sitting, half-draped, on a rock, and by his side stands, with her arm round his neck, in a caressing attitude, the "lively-glancing" goddess, Aphrodite. She wears pendants in her ears, necklace, and armlets, but her only robe has fallen to her knees, leaving her charms exposed. Opposite Paris stands Pallas, armed and draped, leaning on her spear; and behind her is a naked figure of female form and features, and with female ornaments, holding a wand or sceptre, which, to complete the subject, should be Hera, but it is not, for it is stooping to feed a swan; and, yet, more strange, it is no goddess at all, but a male, or rather an androgynous figure. The interpretation of the scene is far from evident, and there are no inscriptions attached to clear up the mystery. Gamurrini takes the hermaphrodite for the Genius of Voluptuousness, and the entire scene to represent the selection by Paris of sensual pleasure in preference to virtue or warlike renown, as typified by the grey-eyed goddess. In short in this scene Paris is supposed to be represented as the moral antithesis of Hercules.[7] This mirror was for some time exhibited in the Etruscan Museum at Florence, but is now in the Palazzo Strozzi, in the Via Faenza.

Monte Falterona.

Relics of Etruscan art are not always found in sepulchres—the celebrated lamp of Cortona, and the numerous *scarabei* of Chiusi, are evidences to the contrary. But the most abundant collection of non-sepulchral relics that Etruria has produced was discovered in the summer of 1838—not in the neighbourhood of a city or necropolis—not even in any of the rich plains or valleys which anciently teemed with population, but, strange to say! near the summit of one of the Apennines, one of the loftiest mountains in Tuscany, which rises to the height of 5,400 feet,

[7] Bull. Inst. 1875, pp. 82—84.

and from which, Ariosto tells us, both seas are visible. This is Monte Falterona, about twenty-five or thirty miles east of Florence, the mountain in which the Arno takes its rise, as Dante describes it—

Un fiumicel che nasce in Falterona.

On the same level with the source of this celebrated river is a lake, or tarn, called Ciliegeto, on whose banks a shepherdess, sauntering in dreamy mood, chanced to cast her eye on something sticking in the soil. It proved to be a little figure in bronze. She carried it home; and taking it in her simplicity for the image of some holy man of God, set it up in her hut to aid her private devotions. The parish-priest, paying a pastoral visit, observed this mannikin, and inquired what it was. "A saint," replied the girl; but incredulous of its sanctity, or not considering it a fit object for a maiden's adoration, he carried it away with him. The fact got wind in the neighbouring town of Stia del Casentino, and some of the inhabitants resolved to make researches on the spot. A single day sufficed to bring to light a quantity of such images and other articles in bronze, to the number of three hundred and thirty-five, lying confusedly on the shores of the lake, just beneath the surface. They then proceeded to drain the lake, and discovered in its bed a prodigious quantity of trunks of fir and beech trees, heaped confusedly on one another, with their roots often uppermost as if they had been overthrown by some mighty convulsion of nature; and on them lay many other similar figures in bronze; so that the total number of articles in this metal here discovered amounted to between six and seven hundred. They were mostly human figures of both sexes, many of them representing gods and Penates, varying in size from two or three to seventeen inches in height. But how came they here? was the question which puzzled every one to answer. At first it was thought they had been cast into the lake for preservation during some political convulsion, or hostile invasion, and afterwards forgotten. But further examination showed they were mostly of a votive character—offerings at some shrine, for favours expected or received. Most of them had their arms extended as if in the act of presenting gifts; others were clearly representations of beings suffering from disease, especially one who had a wound in his chest, and a frame wasted by consumption or atrophy; and there were, moreover, a number of decided *ex-votos*—heads and limbs of various

portions of the human body, and many images of domestic animals, also of a votive character. All this implied the existence of a shrine on this mountain, surrounded, as the trees seemed to indicate, by a sacred grove, like that of Feronia on Soracte, and of Silvanus at Cære;[8] and it seemed that, by one of those terrible convulsions to which this land has from age to age been subject, the shrine and grove had been hurled down into this cavity of the mountain. It is well known that such catastrophes have in past ages occurred on Monte Falterona. For it is composed of stratified sandstone (*macigno*), and argillaceous schist (*bisciajo*), which latter, being very friable, has given way under the pressure of the superincumbent mass, and caused tremendous landslips, by which extensive forests have been precipitated down the slopes.[9] No traces, however, of a shrine, or of any habitation, were discovered with the relics in this lake.

There were some articles of very different character mixed with these figures, the existence of which on such a site was still more difficult to explain. Such were fragments of knives and swords, and the heads of darts, all of iron, in great numbers, not less, it is said, than two thousand, much injured by rust; besides great chains, and *fibulæ*, and shapeless pieces of bronze from two ounces to two pounds in weight, recognised by antiquaries as the primitive money of Italy—the *æs rude*, which preceded the coined metal, or *æs signatum*, and was valued by its weight—together with fragments of the better known coinage. Broken pottery, too, of the coarsest description, was mingled with the other articles, and also found scattered at some distance from the lake.

The weapons have been accounted for in various ways—as the relics of some battle fought on the spot, which, be it remembered was border-ground for ages;[1] or as the offering of some military

[8] That of Silvanus was girt about with fir-trees. Virg. Æn. VIII. 599.

[9] Repetti (II. p. 91) records three of these landslips: the first on 15th May, 1335, when a spur of the mountain slid down more than four miles, burying a town with all its inhabitants, and rendering the waters of the Arno turbid for more than two months; the second on 18th May, 1641; the latest on 15th May, 1827, when the Arno was again reddened for several weeks with the mud. From the quantity of water that came down with the first of these landslips, it is highly probable that the same causes were in operation here that brought about the fall of the Rossberg in Switzerland, where the clayey *strata*, lying beneath the heavier conglomerate, were converted into mud by the percolation of water, and ceased to be able to support the superincumbent weight. The season of the year in which each of these Italian landslips occurred, just after the fall of the early rains, and the melting of the winter snow, confirms this view.

[1] Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 70—Migliarini.

legion ;[2] or as indicating that the shrine here was sacred to the god of war.[3]

A solution of the mysteries of this lake has been offered by the late Dr. Emil Braun, the learned secretary of the Archæological Institute of Rome ; and it is so novel and ingenious that I must give it to the reader.

He commences by observing that the trees found in the lake had been completely deprived of vitality, the water having absorbed all the resinous parts which they possessed when green. He considers that the convulsion or dislocation of the mountain, which hurled them into this spot, must have occurred long prior to the period when the bronzes and other articles were here deposited, otherwise the latter would have been buried beneath the former, and not regularly set around the lake. He thinks that the lake was formed at the time that the landslip occurred, and that its waters acquired a medicinal quality from the trees it contained, the parts which gave them that virtue being identical with those from which modern chemistry extracts creosote. Now, the diseases which are shown in the *ex-votos*, are just such, he observes, as are remediable by that medicine. The styptic water of Pinelli, so celebrated for stopping the hemorrhage of recent wounds, has a base of creosote ; and hither, it seems, flocked crowds of wounded warriors, who left their weapons in acknowledgment of their cure. The virtues of the same medicine, in curbing the attacks of phthisis are now recognised by medical men of every school ; and by patients labouring under this disorder the lake seems to have been especially frequented. Creosote also is a specific against numerous diseases to which the fair sex are subject, and such seem, from the figures, to have resorted in crowds to these waters. To free this theory from the charge of caprice or fantasy, the learned doctor cites the case of a similar lake in China, which is known to have imbibed marvellous medicinal qualities from the trunks of trees casually immersed in its waters.[4]

[2] Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 66—Inghirami.

[3] Bull. Inst. 1842, p. 180—Braun.

[4] Bull. Inst. 1842, pp. 179—184. The opinion that the bronzes were deposited as votive offerings around the lake, is borne out by a similar fact mentioned by ancient writers. The sacred lake and grove of Venus Aphacitis, in Cœlo-Syria, between Biblos and Heliopolis, stood near the summit of Mount Lebanon, and in its waters votaries were wont to deposit their gifts, which were not only of bronze, gold, and silver, but also of linen and *bissus* ; and a yearly festival was long held there, which was ultimately suppressed by Constantine. See Bull. Inst. 1845, p. 96, and the authorities there cited.

I leave it to medical readers to determine the correctness of this theory; to me it seems that *se non è vero, è ben trovato*.

I must add a word on the bronzes. Most are very rude, like the offerings of peasants, but a few are in the best Etruscan style. One antiquary considers them to show every stage of art, from its infancy to its perfection under Greek influence, and again to its decline.[5] Another perceives no traces of Roman, much less of Imperial times, but refers them all to a purely native origin.[6] Certain it is that some show the perfection of Etruscan art. Such is the figure of a warrior, with helmet, cuirass, and shield, generally called Mars,[7] which may rival that of the said deity in the Florence gallery,—a Hercules, with the lion's skin over his shoulders—the "saint," I believe, of the *pastorella*, though "not in saintly garb,"[8]—a Diana, said to resemble the celebrated archaic statue of marble found at Pompeii,—and a woman's leg and arm of great beauty.[9] These, with a few more of the choicest produce of the lake, are now to be seen in the British Museum, in the "Room of the Bronzes."

A still more recent discovery has been made on one of the Apennines, between Monte Falterona and Romagna, where many coins were found, principally *asses*, but among them a very rare *quincussis*, like that in the Bacci collection at Arezzo, which till now has been unique.[1]

Eighteen miles on the road from Florence to Arezzo is the little town of Figline, which had never been suspected of possessing Etruscan antiquities in its neighbourhood, till in 1843 a sepulchre was discovered on a hill hardly a mile beyond it. The roof had fallen in, but it was evident that the tomb had been formed of masonry, the hill being of too soft an earth to admit of sepulchres being excavated; the pavement was of *opus incertum* —a very singular feature, which I have never seen, or heard of as existing elsewhere in an Etruscan tomb.[2] But a still more

[5] Migliarini, Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 69.

[6] Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 89.

[7] Idem. tav. 12.

[8] Idem. tav. 15.

[9] For notices of this curious lake and its contents, see Bull. Inst. 1838, pp. 65—68 (Inghirami); 1838, pp. 69—70 (Migliarini; 1842, pp. 179—184 (Braun); Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 12—16 pp. 86—102; Braun's review of the same, Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 354.

[1] Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 89.

[2] It may be that the so-called *opus incertum* of the pavement was only a collection of small stones put down at random, for no mention is made of cement, which forms the basis of the Roman masonry known by that name. Pavement of any description is almost unknown in Etruscan tombs. But pavements of small pebbles have been found in the so-called tomb of Agamemnon, just opened by Dr. Schliemann, at Mycenæ. I have discovered very similar pavements in certain Greek tombs which I have opened in the Cyrenaica.

remarkable thing was that around one of the urns, which had a recumbent female figure on the lid, was scattered an immense quantity of gold leaf in minute fragments, twisted and crumpled, which seemed to have been thrown over the figure in a sheet or veil, and to have been torn to pieces by the fall of the roof, which had destroyed most of the urns. It was of the purest gold, beaten out very thin; and the fragments collected weighed about half a pound.[3]

Other Etruscan relics have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Florence in past times. Buonarroti—the painter's nephew—states, that, in 1689, at a spot called St. Andrea a Morgiano, in the heights above Antella, a village a few miles to the south-east of Florence, he saw an Etruscan inscription cut in large letters in the rock.[4] At Antella has also been found a *stele*, or monumental stone, with bas-reliefs, in two compartments—one representing a pair of figures on the banqueting-couch, and a slave standing by; the other, a pair sitting opposite, with a table between them. It is of very archaic character, and the Egyptian rigidity of the figures and cast of the countenances is very marked. It is now in the possession of Signor Peruzzi of Florence.[5]

At San Martino alla Palma, five or six miles from Florence, a little to the left of the road to Leghorn, some monuments of Etruscan art have been found—a female statue of marble, headless, with a dove in her hand, and an inscription on her robes;[6] and a singular, circular, altar-like *cippus*, four feet high, with figures in high relief—a warrior, preceded by two lictors, and followed by two citizens, one of whom is embracing him. It has an Etruscan inscription above.[7]

[3] For a description of this tomb see Migliarini, Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 35–37.

[4] Buonar. p. 95, Explicat. ad Dempst. tom. II. Passeri (p. 65, ap. Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. tab. XV.), however, represents it as merely a huge stone cut from the rock, 15 Roman feet long, by 6 high, with letters 6 inches in height. The inscription translated into Roman letters would be

TULAR . MP . A . VIS . VL .
AU . CURCLI.

[5] Inghirami gives illustrations of this singular *stele* (Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. C. D. E.) This is an instance of the fallacy of the mode of determining the antiquity of monuments from the presence or absence of the beard. Inghirami pronounces that this cannot be earlier than the fifth century of the City, because the males here are beardless; and barbers are said by Pliny (VII. 59) to have been introduced into Rome in the year 454; whereas the style of art, a much safer criterion, shows this monument to be of much earlier date, and of undoubted Etruscan antiquity. See Vol. I. p. 381.

[6] Buonarroti (pp. 13, 29, tab. XLIII.) took this figure for Venus, or the nymph Begoë, of whom mention has already been made—Vol. I. p. 478.

[7] Buonar. p. 29, tab. XLVI. The lictors had no axes in their *fasces*. Both these monuments were formerly in the possession of the Della Stufa family. Where they are now I do not know.

At San Casciano, eight or ten miles on the road to Siena, Etruscan inscriptions and bronzes have been found in ages past ; [8] and about the ruins of a castle, called Pogna, or Castro Pogna, on a height two miles to the west of Tavarnelle, on the same road, numerous Etruscan urns have been found, three or four centuries since. They are said to have been of marble and of elegant character, and to have had peculiarities of form and style. The castle was destroyed in 1185. The site must have been originally Etruscan. [9]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XL.

NOTE I.—THE FRANÇOIS VASE. See p. 81.

THIS monument is of such splendour and interest, that it demands a detailed description. Like the painted pottery of Etruria in general, it represents subjects from the mythological cycle of the Greeks, and all its inscriptions are in the Greek character.

To begin with the neck of the vase, which has two bands of figures :— The upper contains, on one side, the Hunt of the boar of Calydon. All the heroes, and even the dogs, have their appellations attached. The most prominent are PELEUS, MELEAGROS, ATALATE, MELANION, AKASTOS, ASMETOS, SIMON, and the great Twin-brethren KASTOR and POLUDEUKES (Pollux). At each end of this scene is a sphinx. On the other side is a subject which is explained as the Return of Theseus from the slaughter of the Minotaur, and the rejoicings consequent on his triumph. A galley full of men wearing *petasi*, and in attitudes of exultation, is approaching the land ; PHAIDIMOS jumps ashore ; another casts himself into the sea, in his eagerness to reach the beach, on which a band of thirteen youths and maidens—all named *seriatim*, and holding hands—are dancing in honour of the hero THESEUS, who plays the lyre, with ARIANE (Ariadne) at his side.

The second band has, on one side, the Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ, all with names attached. Here again THESEUS takes part in the combat, in which the Greeks fight fully armed, but the Centaurs with stones and boughs of trees. On the other side, are the Funeral Games in honour of Patroclus, represented by a race of five *quadrigæ*, driven by OLUTEUS, AUTOMEDON, DIOMEDES, DAMASIPOS, and HIPO . . ON ; while ACHILEUS himself stands at the goal with a tripod for the victor, and other tripods and vases are seen beneath the chariots.

The third and principal band represents the Marriage of PELEUS and THETIS. The goddess is sitting in a Doric temple. Before the portico, at an altar, designated BOM . ., on which rests a *kantharus*, stands her mortal spouse, his hand held by the Centaur CHIRON, who is accompanied by IRIS, with

[8] Buonar. p. 96.

[9] Buonar. pp. 33, *et seq.* Repetti (IV. p. 498) says that the ruins of the castle are now called Le Masse del Poggio di Marcialla.

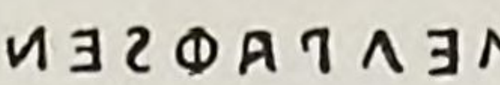
her *caduceus;* the Nymphs HESTIA and CHARIKLO, and another of indistinct name; DIONYSOS bearing an *amphora* on his shoulders; and the three HORAI. Next comes a long procession of deities in *quadrigæ*—ZEUS and HERA in the first, attended by ORANIA and KALIOPE. Who follow in the next two chariots, is not clear—the name of ANPHITRITE is alone legible; but both are attended by the other Muses. ARES and APHRODITE occupy the fourth car; HERMES and his mother MAIA, the sixth; and the name of OCHEANOS is alone left to mark the occupants of the seventh. HEPHAISTOS mounted on his donkey terminates the procession.

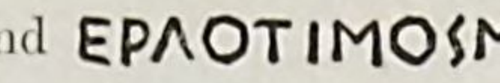
On the fourth band, Achilles is displaying his proverbial swiftness of foot, by pursuing a youth who is galloping with a pair of horses towards the gates of Troy. The same subject has been found on other vases; but this is the first to make known the youth as TROÏLOS. The son of Peleus is followed by ATHENA, HERMES, by his mother THETIS, and RHODIA—all near a fountain, with its Greek designation—κρήνη—where Troilus seems to have been surprised. Under his steeds' feet lies a water-jar, called ὑδρία, which has been cast away in terror by a nymph who is near him. The walls of Troy, to which he hastens, are painted white, and are of regular Greek masonry. The gate is not arched, but has a flat lintel. From it issue HEKTOR and POLITES, armed for the rescue of their brother. Outside the gate, on a seat or throne marked Θάκος, sits the venerable PRIAMOS, talking with ANTENOR, draped like himself in *chiton* and *chlamys*. At the fountain stands APOLON, and a Trojan (TROON) is filling a jar, the water flowing from spouts like panthers' heads.

On the other side of the fountain, is the Return of HEPHAISTOS to Heaven. ZEUS and HERA occupy a throne at one end of the scene, and behind them are ATHENA, ARES, and ARTEMIS; while before them stand DIONISOS and HAPHRODITE, as if to plead for the offending son of Jove, who follows on an ass, attended by SILENOI and the Nymphs (NIPHAI).

The fifth band contains the common subject of beasts and chimæras of various descriptions engaged in combat, or devouring their prey—griffons, sphinxes, lions, panthers, boars, bulls, &c.

The sixth band is on the foot of the vase, and represents the Pigmies, mounted on goats for chargers, and armed with slings and clubs, encountering their foes, the Cranes. Neither of these last two bands has inscriptions. The potter's and painter's names are on the principal band. The vase speaks for itself, and says,


"Clitias drew me,"

and 
"Ergotimos made me."

The inscriptions run, some from right to left, but most from left to right, generally according to the direction of the figures to which they are attached.

On one handle of the *amphora*, is a winged Diana grasping two lions by the neck, and on the other a similar figure holding a panther and a stag.[1]

[1] The winged Artemis on the Chest of Cypselus held in this way a lion in one hand, and a panther in the other. Pausan. V. 19. Such figures seem to have their type in the Babylonian cylinders, where they are often represented, throttling lions or swans.

And beneath these groups is AIAS (Ajax) bearing the dead body of AKILEUS. Within each handle is a Fury, with open mouth, gnashing teeth, wings spread, and in the act of running—the same figure that occurs so often on Etruscan vases and bro-zes. An illustration of it has been given in the eyed *kylix* from Vulci, at page 462 of Vol. I. ; and a further specimen is presented in the goblet at page 198 of this volume.

NOTE II.—THE AMAZON SARCOPHAGUS. See p. 96.

The battle of the Greeks with the Amazons was a favourite subject with ancient artists, and representations of this combat are among the most exquisite works of the Hellenic chisel that have come down to us. They adorned the frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Bassæ, and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and with what wonderful spirit the subject was treated on those monuments, the reliefs in the British Museum remain to attest. It was sculptured by Phidias on the shield of the great chryselephantine statue of Pallas in the Parthenon. and on the pedestal of the Olympian Jove at Athens (Paus. I. 17, 2 ; Plin. xxxvi, 4, 4). It was also a favourite subject for the pencil among the Greeks, but of such productions no examples beyond the designs on painted vases have hitherto been known to us. This sarcophagus, then, is unique in showing us how the subject was treated in colours. We know that the Poikile at Athens was adorned with pictures of this combat by Mikon, the contemporary and fellow-labourer of Polygnotus (Paus. I. 15, 2 ; Plin. xxxv. 35) ; and that he repeated the subject on one of the walls of the Temple of Theseus (Paus. I. 17, 2); and it must have been to one or both of those paintings that Aristophanes alludes, when he makes the Chorus in Lysistrata (677—9) exclaim, "A woman is an excellent rider, and has a good seat, and would not fall off when her horse gallops. Look at the Amazons, whom Mikon painted mounted on horses fighting with the men!" Mikon, be it remembered, was renowned for the skill with which he depicted horses (Paus. I. 18, 1). It is by no means improbable that in the scenes on this sarcophagus we see copies, entire or in part, of those celebrated Athenian paintings. One feature in these scenes is worthy of notice. The heroines are not represented combating from chariots in the reliefs either from Phigaleia or Halicarnassus ; nor, so far as we know, in any other production of Hellenic sculpture or painting which portrayed this celebrated myth, unless it be on figured vases. In this respect the sarcophagus in this Museum is unique. Of vases, the only instance I can recollect in which *quadrigæ* are introduced into the combat of Greeks with Amazons, is that of the grand *krater* from Ruvo in the Museum of Naples. Mon. Inst. II. tav. 30.



THE WALLS OF FÆSULÆ.

CHAPTER XLI.

FIESOLE.—*FÆSULÆ.*

Chi Fiesol hedificò conobbe el loco
Come gia per gli cieli ben composto.—FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

Vires autem veteres earum urbium hodieque magnitudo ostentat mœnium.
VELL. PATERCULUS.

THE first acquaintance the traveller in Italy makes with Etruscan antiquities—the first time, it may be, that he is reminded of such a race—is generally at Fiesole. The close vicinity to Florence, and the report that some remains are to be seen there, far older than Roman days, attract the visitor to the spot. He there beholds walls of great massiveness, and a few other remains, but forms a very imperfect conception of the race that constructed them. He learns, it is true, from the skill displayed in these monuments, that the Etruscans could not have been a barbarous people; but the extent and character of their civilization are to him still a mystery. It is not at Fiesole that this early people is to be comprehended.

Who, that has visited Florence, does not know Fiesole—the Hampstead or Highgate of the Tuscan capital—the Sunday resort of Florentine Cockneyism? Who does not know that it forms one of the most picturesque objects in the scenery around that

most elegant of cities, crowning a height, three miles to the north, with its vine-shaded villas and cypress-girt convents, and rearing its tall cathedral-tower between the two crests of the mount? Who has not lingered awhile on his way at Dante's mill, and, in spite of the exclusiveness of English proprietorship, who has not in imagination overleaped the walls of the Villa hallowed by "The Hundred Tales of Love," and beheld

> "Boccaccio's Garden and its faery,
> The love, the joyaunce, and the gallantry?"

Though a description of Fiesole is to be found in every guide-book that treats of Florence, yet, as an Etruscan city, it demands some notice from me.

As the visitor ascends the hill by the new carriage-road, he will perceive, just before reaching the town, a portion of the ancient wall climbing the steep on the right. This is a very inferior specimen, in point of massiveness and preservation, to what he may see on the opposite side of the city. Let him then cross the Piazza, where he should secure the services of Michele Bongini as *cicerone*, and take the path behind the apse of the cathedral, which will lead him to the northern brow of the hill. Here he finds a superb remnant of the ancient fortifications, stretching away to his right, and rising in twelve or fourteen courses to the height of twenty or thirty feet. The masonry is widely different from that of ancient sites in southern Etruria. The hard rock of which the hill is composed, correctly termed *macigno* by Dante, not admitting of being worked so easily as the tufo and other soft volcanic formations of the southern plains, has been cut into blocks of various sizes, as they chanced to be split out from the quarry, but generally squared, and laid in horizontal courses. Strict regularity, however, was by no means observed. The courses vary in depth from about one foot to two or three, the average being above two; and in length also the blocks differ greatly, some being as much as seven, eight, nine feet, and the longest twelve feet and a half, while others are square. The joints are often oblique, instead of vertical, and in some parts there is a wedge-course, as in the walls of Populonia, Perugia, and Todi, but without any apparent object. It is evident, however, that the aim of the builder was regular masonry, but he was fettered by his materials. In many parts where the angles of the blocks did not fit close, a portion was cut away, and a small stone fitted in with great nicety, as in the most finished polygonal

walling. Though the edges of the blocks have in general suffered from the weather, the joints are sometimes extremely neat, and it is apparent that such was originally the character of the whole. No cement or cramping was used; the masses, as usual in these early structures, held together by their own weight.[1]

This masonry is by no means so massive as that on other Etruscan sites of the same character—Volterra, Rusellæ, Cortona, for instance; yet, from its finish, its excellent preservation, and the height of the walls, picturesquely draped with ivy, and overshadowed by oaks and cypresses, it is very imposing.

The lower entrance to the lane, by which the visitor descends from the Piazza, marks the site of an ancient gate; and in the road below it, mixed with modern repairs, are remains of the old pavement—not of polygonal blocks, as used by the Romans, but of large rectangular flags, furrowed transversely on account of the steepness of the road. This is a style often adopted by the Greeks.[2] Its dissimilarity to Roman pavement, its relation to the gate in the Etruscan walls hard by, and the large size of the blocks or flags, rendering removal a work of great difficulty, induce me to consider it of Etruscan antiquity, though this is the only site in Etruria where I have observed it.

In this portion of the wall open two passages, whose narrow dimensions prove them to have been nothing but sewers, to drain the area of the city; as was usual on Etruscan sites. In the volcanic district such sewers are cut through the tufo cliffs on which the walls rest; but here, as in other cities of Northern Etruria, there being no cliffs, and the fortifications rising from the slope and forming a *revêtement* to the higher level of the city, they are made in the wall itself. So also at Volterra. Of the

[1] At the angles of the blocks holes may often be observed, which have evidently been made subsequently; most probably, like those in the Coliseum, in the search for the metal cramps, which were supposed to hold the masses together. For such reckless, destructive barbarism is always ignorant and indiscriminating. A striking proof of this is seen in the temple of Jupiter Panhellenius in Ægina, where, even in the monolithic columns, the barbarians have made holes for the same purpose, at the height where they had been accustomed to find the joints of the *frusta;* thus unwittingly paying the highest compliment to the exquisite workmanship of the Greeks. For this fact I am indebted to Mr. Edward Falkener.

[2] This ribbed pavement, or *cordonata*, is frequently met with in the Cyclopean cities of Italy. It is found at Pozzuoli, on the ascent to the Street of Tombs. I have observed it also in the ancient roads of Syracuse, where the rock itself is so furrowed, and on the ascent to the Acropolis of Athens. The pavement at Cyrene, extolled by Pindar (Pyth. V. 121, *et seq.*), is of the same description. Mr. Edward Falkener tells me that he has remarked similar pavement at Eleusa or Sebaste in Cilicia, at Labranda in Caria, and at Termessus in Pamphylia.

same character may be the apertures in the walls of the so-called Pelasgic towns of Latium—Norba, Segni, and Alatri; but these of Fæsulæ are much inferior in size.[3] The smaller of them has a *doccia*, or sill, serving as a spout to carry the fluid clear of the wall. The other runs in very far in a straight line, but being too small to admit a man, it has never been fathomed. But the most singular feature of this sewer is, that on the wall beneath it is scratched a figure, the usual symbol among the ancients of reproductive power. It is here so slightly marked, as easily to escape the eye;[4] it may possibly have been done by some wanton hand in more recent times, but analogy is in favour of its antiquity. That such representations were placed by the ancients on the walls of their cities, there is no lack of proof. They are found on several of the early cities of Italy and Greece, on masonry polygonal as well as regular.[5]

The reason of this symbol being placed in such positions is not easy to determine. Inghirami thought it might be to intimate the strength of the city, or else to show defiance of a foe, in accordance with the ancient gesture of contempt and defiance, still in use among the southern nations of Europe;[6] it may also have had the same meaning in this as in other cases, where it was used as a *fascinum* or charm against the effects of the evil eye.[7]

[3] The openings in the walls of these three Latin towns are large enough for a man to enter, and may have been posterns. It may be questioned if they were conduits or sewers, though that at Norba is of the usual size of Etruscan sewers—about seven feet high, and three wide.

[4] Its existence was unknown to the *cicerone*, until I pointed it out to him in June, 1876.

[5] The best known of these sites is Alatri, where the symbol tripled, and in relief, is sculptured on the lintel of the above-mentioned sewer, postern, or passage, which opens in the polygonal walls of the citadel. It is also found tripled on the polygonal walls at Grottatorre, near Correse in Sabina. On the ancient wall in the Terra di Cesi, three miles from Terni, the same symbol in relief occurs in a similar position at the angle of the wall, which is here of rectangular blocks (Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 7, tav. 13); and on the ancient fortifications of Todi, on the Umbrian bank of the Tiber, of similar masonry, it is found in prominent relief, near the church of S. Fortunato. Ask for "*il pezzo di marmo.*" It is also to be seen on a block at an angle of the walls of Oea, in the island of Thera, in the Ægæan Sea, with the inscription τοῖς φίλοις annexed, which has been considered a mere euphemism to assist the *fascinum* in averting the effects of the evil eye. The same *turpicula res*, as Varro (L. L. VII. 97) calls it, has been found on the doors of tombs at Palazzolo, the ancient Acre in Sicily, at Castel d'Asso in Etruria, and even in the Catacombs of Naples. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 65; 1841, p. 19.

[6] This appears the most probable meaning. It is confirmed by what Herodotus tells us of Sesostris, who, in his victorious march through Asia, to express his contempt for those people who had offered little or no resistance to his arms, set up *stelæ* in their lands, and carved thereon the converse of this symbol. II. 102.

[7] The occurrence of this symbol on the walls of Pelasgic cities may be explained by the worship that ancient people paid to the phallic Hermes. It was they who in-

Following the line of walls some hundred yards to the east—you formerly came to an arch standing ten or twelve feet in advance of them. It was a structure of different character, and apparently of later date; for the masonry was much less massive than in the city walls. It seemed to have formed part of an open gateway, or projecting tower, for there were traces of a second arch which joined this at right angles, uniting it to the wall. It



Sketched by E. W. Cooke, R.A.

ANCIENT GATEWAY, OUTSIDE THE WALLS OF FÆSULÆ.

was probably a Roman addition. This picturesque monument was thrown down in 1848 by the Fiesolani themselves, and the piers on which the arch rested alone remain to mark its site. The woodcut shows it as it was more than thirty years ago.

Beyond this you can trace the walls in fragments, mixed with the small work of modern repairs, running in a straight line for

troduced it into Athens, and the rest of Greece, and also into Samothrace (Herod. II. 51, confirmed by the coins of Lemnos and Imbros, says Müller, Etrusk. einl. 2, 3); and probably also, with the mysterious rites of the Cabiri, into Etruria and other parts of Italy. Yet the worship of this symbol was by no means confined to the classic nations of antiquity. It seems to have prevailed also among the nations of the far East; and recent researches lead us to conclude that it held even among the early people of the New World. Stephens' Yucatan, I. pp. 181, 434. Not to dwell on this subject, I may remark that as the ancients were wont to place these *satyrica signa* in their gardens and houses, to avert the effects of the envious eye (Plin. XIX. 19, 1), so they may well have been placed on the walls of a city to protect its inhabitants. The philosophical idea which they symbolise will also account for their use as sepulchral emblems; some remarkable instances of which are to be seen at Chiusi, Perugia, and Orvieto.

some distance along the brow of the hill, till in the Borgo Unto, a suburb on the south-east of the ancient city, you find them turn at right angles and tend south-westward. On your way up the hill from the Borgo Unto to S. Polinari, you cross some basaltic pavement, and just beyond it, in a portion of the wall where very massive blocks are laid on very shallow ones, you may observe the site of a gate now blocked up, but indicated by the pavement leading up to it. Beyond this is a long line of the ancient masonry, more irregular and less massive, tending westward, and terminating at some quarries; then after a wide gap you meet the wall again, and trace it down the steep to the modern road where you first descried it.[8] Westward of this there are said to be some fragments below the height of San Francesco, but I never could find them, though I have traced them up the same hill on the northern side. Few will think themselves repaid for their fatigue in following out the entire line of walls, over the broken ground, and through the vineyards and olive-groves on the slopes. Unless the visitor wish to verify for himself the extent and outline of the city, he may rest content with seeing that part of the wall first described, which is by far the finest and best preserved portion of the whole.

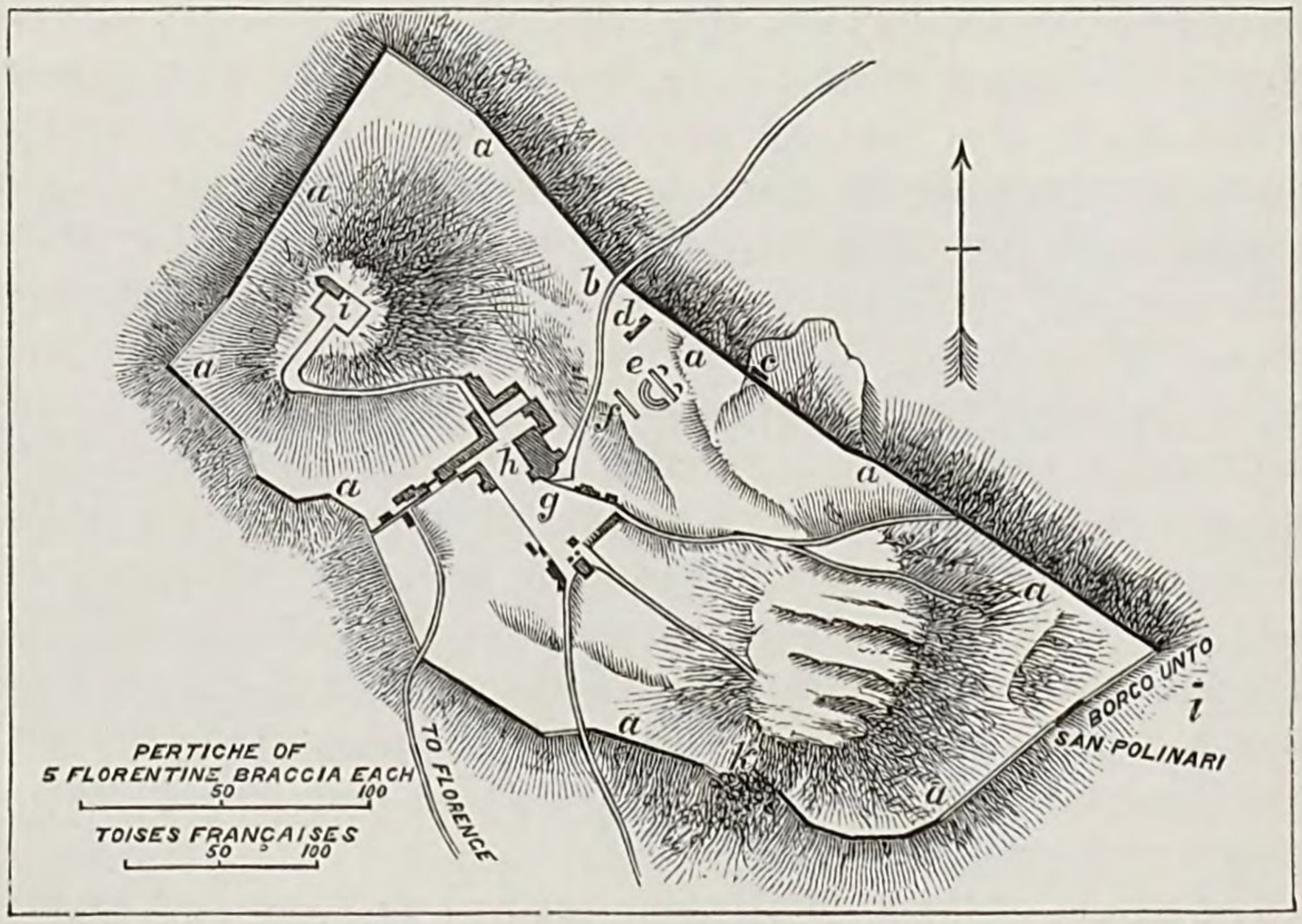
The extent of the walls in their original state was not great—less than two miles in circuit.[9] Fæsulæ was, therefore, much inferior in size to certain other Etruscan cities—Veii, Volaterræ, Agylla, Tarquinii, for instance. The highest crest of the hill to the north-west, where the Franciscan convent now stands, was originally the Arx; for here have been found, at various times, traces of a triple concentric wall, engirdling the height, all within

[8] On this side of the city there are said to be traces of a gate, which, from one of the lintels still standing, must have been of Egyptian form, narrowing upwards, like the doorways of the Etruscan tombs. Ann. Instit. 1835, p. 14.

[9] So says Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. II. p. 209), who classes it with Rusellæ, Populonia and Cosa; but the plans of the said cities which he attaches to his work, give widely different measurements, Fæsulæ being much superior in size to the last two, though smaller than the first. In fact his plan represents it as about 8800 feet in circumference, or just $1\frac{2}{3}$ English mile. Niebuhr (I. p. 121, Eng. trans.) was therefore misinformed when he said that the walls, theatre, and other ruins of Fæsulæ display a greatness not inferior to that of any other Etruscan city. He inclines on this account to rank it among the Twelve. And so also Müller, and the earlier writers on the antiquities of Italy. But on this score, there are other minor towns of Etruria which might compete with it for that honour. Fæsulæ was probably dependent on Volaterræ or Arretium.

Müller (I. 3, 3) cites Fæsulæ as an instance of the quadrangular form, which was usually given to Etruscan cities, and thence copied in the original city of Romulus—*Roma quadrata*—a custom based on religious usages. Dion. Hal. I. p. 75. Plutarch, Romul. 10. Festus, *v.* Quadrata. Solinus, Polyh. cap. II. Cf. Varro, Ling. Lat. V. 143. Müller, III. 6, 7.

the outer line of the ancient fortifications.[1] Nothing of the triple wall is now to be seen. In the Church of S. Alessandro, on the same height, are some columns of *cipollino*, which probably belonged to a Roman temple on this spot.[2]



From Micali.

PLAN OF FIESOLE.

a Line of the Etruscan Walls.
b Etruscan Gateway.
c Ancient Archway outside the walls.
d Steps of an ancient building.
e Roman Theatre.
f Wall, commonly called the "Etruscan Palace."
g Piazza.
h Cathedral.
i San Francesco, on the site of the Acropolis.
k Quarries.
l Fonte Sotterra.

Though little of antiquity is to be seen on this height, the visitor should not fail to ascend it for the sake of its all-glorious view. No scene in Italy is better known, or has been more often described, than that "from the top of Fesole." Poets, painters,

[1] Inghirami, Guida di Fiesole, p. 38. This inner line of wall is not of frequent occurrence in Etruscan towns; more common, however, in the northern than southern district. The same may be said of double heights, or *arces*, within the city-walls, of which Fæsulæ presents a specimen.

[2] On this height was discovered in 1814 the only instance known of the *favissæ* attached to temples; but after a few months they were reclosed, and are no longer to be seen. Inghir. op. cit. p. 40. Müller (Etrusk. IV. 2. 5) who cites Del Rosso (Giorn. Arcad. III. p. 113) describes them as "round chambers lined with masonry and contracting upwards"—*i.e.*, like the *tholi* of the Greeks, the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, and the lower prison of the Tullianum at Rome.

philosophers, historians, and tourists, have all kindled with its inspiration. And in truth,

> "Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
> A sight so touching in its majesty."

Description, then, is here needless. Yet I may remark, that with all its vastness and diversity, the scene has a simple character. All the luxuriant pomp of the Arno-vale, and the grandeur of the inclosing mountains, are but the frame-work, the setting-off of the picture, which is FLORENCE, fair Florence—

> "The brightest star of star-bright Italy!"

hence beheld in all her brilliancy and beauty.

Within the walls of Fiesole, there are few remains of antiquity. The principal is the Theatre, discovered and excavated in 1809 by a Prussian noble, Baron Schellersheim. It lies in a vineyard below the cathedral, to the east. To visit it, you must get tickets at a chemist's shop in the piazza, at half a franc each person.

As you descend the steps, a wall is pointed out to the left, below the surface, some sixty yards in length, composed of rusticated but irregular masonry, not unlike the city-walls, though of much smaller blocks. It has received the name of the "Etruscan Palace," but to the *ciceroni* on these sites no more credit should be given than to the "drab-coloured men of Pennsylvania."

The Theatre had six gates or entrances in the outer circuit of wall, with twenty tiers of seats, and five flights of steps; the seats are of massive blocks, quarried, like those of the city-walls, from the hill itself, and the steps divide them into six *cunei* or wedges. The arena is very clearly marked out, so also is the *proscenium*, with the trench in front sunk to hold the *siparium*, or curtain. On the slope are five parallel vaults of *opus incertum* and stone brick-work, called by the Fiesolani, Le Buche delle Fate, or "Dens of the Fairies;" but verily the fairies of Italy must be a gloomy race, whom

> ——— juvat ire sub umbrâ
> Desertosque videre locos,

if they take up with such haunts as these; no way akin to the frolicsome sprites, "the moonshine revellers" of merry England. Such dark, dank, dripping, dismal "dens" as these would freeze the heart of a Mab or a Titania.

This Theatre was long thought to be of Etruscan origin; but more extensive research into what may be called the comparative anatomy of antiquities, has determined it to be Roman.[3] The same may be said of the "Palace" adjoining.

In the Borgo Unto is a curious fountain, called "Fonte Sotterra." You enter a Gothic archway, and descend a vaulted passage by a long flight of steps to a cave cut in the rock. At a still lower level, you reach a long shapeless gallery, ending in a little reservoir, also hollowed in the rock. The water is extremely pure, and formerly supplied the whole neighbourhood, but the Fonte was closed in 1872.

Inghirami regards this fountain as an Etruscan work; but I could perceive no proof of such an origin.[4]

Only ten or twelve paces from this Fonte, a remarkable cistern or reservoir was discovered in 1832. Its walls, except on one side where a flight of steps led down into it, were built up with masonry, in large rectangular, rusticated blocks. It was roofed in by the convergence of several horizontal layers of thin blocks, and the imposition of larger slabs in the centre, on the same principle as the celebrated Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri.[5] It was remarkable, that though undoubtedly a reservoir or fountain—for it was discovered by tracing an ancient water-channel which led from it—there were no traces of cement in the masonry. This fact, and the very ancient style of its vaulting, indicate an Etruscan origin; which is confirmed by the discovery of sundry

[3] The plan of the theatre is Roman. Niebuhr, however, has thrown the weight of his great name into the opposite scale, and has said, "That this theatre was built before the time of Sylla is indubitable; its size and magnificence are far beyond the scale of a Roman military colony; and how could such a colony have wished for anything but an amphitheatre?" (I. p. 135, Eng. trans.) It may be remarked that Fæsulæ must have fallen under Roman domination with the rest of Etruria two centuries before Sylla's time; and that other towns of Etruria which received military colonies, such as Veii, Falerii, and Luna, had theatres, as we learn from local remains or from inscriptions, even where, as in the first two cases, we can find no vestiges or record of amphitheatres. Niebuhr elsewhere (III. p. 311) asserts that "the theatre of Fæsulæ is in the grandest Etruscan style." Müller also thinks it was "probably of old Etruscan construction" (II. p. 241). Inferior men, it may be, but better antiquaries, have decided, however, to the contrary. Indeed those great men lose much of their authority when they treat of matters within the province rather of the practical antiquary than of the historian. Their want of personal acquaintance with localities and monuments, or of opportunities for extensive comparison of styles of construction and of art, leads them at times into misstatements of facts, or to erroneous conclusions, which, under more favourable circumstances, they would never have uttered, or with the candour of great minds, they would have been most ready to renounce.

[4] Guida di Fiesole, p. 56.

[5] A similar vaulting has been found in an Etruscan crypt at Castellina del Chianti. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 9.

amphoræ of that character, and fragments of water-pots buried in the mud which covered the bottom. This reservoir was, unfortunately, reclosed the year after it was opened.[6] It seems to me highly probable that this was the original fountain on the spot, and that when it no longer answered its purpose, either by falling out of repair, or by ceasing to supply the wants of the population, it was covered up as it was found, and the Fonte Sotterra dug in its stead. The much greater depth of the latter favours this opinion.

No tombs remain visible on this site, though a few have been opened by Signor François.[7] The hardness of the rock of which the hill is composed forbade the excavating of sepulchres in the slopes around the town; the only sort of tomb which would have been formed on such a site is that built up with masonry and piled over with earth, like the Tanella di Pitagora at Cortona, or the Grotta Sergardi at Camuscia. If such there were they are no longer visible. Nothing like a tumulus could I perceive around Fiesole. Yet there are spots in the neighbourhood which one experienced in such matters would have little hesitation in pronouncing to be the site of the ancient cemetery. Relics of ancient Fæsulæ have at various times been brought to light, within or around the walls of the city. One of the most striking is the bas-relief of a warrior in the Palazzo Buonarroti, Florence, mentioned in the last chapter, whose Etruscan inscription and archaic character testify to the high antiquity of Fæsulæ.

In 1829, a singular discovery was made here of more than one thousand coins of Roman consuls and families.[8]

[6] Full particulars of it have been given by Inghirami and Pasqui, in the Annals of the Institute, 1835, pp. 8—18; whence the above account is taken.

[7] Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. I. p. 14) speaks of cinerary urns found at Fiesole, but without human figures recumbent on the lids as usual.

[8] An account of them was published by Zannoni in 1830. See also Bull. Inst. 1829, p. 211; 1830, p. 205. There were 70 lbs. weight of silver *denarii*—Inghirami says 100 lbs.—all coined prior to the defeat of Catiline, 63 years B.C. Guida di Fiesole, p. 17.

Etruscan coins ascribed to Fæsulæ have been found at Cære and Vulci, though not on the spot. They are of silver, having on the obverse a winged Gorgon, in a long tunic, with her tongue lolling out, holding a serpent in each hand, and in the act of running,—on the reverse, something, which may be part of a wheel, and the inscription "PHESU," in Etruscan characters. The Duc de Luynes ascribes these coins to Fæsulæ—written Φαισοῦλαι by the Greeks. But Cavedoni, of Modena, considers the inscription to have reference not to the place of coinage, but to the Fury or Fate on the obverse, and explains it as Αἶσα, or Fate, here written with a digamma prefixed. Bull. Inst. 1842, p. 156. Αἶσοι, we are told by Hesychius, were "gods among the Etruscans;" and "Æsar," we know to be the Etruscan word for "god." Dio. Cass. LVI. 29; Sueton. Aug. 97. It has been suggested that Æsar may be but the Greek word adopted, and with an

Fæsulæ, though known to have been an Etruscan city, from its extant remains and the monuments at various times found on the spot, is not mentioned as such in history. This must have been owing to its remoteness from Rome, which preserved it from immediate contact with that power, probably till the final subjugation of Etruria, when it is most likely that Fæsulæ, with the few other towns in the northern district, finding the great cities of the Confederation had yielded to the conqueror, was induced to submit without a struggle.[9]

The first record we find of it is in the year 529, when the Gauls, making a descent on the Roman territory, passed near Fæsulæ, and defeated the Romans who went out against them.[1] A few years after this, when Annibal, after his victory on the Trebia, entered Etruria, it was by the unusual route of Fæsulæ.[2] The city also is represented by one of the poets as taking part in this Second Punic War, and as being renowned for its skill in augury.[3] No farther record is found of it till the Social War, about 90 B.C., when Fæsulæ is mentioned among the cities which suffered most severely from the terrible vengeance of Rome, being laid waste with fire and sword.[4] And again, but a few years later, it had to endure the vengeance of Sylla, when to punish the city for having espoused the side of his rival, he sent to it a military colony, and divided its territory among his officers.[5]

Etruscan termination. But why refer to Hellenic sources for Etruscan etymologies—a system which has proved so unsuccessful and unsatisfactory? It is more probable that the Etruscan form, with which we are not acquainted, was a compound with the initial "Vel," so often occurring in Etruscan proper names. The gold coin, with the Etruscan legend "Velsu," which Sestini assigned to Felsina (Bologna), but Müller referred to Volsinii (see p. 522)—may it not be proper to Fæsulæ? Millingen, however, considered it of a barbarous people, or a counterfeit. Num. Anc. Ital. p. 171.

[9] The name is found in Florus (I. 11), but it is manifest from the context that Fæsulæ is not the true reading. A city so remote from Rome, and of Etruscan origin, could not have been referred to among the neighbouring Latin cities, which in the early days of the Republic struck terror into the Romans. The true reading must either be Fidenæ, which, though Etruscan, was on the left bank of the Tiber, or more probably Æsula, a town near Tibur.

[1] Polyb. II. 25.

[2] Polyb. III. 82; cf. Liv. XXII. 3.

[3] Sil. Ital. VIII. 478—

Affuit et sacris interpres fulminis alis,
Fæsula.

A goddess named Ancharia was worshipped here, says Tertullian (Apolog. 24; ad Nationes, II. 8), which has been confirmed by inscriptions. Gori, Inscr. II. p. 77, cf. p. 88. This fact establishes the correct reading to be "Fæsulanorum Ancharia," and not "Æsculanorum," as some copies have it. The Etruscan family-name of "Ancari," not unfrequently met with at Chiusi and Perugia, and also found at Montalcino, has doubtless a relation to the name of this goddess. See Müller, I. p. 421.

[4] Flor. III. 18.

[5] Cicero, in Catil. II. 9; III. 6; pro Murenâ, 24.

Still later it was made the head-quarters of Catiline's conspirators, and actively espoused his cause.[6] We learn from a statement of Pliny, that it must have retained the right of Roman citizenship in the reign of Augustus.[7] It was besieged and taken by the troops of Belisarius, A.D. 539. At what period it gave birth to Florence, which, rather than the paltry village on the hill, must be regarded as the representative of the ancient Fæsulæ, is a matter of dispute; some thinking it as early as the time of Sylla, and that his colonists removed from the steep and inconvenient height to the fertile plain;[8] others considering it to have been at a later date. It is certain, however, that Florence existed as a colony under the Romans. The principal emigration from Fæsulæ to Florence seems to have taken place in the middle ages.

One of the attractions of Fiesole was, till of late years, La Badia, a quaint old abbey at the foot of the hill, long the residence of the Cavalier Francesco Inghirami, the patriarch of Etruscan antiquaries, whose profound learning and untiring research had won him an European renown. When I had the honour of making his acquaintance he was suffering from that illness from which he never recovered; yet his mind was active as ever; even then his pen was not idle, or he relaxed it only to exchange it for the pencil. He was not only the author; he was also the printer, the publisher, and even the illustrator of his own works, for he drew with his own hand the numerous plates of the voluminous works he has given to the world; and to insure correctness he had recourse to a most tedious process, which doubled his labour; yet it gave his illustrations the merit of accuracy, which in the works of some other Italian antiquaries is wanting, where most essential. Inghirami it was who, with Micali, was instrumental in bringing the almost obsolete subject of Etruscan antiquities before the world. They took the dusty topic from the shelf, where since the days of Dempster, Gori, Passeri, and Lanzi it had lain; held it up to public view, till it became popular in Italy and in other lands, and was taken into favour by princes and nobles. Inghirami died at a good old age. Micali was cut off just before him; and our own countryman, Millingen, together with Vermiglioli, a pair not inferior in usefulness or merited reputation,

[6] Sallust. Bell. Cat. 24, 27, 30, 43. Appian. Bell. Civ. II. 3. Cicero, pro Murenâ, 24.

[7] Plin. VII. 11. Pliny (III. 8) and Ptolemy (Geog. p. 72) mention Fæsulæ among the inland colonies of Etruria.

[8] Inghirami, Guida di Fiesole, p. 24.

followed soon after. Then after a brief interval another indefatigable labourer in this field was taken, Emil Braun, to whose memory I would pay a heartfelt tribute of respect; and again, most recently, in this summer of 1877, we have had to deplore the loss of the Count Giancarlo Conestabile, a most able disciple of Vermiglioli, who devoted his life and energies to the investigation of the Etruscan language. The departed have found worthy successors—Brunn, Helbig, Klügmann, for Germany; Gozzadini, Gamurrini, and Brizio, for Italy. "The world," says the proverb, "is like a pair of slippers—one man shuffles them off, another puts them on"—

Il mondo è fatto a scarpette—
Chi se lo cava, chi se lo mette.



KYLIX, WITH A FURY AND TWO SATYRS.

CHAPTER XLII.

SIENA.—*SENA.*

Noi ci traemo ala città di Siena
La quale è posta in parte forte e sana ;
De ligiadria e bei costumi plena,
Di vaghe donne, e huomini cortesi,
E l' aer dolce, lucida, e serena.

FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

SIENA can urge no pretensions to be considered an Etruscan city, that are founded either on historical records, or on extant remains. By ancient writers she is spoken of only as a Roman colony, and as there is no mention of her before the time of Cæsar, and as she is styled Sena Julia by the Theodosian Table, the probability is that a colony was first established here by Julius Cæsar, or by the second Triumvirate.[1] Nor is there a trace of Etruscan antiquity visible on the site, though there are a few shapeless caves in the cliffs around.

Siena, therefore, would not have been mentioned among Etruscan sites, but that it is situated in a district which, at various periods, has yielded treasures of that antiquity; and from its position in the heart of Tuscany, and on the railroad from Florence to Rome, it may be made a convenient central point for the exploration of this region.[2] It has three hotels—the Grand Hôtel excellent, the Armi d'Inghilterra and the Aquila Nera comfortable—all-important in a city so full of mediæval interest, whose glorious Cathedral alone might tempt the traveller to a lengthened

[1] Sena is mentioned as a colony by Pliny (III. 8) ; Tacitus (Hist. IV. 45) ; and Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.). Dempster (II. p. 342) ascribes its origin to the Senonian Gauls, but without any authority, though not confounding this city, as others have done, with Sena Gallica, now Sinigaglia on the Adriatic, which derived its name from that people—*Senonum de nomine Sena*—Sil. Ital. VIII. 455 ; XV. 552 ; Polyb. II. 19 ; cf. Appian. Bell. Civ. I. 88. Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 33) thinks Sena was probably of Etruscan origin, and a dependency of Volaterræ ; but I see no solid ground for this opinion.

[2] Siena is 40 miles from Florence, 16 from Poggibonsi, 36 from Volterra, 39 from Arezzo, 39 from Massa Marittima, and 48 from Grosseto.

stay, and whose inhabitants, in spite of Dante's vituperations, are all the stranger could wish to make his sojourn agreeable.

There are several collections of Etruscan antiquities at Siena, chiefly of cinerary urns from Chiusi and other ancient sites in this district. They are to be seen in the Casa Borghesi, and Casa Sansedoni; also at the Villa Poggio Pini, belonging to the Contessa de' Vecchi; and at the Villa Serraglio, where the proprietor, Signor Carlo Taja, has fitted up a grotto with them in imitation of an Etruscan tomb. Signori Pazzini and Stasi are the local dealers in antiquities.

The most singular collection of antique *roba* to be seen at Siena, which, though not Etruscan, dates doubtless from Etruscan days, is in the possession of the Marchese Chigi. About seven miles to the south-east of the city, between Leonina and Mucigliano, is a farm, called Le Casaccie, belonging to that nobleman. In the spring of 1872 a servant girl watching the sheep on a hill slope happened, "for want of thought," to turn up the soil at her side, when she perceived at the depth of only two inches a shining object which she disinterred, and which proved to be a massive bracelet of gold, composed of thick wires twisted together like a torque. Continuing her search she brought to light another bracelet of smaller size and simpler workmanship. She carried them both to the farmer her master, who sold the large one, which weighed 1850 *grammi*, to a goldsmith at Siena, and the smaller one, weighing 170 *grammi*, he broke up and sold piecemeal; the large one also eventually finding its way to the crucible. The discovery was well nigh forgotten, when in April 1875, another girl found by chance on the same spot a necklace of solid gold weighing 331 *grammi*. The attention of the Marchese Chigi being now directed to the discovery, he at once made excavations on the spot, which brought to light a portion of another necklace of smaller size and not solid, ten gold coins, of about 8 *grammi* each, fused and with no device, fragments of clay pots of rude manufacture, part of an arrow-head of obsidian, and some bones, among them a portion of a human skull. All these objects were found just beneath the surface, and within the space of five square mètres. Dr. Wolfgang Helbig, who saw them soon after their discovery, recognised all the articles of metal and pottery as undoubtedly Gaulish. He thinks the gold ornaments had been deposited here probably at some depth, but that in the course of ages, by the action of water on the hill side, they had been brought to the surface. He infers that the Gauls must have made some

stay in this neighbourhood, or, at least have passed through it, but he does not attempt to determine on which of their many predatory excursions south of the Apennines the deposit or entombment, whichever it were, had been made.[3]

At various spots in the neighbourhood of Siena, Etruscan antiquities have at different periods been brought to light.

Five miles to the east, near the ruined Castle of Montaperti, ever memorable for the great victory of the Ghibellines in 1260, which Dante describes as

> Lo strazio e il grande scempio
> Che fece l'Arbia colorata in rosso—

was discovered in 1728, in a little mound, a tomb of the Cilnii—the great Etruscan *gens* to which Mæcenas belonged. It had fifteen square urns or "ash-chests" of travertine, and seventeen cinerary pots of earthenware, almost all with inscriptions; but the urns were remarkably plain, without figures on their lids, and there was nothing in the sepulchre to mark it as belonging to one of the most illustrious families of Etruria, which once possessed supreme power in the land.[4] The name was written CVENLE, or CVENLES—



or more rarely CVELNE;[5] though the Etruscan form was sometimes analogous to, or even identical with the Roman.[6] On the door-posts of this tomb, as in the Grotta de' Volunni at Perugia, was carved an inscription—a sort of general epitaph, in which the name of the family occurs.

[3] Bull. Inst. 1875, pp. 257–261.

[4] Cilnium gens præpotens.—Liv. X. 3.

> Cilnius, Arreti Tyrrhenis ortus in oris,
> Clarum nomen erat.—Sil. Ital., VII. 29.

For the royal origin of Mæcenas, see Horat. Od. I. 1; III. 29, 1; Sat. I. 6, 1—4; Propert. III. 9, 1; Sil. Ital. X. 40; Mart. XII. 4, 2; cf. Macrob. Saturn. II. 4. Etruscan "royalty" must be understood merely as the supreme power delegated to one of their body by the confederate princes or Lucumones.

[5] It seems at first sight as if this metastasis were an error of some of the copiers or transcribers, who, as appears from a manuscript account of this tomb in the Archæological Institute at Rome, were not always well acquainted with the Etruscan character. But Lanzi (Sagg. II. p. 366), who copied the original inscriptions, and also Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. p. 96, cl. II. tab. 12—17), make precisely the same transpositions. Müller (I. pp. 404, 416) thinks that the Etruscan form of Mæcenas' name must have been "Cvelne (or as he writes it, Cfelne) Maecnatial,"—the first being his patronymic, the second his mother's family name with the usual adjectival termination.

[6] As is proved by an inscription on one of the rock-hewn sepulchres of Sovana, where the name is written "Cilnia;" though the more peculiar form seems also to occur in the same necropolis. *Vide supra*, p. 17.

Etruscan antiquities, however, have been found in the close vicinity of Siena. Excavations outside the Porta di San Marco, in 1860, brought to light eight tombs, containing many urns of terra-cotta, and some articles in gold.

Sixteen miles north-west of Siena, on the road to Florence, is Poggibonsi, the Podium Bonitii of the middle ages. Between this and Castellina, a town about seven or eight miles to the east, Etruscan tombs have been found. Near the site of a ruined city called Salingolpe, as long since as 1507, a sepulchre was opened, which, from the description given by an eye-witness, must have been very like the Regulini tomb at Cervetri. It was under a mound and was vaulted over with uncemented masonry of large blocks, the courses converging till they met. It was about forty feet in length, six in breadth, and ten in height. It had also two side-chambers, so as to form in its plan the figure of a cross; and one of these, about ten feet cube, was a very "magazine" of urns and vases, full of ashes; and the other contained more valuable relics, "the adornments of a queen"—a mirror, a hair bodkin, and bracelets, all of silver, with abundance of leaf in the same metal—a square cinerary urn, with a golden grasshopper in the middle, and another in each of the corners[7]—sundry precious stones—boxes of rings in a covered vase of bronze, probably one of the beautiful caskets in that metal, rarely found in Etruria, though abundant at Præneste, in Latium—a female bust in alabaster, with a gold wire crossed on her bosom—and many cinerary urns of stone and marble, the finest of which belonged to a lady. The long passage was quite empty.[8]

In the year 1723, at a spot called La Fattoria di Lilliano, about half way between Poggibonsi and Castellina, some Etruscan urns were brought to light.[9]

Still nearer Siena, on the road to Colle, and hard by the Abbadia all' Isola, a most remarkable tomb was discovered in the year 1698. It contained an abundance of human bones; but whether loose or in sarcophagi does not appear from the record we have of it. It seems to have been a deep square pit or shaft, with an entrance cut obliquely down to its floor. But the most extraordinary thing about it was, that on three of its walls

[7] The golden grasshoppers seem to mark this as the funeral urn of some Athenian lady. Thucydides, I. 6.

[8] Santi Marmocchini quoted by Buonarroti, p. 96, Explic. ad Dempster. II. Gori (Mus. Etr. Class II. tab. III) gives a plan of the tomb which differs a little from the description given above. He says that the urns show it to have belonged to the Meminian or Memmian family—in Etruscan—"MEMNA."

[9] Buonarroti, p. 41, ap. Dempst.

were inscriptions in large characters, painted on the rock, not horizontally, as usual, but in long lines from the top to the bottom of the chamber. Yet more strange—two of these inscriptions had no reference to the dead, but were an alphabet and a spelling-book!—like the curious pot found at Cervetri, and now in the Gregorian Museum[1]—nor were they Etruscan, as would be expected from the locality, but might easily be recognised as early Greek or Pelasgic![2] Here is a fac-simile of a copy of the alphabet made at the time the tomb was opened. It will be seen that the alphabet is not complete; the letters after the *omicron*



having faded from the wall before the tomb was discovered. The next line bore the interesting intelligence "*ma, mi, me, mu, na, no,*" in letters which ran from right to left.[3]

Why an alphabet and hornbook were thus preserved within a tomb, I leave to the imagination of my readers to conceive. Few, however, will be satisfied with Passeri's explanation—that it was the freak of some Etruscan schoolboy, who, finding the wall ready prepared for painting, mischievously scribbled thereon his last lesson.[4]

This district of Etruria has been rendered much more accessible of late years by the railroads which connect Siena with Florence

[1] See Vol. I., page 271.

[2] So says Lepsius (Ann. Inst. 1836, p. 195, *et seq.*). Lanzi (II. p. 513) called it a mixture of Etruscan and Latin. Lepsius seems to speak of this tomb as if it were still in existence, though it is now mere matter of history. It was reclosed and its site forgotten even in Maffei's day, more than a century since.

[3] Buonarroti, p. 36, tab. 92, ap. Dempst. II.; Lanzi II. p. 512; Maffei, Osserv. Lett. V. p. 322. The three inscribed walls of the tomb were divided by vertical lines into broad stripes or bands, in which were the inscriptions—seven in all. Though each commenced at the top of the wall, the letters were not placed upright, as in Chinese inscriptions, but ran sometimes from left to right, as in the above alphabet, sometimes *vice versâ*. Etruscan inscriptions, vertically arranged, but running from right to left, as usual, are still to be seen in the Grotta degli Scudi at Corneto, and in the Grotta de' Volunni at Perugia.

[4] Passeri, ap. Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. 108. Nor can it be supposed that this Etruscan tomb presents an instance of academical tuition, like an Egyptian one at Beni Hassan, described by Sir G. Wilkinson, —"On the wall of one of the tombs is a Greek alphabet, with the letters transposed in various ways, evidently by a person teaching Greek, who appears to have found these cool recesses as well suited for the resort of himself and pupils, as was any stoa, or the grove of Academus." Modern Egypt, II. p. 53. There is no reason to believe that this Etruscan tomb was used for another than its original purpose, by a different race, and in a subsequent age; for the palæography shows the inscriptions to be very ancient, in all probability coeval with the sepulchre itself.

and Pisa on the one hand, and with Chiusi and the Val di Chiana on the other, and latterly with Grosseto and the Maremma. On this last line, which branches from the main trunk to Chiusi and Rome at Asciano, are several sites recognised as Etruscan. At a spot called il Borgo, near Torrenieri, between Montalcino and Pienza, excavations in 1859 disclosed many tombs, containing urns and vases.

Near Pienza, a town on the heights to the east of San Quirico and seven miles west of Montepulciano, was found in 1779 a tomb of the family of "Caes," or Caius.[5]

An English gentleman named Newton, who owns much land in the neighbourhood of Pienza, has made extensive excavations on his property, and has discovered an abundance of the early black ware (*bucchero*) with some good bronzes, but very few painted vases. They are preserved in his house at Pienza. There is another collection in the house of Signor Santi at the same place—the produce of the same necropolis.

At Montalcino, a small city on the heights to the right of the road from Siena to S. Quirico, and about twenty miles south of the former city, Etruscan tombs have been opened in times past, though no excavations have been made, so far as I can learn, for many years. A great part of the Etruscan urns in the Museum of Leyden came from this site. They are all of travertine, and belong to different Etruscan families.[6]

Montalcino has now no antiquities to show, and, indeed, little more to boast of than her muscadel wine, lauded by Redi as drink for the fair of Paris and London—

Il leggiadretto,
Il sì divino
Moscadelletto
Di Montalcino.
Un tal vino
Lo destino
Per le dame di Parigi;
E per quelle,
Che sì belle
Rallegrar fanno il Tamigi.

Castelnuovo dell' Abate, seven miles further south, is

[5] Lanzi, II. p. 373. Pienza is conjectured by Cramer (I. p. 221) to be the Manliana of Ptolemy and the Itineraries.

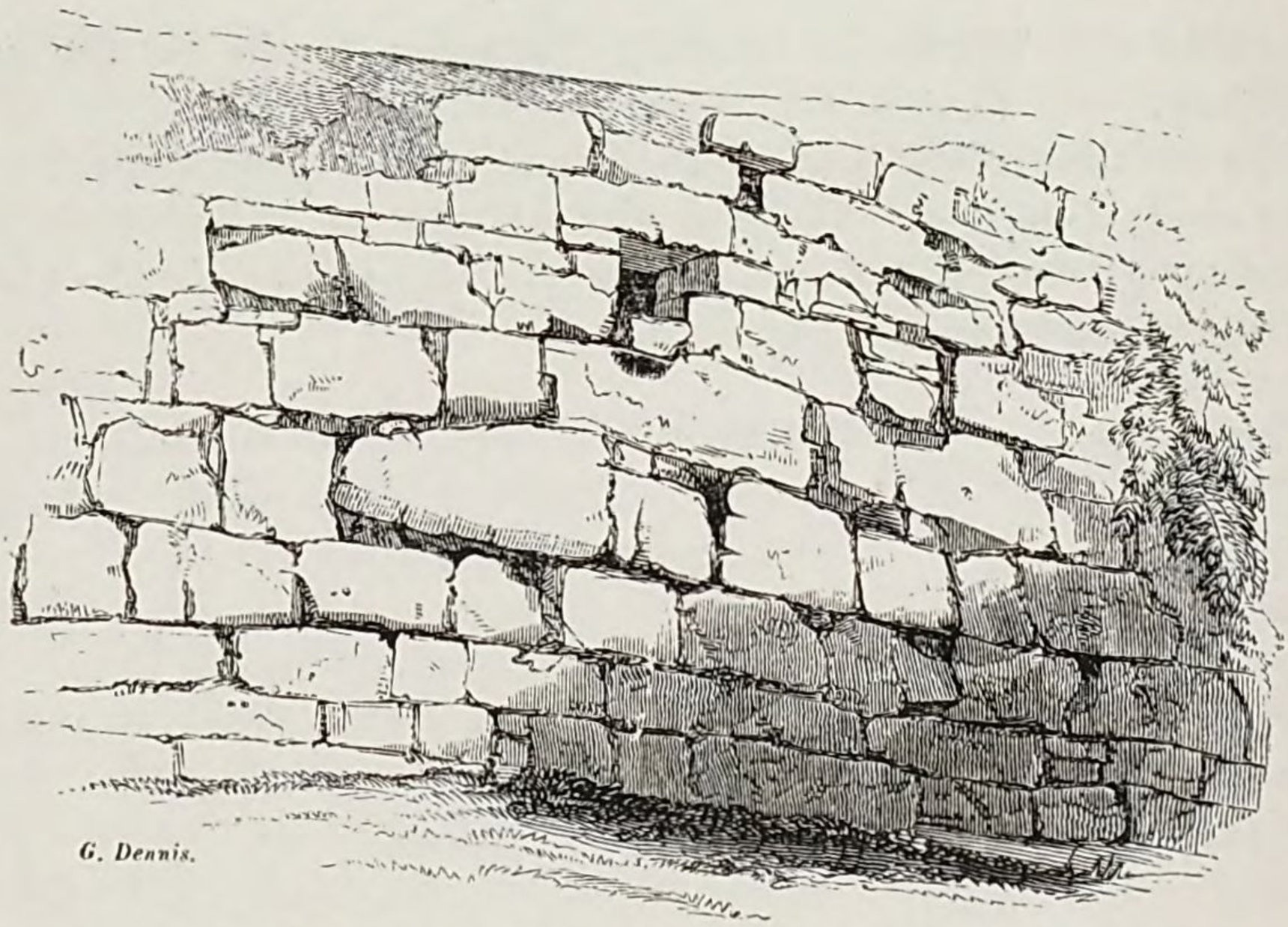
[6] Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 97—104. The families mentioned in the epitaphs are the "Apuni" (Aponius), "Tite" or "Teti" (Titus), "Cae" (Caius), "Ancarni" (Ancharius), "Laucani" (Lucanus), and others whose names are not fully legible.

another site which has yielded Etruscan tombs in the past century.[7]

In the district of Siena have been found other sepulchres in the olden time; one of the family of "Lecne" (Licinius), and another of that of "Veti" (Vettius). But the precise localities of these tombs are not recorded.[8]

[7] Lanzi, Saggio II. p. 368. One was of the family of the "Arntle."

[8] Lanzi, II. pp. 360, 361.



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF VOLTERRA, BELOW SANTA CHIARA.

CHAPTER XLIII.

VOLTERRA.—*VELATHRI*, OR *VOLATERRÆ*.

THE CITY.

—appresso trovammo Vultera,
Sopra un gran monte, che forte e anticha,
Quanto en Thoscana sia alcuna terra.—FACCIO DELGI UBERTI.

We came e'en to the city's wall
And the great gate.—SHELLEY.

VOLTERRA lies in the mountainous region between the coast railway, and that which connects Florence with Siena, a region rich in mineral and agricultural wealth rather than in classical antiquities, and consequently little visited by tourists, as it is not traversed by any direct line of railroad. Volterra, however, has a little railway of its own, which branches from the coast line at Cecina, and runs up the valley of that name as far as Le Saline, at the foot of the hill on which the city stands, and about five miles from the gates.[1] Volterra may also be reached

[1] In bad weather this line is apt to get out of order, and no intelligence of its being closed is to be obtained before reaching Cecina. Thus the traveller may make the long détour from Florence to that station, and then find that he has as long a carriage journey before him as he would have had from Poggibonsi, with wretched roads, and very inferior conveyances. It took me, under such circumstances, more than seven hours to reach Volterra from Cecina by the *malle-poste*.

from the Pontedera station, on the Pisa and Florence line, whence there are public conveyances which do the journey in six hours; or better and more speedily from Poggibonsi, on the line from Empoli to Siena, where carriages are always to be hired.

From whatever side Volterra may be approached it is a most commanding object, crowning the summit of a lofty, steep, and sternly naked height, not wholly isolated, yet independent of the neighbouring hills, reducing them by its towering supereminence to mere satellites; so lofty as to be conspicuous from many a league distant, and so steep that when the traveller has at length reached its foot, he finds that the fatigue he imagined had well nigh terminated, is then but about to begin. Strabo has accurately described it when he said "it is built on a lofty height, rising from a deep valley and precipitous on every side, on whose level summit stand the fortifications of the city. From base to summit the ascent is fifteen *stadia* long, and it is steep and difficult throughout."[2]

As the road ascends the long-drawn slope beneath Volterra it passes through a singularly wild and barren tract, broken into hillocks of black clay or marl, without a blade of grass on their surface, as if it had been ravaged by a recent flood, yet so existing for ages, perhaps from pre-historic times.

If Volterra be still "lordly" and imposing, what must she have been in the olden time, when instead of a mere cluster of mean buildings at one corner of the level mountain-crest, the entire area, four or five miles in circuit, was bristling with the towers, temples, and palaces of the city, one of Etruria's noblest

[2] Strabo, V. p. 223. The 15 *stadia* must be the length of a Roman road running in a straight line up the hill. By the modern winding road the distance is fully 5 miles. Modern measurement makes the mountain on which Volterra stands about 1900 English feet above the level of the sea. Müller was therefore mistaken when he guessed Volterra to be probably the highest-lying town in all Italy. Etrusk. I. p. 221. There are many towns and villages among the Apennines, and not a few ancient sites in the mountains of Sabina and Latium, at a considerably greater elevation. Cluver (Ital. Ant. II. p. 513) takes Volaterræ to be the Etruscan city referred to by the pseudo-Aristotle (De Mirab. Auscult. cap. 96), under the name of Œnarea, — a site of extraordinary strength, on a hill 30 *stadia* in height. To this view Lanzi (Saggio, II. p. 94) is also inclined. Mannert (Geog. p. 357) is opposed to it, on the ground that Œnarea had probably no existence. Niebuhr (I. p. 124, n. 382), Müller (Etrusk. II. 2, 10), and Arnold (Hist. of Rome, II. p. 530), raise the more valid objection, that from the usurpation of power by its manumitted slaves, Œnarea must be identical with Volsinii. I have hesitated to bow to these mighty three, and have ventured to suggest that Monte Fiascone may possibly be the site of Œnarea (*vide supra*, p. 32), if it be not rather that of the Fanum Voltumnæ.

and largest—when the walls, whose mere fragments are now so vast, that fable and song may well report them

> "Piled by the hands of giants,
> For god-like kings of old,"

then surrounded the city with a girdle of fortifications such as for grandeur and massiveness have perhaps never been surpassed. We now see but "the skeleton of her Titanic form,"—what must have been the living body?

Her great size and the natural strength of her position mark Volaterræ as a city of first-rate importance, and give her indisputable claims to rank among the Twelve of the Confederation. Were such local evidence wanting, the testimony of Dionysius,[3] that she was one of the five cities, which, acting independently of the rest of Etruria, determined to aid the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus, would be conclusive;[4] for no second-rate or dependent town could have ventured to oppose the views of the rest. This is the first historical mention of Volaterræ, and is satisfactory evidence as to her antiquity and early importance. The only other express record of Volaterræ during the period of national independence, is in the year 456 (B.C. 298), when L. Cornelius Scipio encountered the Etruscan forces below this city, and so obstinate a combat ensued that night alone put an end to it, and not till daylight showed that the Etruscans had retired from the field, could the Roman general claim the victory.[5] As an Etruscan city, Volaterræ must have had a territory of great extent; larger, without doubt, than that of any other city of the Confederation;[6] and with the possession of the two great ports of Luna and Populonia, she must have been the most powerful among "the sea-ruling Etruscans," and probably

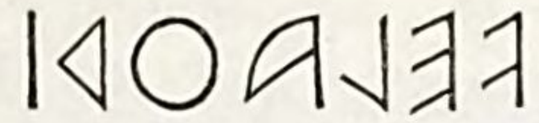
[3] Dion. Hal. III. C. 51. The other cities were Clusium, Arretium, Rusellæ, and Vetulonia.

[4] It is so regarded by the principal writers on the subject. Cluver. II. p. 511; Müller, Etrusk. II. 1, 2, p. 346; Cramer, I. p. 185.

[5] Liv. X. 12.

[6] North of Volaterræ there was no other city of the Confederation, unless Pisæ may at an early period have been one of the Twelve, to dispute her claim to all the and up to the confines of Etruria, including the vale of the Arno, and the rich plains of Lucca. Yet much of this northern region was at one time in the hands of the Ligurians, who possessed the sea-coast from Massilia quite down to Pisæ, and the plains inland even up to the confines of Arretium. Polyb. II., 16. Eastward the *ager* of Volaterræ must also have extended far, as the nearest city was Arretium, 50 miles distant; westward it was bounded by the Mediterranean (Strabo, V. p. 223), more than 20 miles off; and southward it extended at least as far as Populonia, which was either a colony or acquisition of Volaterræ (Serv. ad Æn. X. 172); and from the intimate connection of that port with Elba, it is highly probable that it comprehended that island also.

also the most wealthy. Her Etruscan appellation, as we learn from her coins, was VELATHRI[7]—



We have no record of her conquest, but from her remoteness and strength we may conclude Volaterræ was among the last of the cities of Etruria to fall under the yoke of Rome. In the Second Punic War, in common with the other principal cities of Etruria, she undertook to furnish her quota of supplies for the Roman fleet; and it is worthy of remark that she still maintained her maritime character, being the only one, save Tarquinii, to furnish tackling or other gear for ships.[8] In the civil wars between Marius and Sylla, Volaterræ, like most of the cities of Etruria, espoused the part of the former; for which she was besieged two years by the forces of his rival, till she was compelled to surrender;[9] but though thus taken in arms against him, she escaped the fate of Fæsulæ and other cities which were deprived of their citizenship, and had their lands confiscated and divided among the troops of the victorious Dictator. For this she was indebted to the great Cicero, who was then Consul, and who ever afterwards retained the warmest attachment towards her, and honoured her with the highest commendations.[1] Sub-

[7] This is almost identical with the name of the ancient Volscian town Velitræ, now Velletri; and there can be no doubt that there was a close analogy, as between certain other towns of Etruria, and those of corresponding appellations south of the Tiber. In fact, the coins with the legend of Velathri have often been assigned to Velitræ. Certain early Italian antiquaries indulged in idle speculations as to the meaning of the name Volaterræ, but this is merely the Latin form, and in our present ignorance of the Etruscan language, all sound analysis is out of the question. It may be remarked, however, that the syllable VEL, or VUL, is a frequent initial to Etruscan proper names—Velsina, Vulsinii, Vulci, Velimnas, &c.—and the rest of the word ATRI seems to have some analogy to the HAT, or HATRI, on the coins of Hatria,—the Etruscan town which gave its name to the Adriatic, and to the *atrium*, or court, in Roman houses. Cramer (I. p. 184) infers from this analogy that Volterra was founded by the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, when they quitted the shores of the Adriatic to settle in the land of the Umbri. The same origin for the city is inferred by Millingen (Numismatique de l'Ancienne Italie, p. 167) from the name Velathri, which he takes to be identical with Elatria, a town in Epirus, the land whence came many of the colonists of Italy, especially the Pelasgi, and he thinks this name was given to this city by the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi in remembrance of their ancient country.

[8] Liv. XXVIII. 45. Tarquinii supplied sail-cloth, Volaterræ the fittings-up of ships, and also corn. This is according to the usual reading, *interamenta;* but Müller (I. 2, 1; IV. 3, 6) prefers that of Gronovius, which is *inceramenta.*

[9] Strabo, loc. cit.; Liv. Epitome, LXXXIX.; cf. Cic. pro Cæcinâ, VII.; pro Roscio Amerino, VII.

[1] Cic. pro Domo suâ, XXX.; ad Divers. XIII. 4, 5; ad Attic. I. 19. Volterra claims among her ancient citizens, the satirist Persius. Her claim is better founded, I believe, to Linus, the successor of St. Peter, as bishop of Rome.

sequently, however, under the Triumvirate, she was forced to receive a military colony.[2] After the fall of the Western Empire, she suffered the fate of the neighbouring cities, and fell under the dominion of the Vandals and the Huns; but was again raised to importance by the Lombard kings, who, for a time, fixed their court here, on account of the natural strength of the site. Of the subsequent history of Volterra, suffice it to say, that though greatly sunk in size and importance, she has never lost her population, and been abandoned, like so many of her fellows, to the fox, the owl, and the viper; and that she retains to the present day, the circuit of her original fortifications almost entire, and her Etruscan appellation but little corrupted.[3]

When the traveller has mastered the tedious ascent to the town, let him seek for the "Unione," the best inn in Volterra, kept by Nicolo Frassinesi, the successor to Ottavio Callai, who for many years welcomed travellers to Volterra. By some, however, the "Locanda Nazionale," kept by Giuseppe Grandi, is pronounced the more comfortable hostelry.

Modern Volterra is but a country-town, having scarcely five thousand inhabitants, and covering but a small portion of the area occupied by the ancient city. The lines of its battlemented wall, and the towered keep of its fortress, give it an imposing appearance externally. It is a dirty and gloomy place, however, without architectural beauty; and save the heavy, feudal-faced Palazzo Pubblico, hung quaintly all over with coats of arms, as a pilgrim with scallop-shells—so many silent traditions of the stirring days of the Italian republics—and richer still in its Museum of Etruscan antiquities; save the neat little Duomo and the alabaster factories, which every one should visit, there is nothing of interest in modern Volterra. Her glories are the Etruscan walls and the Museum, to neither of which the visitor who feels interest in the early civilization of Italy, should fail to pay attention.

To begin with the walls. From the "Unione," a few steps will lead to the

Porta all' Arco.

I envy the stranger his first impressions on approaching this gateway. The loftiness of the arch; the boldness of its span;

[2] Front. de Colon. p. 14, ed. 1588. Pliny (N. H. III. 8) and Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.) also speak of her as a colony in their days.

[3] For the post-Roman history of Volterra, see Repetti, V. pp. 801 *et seq.*



From a Photograph

PORTA ALL' ARCO, VOLTERRA.

the massiveness of the blocks, dwarfing into insignificance the mediæval masonry by which it is surrounded; the venerable, yet solid air of the whole; and more than all, the dark, featureless, mysterious heads around it, stretching forward as if eager to proclaim the tale of bygone races and events; even its site on the very verge of the steep, with a glorious map of valley, river, plain, mountain, sea, headland, and island, unrolled beneath; make it one of the most imposing yet singular portals conceivable, and fix it indelibly on his memory.

It is a double gateway, nearly thirty feet deep, united by parallel walls of very massive character, of the same masonry as those of the city.[4] This is decisive of its Etruscan origin; yet some doubt has been raised as to the Etruscan antiquity of the arch,—I think, without just ground. It has been objected that the mouldings of the imposts are too Greek in character to be regarded as Etruscan, and that the arch must therefore be referred to the Romans.[5] But if this be a sufficing reason, every article found in Etruscan tombs, which betrays a Hellenic influence, must be of Roman origin. Those who hold such a doctrine must totally forget the extensive intercourse the Etruscans maintained from very remote times, at least as early as the Roman kings, not only with the Greek colonies of Sicily and Campania, the latter long under their own dominion, but also with Greece herself—an intercourse which introduced many Hellenisms into Etruscan art, whether exhibited in architectural mouldings, or in the modified Doric and Ionic features of the sarcophagi or rock-hewn monuments, or displayed in the sculptured urns, in the bronze mirrors, or in the figures depicted on the walls

[4] The span of the arch is 13 ft. 2 in.; the height to the top of the impost 15 feet; so that the height to the keystone is about 21½ feet. Depth of the doorposts 4 ft. 6 in. The inner arch is 13 ft. 6 in. in span, and its doorpost nearly 5 ft. in depth. The length of the connecting passage is 18 ft., and its width 15 ft. 8 in., so that the total depth of the gateway, including the arches, is 27 feet, 6 inches. The arch has 19 voussoirs, including the rude heads, each voussoir being not more than 27 inches in depth.

[5] Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 5) regards them as of Roman construction, and thinks the whole arch, except the heads, a restoration, probably after the siege of the city by Sylla. Yet he admits the lower part of the gate to be "of true Etruscan construction" (cf. I. p. 141). By Ruspi, the Roman architect, the restoration has been referred to Imperial times. Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 52. The connecting walls, the doorposts of the outer arch, and the heads, he alone allows to be Etruscan; the arch of the outer gate he conceives to have been raised during the Empire, the heads to have been then replaced, and the inner gateway to have been at the same time constructed. He thinks a second restoration was effected during the middle ages, in that part where the portcullis was fixed. Canina, a higher authority in architectural matters, regards this gate as one of the most ancient Etruscan monuments in this region. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 192.

of sepulchres; to say nothing of the painted vases, found in myriads in Etruria, which are unequivocally Greek in form, design, myths, and inscriptions.[6] The mouldings of these imposts then, in spite of their assimilation to the Greek, may well be of Etruscan construction, though not of the most remote epoch, yet probably prior to the domination of Rome.

The inner arch of the gateway differs from the outer in the material, form, size, and number of its *voussoirs*, and has much more of a Roman character.

Whether this archway be Etruscan or not, it cannot be doubted that the three heads are of that character, and that they occupied similar positions in an arched gateway of ancient Volterra. This is corroborated in a singular manner. In the Museum is a cinerary urn, found in this necropolis, which has a bas-relief of the death of Capaneus, struck by lightning when in the act of scaling the gate of Thebes; and the artist, copying probably the object best known to him, has represented in that mythical gate, this very Porta all' Arco of Volterra, with the three heads exactly in the same relative position.[7] What the heads might mean is not easy to determine. They may represent the heads of conquered enemies,[8] or the three mysterious Cabiri,[9] or possibly the patron deities of the city.[1] They could scarcely have been introduced as mere ornaments.

The masonry within the gateway is very massive, and well preserved. There are eight courses, about two feet deep each, of rectangular blocks, seven, eight, or ten feet in length. They are of *panchina*, a yellow conchiliferous sandstone, as are also the door-posts of the outer arch; the imposts and voussoirs, however, are of travertine, and the three heads are of dark

[6] Orioli (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrusc. IV. p. 162) maintains that this similarity to Greek art does not militate against the Etruscan construction of this arch, on the ground that Greek art arose and was nurtured in Asia Minor rather than in Greece Proper, and that the Etruscans coming from the East may have brought with them a knowledge of that architecture which is now characterised as Greek. But it is not necessary to suppose so high an antiquity for the Hellenisms in Etruscan art, which are more simply accounted for in the manner indicated in the text.

[7] A similar urn from Volterra is now in the Etruscan Museum of Florence, *ut supra*, p. 93.

[8] Orioli, ap. Ingh. Mon. Etr. IV. p. 163.

[9] This is Gerhard's view. Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 13; cf. p. 48.

[1] Orioli, Ann. Inst. 1832, p. 38. This is also Micali's opinion (III. p. 5), who admits them to be Etruscan. Gori (Mus. Etrusc. III. p. 46) takes them for heads of the Lares Viales, placed in such a position to receive the adoration of passers-by; as Lucretius (I. 317–9) describes deities in bronze placed near city-gates, whose hands, like the toes of St. Peter and other saints of modern times, were quite worn down by the frequent kisses of their votaries.

PLAN OF VOLTERRA, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

[*To face page* 144, *Vol. II.*



Adapted from Micali.

1. Porta all' Arco.
2. Porta di Diana, or Il Portone.
3, 3, 3. Sites of ancient gates.
4. Postern.
5, 5. Fragments of ancient masonry outside the city.
6, 6. Fragments of ancient masonry within the city.
7, 7, 7. Finest portions of the ancient walls.
8. Roman Baths.
9. Grotta dei Marmini.
10. Cottage where the key is kept.
11, 11, 11. Sites of excavations.
12. Villa Inghirami.
13. Buche de' Saracini.
14. Vestiges of an Aqueduct.
15. La Torricella.
16. La Badia.
17. Le Balze.
18. San Giusto.
19. Borgo di S. Giusto.
20. I Menseri.
21. Convent of Sta Chiara.
22. Borgo di Santo Stefano.
23. Le Conce, with mouths of Cloacæ.
24. Valle Buona, site of the Amphitheatre.
25. Campo Santo.
26. Seminario.
27. Porta in Selci.
28. Porta di Docciola.
29. Porta Fiorentina.
30. Porta di San Francesco.
31. Porta di San Felice.
32. The Fortress.
33. Piscina, called Il Castello.
34. Remains of an ancient edifice.
35. Piazza Maggiore.
36. Palazzo Comunale.
37. Cathedral.
38. S. Giovanni.
39. S. Filippo.
40. S. Francesco.
41. S. Michele.
42. S. Agostino.
43. S. Pietro.
44. Locanda "Unione."

– – – Ancient walls.
—— Modern walls.

grey *peperino*. This difference in the material has, doubtless, favoured the opinion of the subsequent formation of the arch.[2] It is highly probable, indeed, that the arches are subsequent to the rest of the gateway, which I take to be coeval with the city-walls, and prior to the invention of the arch; and the same plan must originally have been adopted, as is traceable in another gateway at Volterra,—horizontal lintels of wood or stone were let into the door-posts, having sockets in them corresponding to sockets in the threshold, in which the flaps of the doors worked. This plan is proved to have been used by the Etruscans, by certain tombs of Chiusi, where the doors are still working in their ancient sockets. But as the Etruscans were acquainted with the arch for some three centuries before their final subjugation by Rome, the addition of it to this gateway may well have been made in the days of their independence.

Just within the gate on each side is a groove or channel for the portcullis, or *Saracinesca*, as the Italians call it, which was suspended by iron chains, and let down from above like the gate of a sluice; so that if the enemy succeeded in forcing the outer gate, and attempted to force the inner, the portcullis was dropped, and all within were made prisoners. This man-trap, common enough in the middle ages, was also employed by the ancients; and grooves for the *cataracta* are found in the double gates of their cities—at Pompeii and Cosa, for instance, where the gates are formed on the same plan as this of Volterra.[3]

From the Porta all' Arco let the visitor continue his walk to the north-west, beneath the walls of the modern town, till, leaving these behind, and following the brow of the hill for some distance, he comes in sight of the church of Sta. Chiara. Below this are some of the finest portions of the ancient walls now extant. They are in detached fragments. In the first the

[2] If the outer arch were a restoration by the Romans, they must have preserved and built up again these three heads of *peperino;* which is a great objection against the hypothesis. To me it does not seem at all probable that the Romans of the close of the Republic, the epoch of the Pantheon, and the purest period of Roman art, would have destroyed the symmetry of the gate by the replacement of such heavy unsightly masses. It is much easier to conceive them to have been placed there at an earlier period, when superstition or convention overcame a regard for the beautiful. A figure or head in relief on the keystone was common enough in Roman gateways, and is in accordance with good taste, not destroying the symmetry of the arch, but serving to fix the eye on the culminating point. But it may safely be asserted that the introduction of such prominent shapeless masses around an arch, was wholly opposed to Roman taste, as we learn it from existing monuments.

[3] Mention is made of the *cataracta* by Livy (XXVII. 28) and by Vegetius (de Re Milit. IV. cap. 4), who speaks of it as an ancient invention.

masonry is comparatively small; it is most massive in the third, which extends to the length of forty or fifty yards, and rises to a considerable height. In this fragment are two conduits or sewers—square openings, with projecting sills, as at Fiesole, ten or twelve feet from the ground.[4] The fifth fragment is also fine; but the sixth is very grand—forty feet in height, and about one hundred and forty in length; and here also open two sewers.[5]

The masonry is very irregular. A horizontal arrangement is preserved; but one course often runs into another, shallow ones alternate with deep, or even in the same course several shallow blocks are piled up to equal the depth of the larger. The masses, though intended to be rectangular, are rudely hewn, and more rudely put together, with none of that close "kissing" of joints, as the Italians say, or neat fitting-in of smaller pieces, which is seen at Fiesole. This may be called a rectangular Cyclopean style, if that be not a contradiction in terms. Nevertheless, it is essentially the same masonry as that of Fiesole; but here it is seen in its rudeness or infancy, while Fiesole shows its perfection. To the friability of the sandstone of which it is composed, is owing much of its irregular character, the edges of the blocks having greatly worn away; while the walls of Fiesole, being of harder rock, have suffered less from the action of the elements. Fair comparisons, however, can only be drawn between the walls on corresponding sides of the several cities; for those which face the south, like these fragments under Santa Chiara, are always found most affected by the weather. As usual in the most ancient masonry, there are no traces of cement. In spite of the saying,

Duro con duro
Non fa mai buon muro,

these gigantic masses have held together without it some twenty-five or thirty centuries, and may yet stand for as many more. All the fragments on this side of Volterra are mere embankments, as at Fiesole, to the higher level of the city. In parts they are underbuilt with modern masonry.

From Sta. Chiara the walls may be traced by detached

[4] Some of the blocks in this fragment are very large—8 or 10 feet long, by 2 to 3 in height. The architrave of one of the sewers is particularly massive.

[5] It is this portion of the wall which is shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter. The largest blocks here are about 8 feet long, and more than 3 in height. At this particular spot the wall is scarcely 20 feet high.

fragments, sometimes scarcely rising above the ground, till they turn to the north, stretching along the brow of the steep cliff, which bounds the city on this side. At a spot called "I Menseri," are some massive portions; and just beyond the hamlet of S. Giusto are traces of a road running up to an ancient gate, whose position is clearly indicated. Here the ground sinks in tremendous precipices, "Le Balze," overhanging an abyss of fearful depth, and increasing its horror by their own blackness. This is the Leucadia—the lovers' leap of the Volterrani. Only a few days before my first visit a forlorn swain had taken the plunge.

Beyond this, the walls may be traced, more or less distinctly, all round the brow of the point which juts out towards the convent of La Badia. In one part they are seven feet in thickness, and are no longer mere embankments, but rise fifteen feet above the level of the city. In another spot they are topped by small rectangular masonry, also uncemented, apparently Roman. They continue to follow the brow of the high ground in all its sinuosities; double the wooded point of Torricella, and again run far up the hollow southward to Le Conce, or the Tanyards, above which they rise in a massive picturesque fragment overgrown with foliage. Then they stretch far away along the lofty and picturesque cliffs on the east of the hollow, till they lead you round to the "Portone," or

PORTA DI DIANA.

This is another gateway of similar construction to the Porta all' Arco, but now in ruins. In its ground-plan, it is precisely similar, having a double gate with a connecting passage. The masonry is of the same massive character as that of the city-walls, without an intermixture of different styles, except what is manifestly of modern date; so that no doubt can be entertained of its purely Etruscan construction. The dimensions of the gate very nearly agree with those of the Porta all' Arco.[6] The arches at either end are now gone; the inner gate does not indeed appear to have had one, for the door-post rises to the height of about twenty feet, and at twelve feet or so above the ground is a square hole in a block on each side the gate, as if cut to receive a wooden lintel. The outer gate still retains traces of an arch, for

[6] The total depth of the gateway is 27 ft., that of the door-posts of each gate 4 ft. 4 in. The width at the door-posts is 12 ft. 4 in., and in the passage within 15 ft. 6 in.

at a height corresponding with the said lintel, there are cuneiform blocks on one side, sufficient to indicate an arch; the opposite wall is too much ruined to retain such vestiges. It is highly probable that this gateway was constructed at the same time as the walls, and before the invention of the arch, both gates being covered in by wooden lintels, but that in after ages the outer gate was repaired, while the inner, needing it less, was left in its original state.

This sort of double gateway is found in several ancient towns in Greece, as well as in other cities of Italy. It is to be seen also elsewhere in Etruria—at Cosa, for instance, where there is more than one specimen of it.[7]

From the Portone, the ancient fortifications may be traced along the wooded steep to the south, and then, instead of following its line, suddenly dive into the hollow, crossing it in an independent wall nearly thirty feet high. The masonry here is much smaller than in any other part of the walls, the courses being often scarcely a foot in height; yet, as in other respects it precisely resembles the more massive fragments, it may be safely pronounced Etruscan.

At the point of high ground to the east, is a fine fragment of wall, six feet thick, rising twelve feet above the level of the city, and having its inner surface as smooth as its outer. Beyond this, are two remarkable *revêtements*, like bastions reverted, or with their concavities towards the city. The most easterly of these crescent embankments rises to the height of thirty feet.[8] Just beyond it, there are traces of a postern; and presently the wall, pursuing the edge of the steep, reaches the extremity of the city to the east, and turns sharp to the south. The path to the Seminario leads along the very top of the walls, which are here from fourteen to seventeen feet in thickness. They are not solid

[7] Canina (Archit. Antica, V. p. 96) suggests, that it is probably from this sort of double gateway that the plural term—αἱ πύλαι—applied to the gate of a city, took its rise. See Chap. I. p. 12.

It will be observed that this gate, as well as the Porta all' Arco, opens obliquely, so that the approach to it is commanded on one side by the city-wall, which answers the purpose of towers whence to annoy the foe; and the approach is so planned in both cases, that an assailing force would have its right side, or that unprotected by he sh ield, exposed to the attacks of the besieged, exemplifying the rule of fortification laid down by Vitruvius, I. 5, 2.

[8] One block covering a cavity, once perhaps a sewer, I found to be 11 ft. long, 3 in height, and 4 in depth; and another block, below the cavity, was of nearly equal dimensions. It may be remarked, that the blocks in the lower courses in this part of the fortifications are small and irregular, in the upper very massive. This I have observed on other sites in Etruria and Latium, which have walls of this character.

throughout, but built with two faces of masonry, having the intervening space stuffed with rubbish, just as in the cob-walls of England, and as in that sort of *emplecton*, which Vitruvius characterises as Roman.[9] Just beneath the Seminario another postern may be distinguished. From this point you may trace the line of the ancient walls, by fragments, beneath those of the modern town and of the Fortress, round to the Porta all' Arco.

The circumference of the ancient walls has been said to be about four miles ;[1] but it appears much more, as the sinuosities of the ground are very great. But pause, traveller, ere you venture to make the tour of them. Unless you be prepared for great fatigue —to cross ploughed land—climb and descend steeps—force your way through dense woods and thickset hedges—wade through swamps in the hollows if it be winter—follow the beds of streams, and creep at the brink of precipices ; in a word, to make a fairy-like progress

> "Over hill, over dale,
> Thorough bush, thorough brier,
> Over park, over pale,
> Thorough flood—"

and only not

> "thorough fire—"

think not of the entire *giro*.

There are portions of the wall which are of no difficult access : such as the fine fragments under the church of Santa Chiara ; those also at Le Balze di San Giusto, whither you may drive in a carriage ; the thick walls below the Seminario, which are comparatively near at hand : and from these a sufficient idea may be formed of the massiveness and grandeur of the walls of Volterra. The Portone also is of easy access, and can be taken in the way to the Grotta de' Marmini. With the Plan of the city in his hand, the visitor will have no difficulty in finding the most remarkable portions of the ancient fortifications.

Within the ancient walls are the remains of two structures which have often been called Etruscan—the Amphitheatre and the Piscina. The first lies in the Valle Buona, beneath the

[9] Vitruv. II. 8, 7. See Vol. I. p. 80. This style of "stuffed" walls is not uncommon in the cities of Greece.

[1] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 141, and II. p. 209. Abeken (Mittelital. p. 30) calls it 21,000 feet. If Micali's map be correct, which calls it 7,280·73 metres, the circuit will be more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Gori (III. p. 32) cites an authority who ascribes to them a circuit of more than 5 miles. Old Alberti says, the city was in the form of a hand, the headlands representing the fingers. But it requires a lively fancy to perceive the resemblance.

modern walls, to the north. Nothing is now to be seen beyond a semicircle of seats, apparently cut in the slope of the hill and now covered with turf. It displays not a trace of antiquity, and seems to have been formed for no other purpose than that it is now applied to—witnessing the game of the *pallone*. One may well doubt if it has ever been more than a theatre, for the other half of the structure, which must have been of masonry, has totally disappeared. Its antiquity, however, has been well ascertained, and it has even been regarded as an Etruscan structure,[2] but more discriminating criticism pronounces it to be Roman.

Outside the gate of the fortress, but within the walls of the town, is the so-called Piscina. Like all the structures of similar name elsewhere in Italy, this is underground—a series of three parallel vaults of great depth, supported by square pillars, and evidently either a reservoir for water, or, as the name it has received implies, a preserve for fish; more probably the former. The vaults are arched over, but the pillars are connected by flat architraves, composed of cuneiform blocks, holding together on the arch principle. There is nothing in this peculiar construction which is un-Etruscan;[3] but the general character of the structure, strongly resembling other buildings of this kind of undoubtedly Roman origin, proves this to have no higher antiquity. Gori, who was the first to descend into it, in 1739, braving the snakes with which tradition had filled it, declared it to be of Etruscan construction, an opinion which has been commonly followed, even to the present day.[4] He who has seen the *Piscine* of the Campanian coast, may well avoid the difficulties attending a descent into this. A formal application has to be made to the Bishop, who keeps the key; a ladder of unusual length has next to be sought, there being no steps to descend; the Bishop's servant, and the men who bring the ladder, have to be fed: so that to those who consider time, trouble, and expense, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*.

A third relic, which has erroneously been called Etruscan, is the Terme, or Baths, which lie just outside the gate of San Felice, on the south of the town. The form and disposition of the chambers, the brickwork, the *opus incertum*, the fragments of mosaic pavement, the marble slabs with bas-reliefs—everything

[2] Gori, Mus. Etr. III. p. 59, tab. 8.

[3] The gates of the theatre of Férento, which are most probably of that origin, are similarly formed (see Vol. I. p. 156). The people who brought the arch to such perfection as is seen in the Cloaca Maxima and certain tombs of Perugia and Chiusi, could have had no difficulty in constructing a cuneiform architrave like this.

[4] Gori, III. p. 63. It is called by Hoare, the most perfect Etruscan work at Volterra. Classical Tour, I. p. 9.

on the site is so purely Roman, that it is difficult to understand how a higher antiquity could ever have been assigned to this ruin.

The necropolis of Volterra, as usual, surrounded the town; but from the nature of the ground, the slopes beneath the walls to the north were particularly selected for burial. Here, for centuries past, numerous tombs have been opened, from which the Museum of the town, as well as other collections, public and private, in various parts of Europe, have been stored with antiquarian wealth. From the multitude of sepulchres, this spot has received the name of Campo Nero—"Black Field[5]"—a name now almost obsolete. But, though hundreds—nay, thousands—of tombs have been opened, what remains to satisfy the curiosity of the visitor? Three sepulchres alone. All the rest have been covered in as soon as rifled; the usual excuse being—"*per non dannificar il podere.*" Even the tomb of the Cæcinæ, that family so illustrious in ancient times, has been refilled with earth, lest the produce of a square yard or two of soil should be lost to the owner; and its site is now forgotten. "*O optimi cives Volaterrani!*" Are ye deserving of the commendation Cicero bestowed on your ancestors,[6] when ye set so little store on the monuments of those very forefathers which Fortune has placed in your hands? Should not yours be rather the reproach that great man cast on the Syracusans, who knew not the sepulchre of their great citizen, Archimedes, until he pointed it out to them?[7]

GROTTA DE' MARMINI.

This sepulchre, which should more properly be called "Grotta Cinci," from the name of its discoverer, Signor Giusto Cinci, and which is said to be a type, in form and character, of the tombs of Volterra, lies on the hill-slope a little below the Porta di Diana, on a spot marked by a clump of cypresses. The key is kept at a cottage just outside the Gate, and torches may also be had there. Like all the tombs of Volterra, this is a *hypogæum*, or sepulchre below the surface; and you descend by a few steps to the door, above which is some rude masonry. The tomb is circular, seventeen or eighteen feet in diameter, but scarcely six feet in height, with a large square pillar in the centre, and a triple tier of benches around the walls—all rudely hewn from the rock, a yellow conchiliferous sandstone, the same

[5] Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. 93.

[6] Cicero, pro Domo suâ, XXX.

[7] Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. V. 23.

"*panchina*" of which many of the urns are formed. On the benches are ranged numerous ash-chests, about two or three feet long, miniature sarcophagi, with reclining figures on the lids, some stretched on their backs, but most resting on one elbow in the usual attitude of the banquet. In the southern part of Etruria, two or three, rarely more than six or eight, sarcophagi are found in one chamber; but here are at least forty or fifty urns—the ashes of a family for several generations.

> "The dead above, and the dead below,
> Lay ranged in many a coffined row."

These urns are of *panchina*, travertine, or alabaster, but are now so blackened by the smoke of the torches as to have lost all beauty. Two large pine-cones of stone, common funereal emblems, lie one on each side of the entrance. There is a hole in the roof of the tomb, but whether formed in ancient times to let off the effluvium, or by modern excavators, is not evident.

Such is said to be the general character of the sepulchres on this site. Their form is often circular;[8] while in Southern Etruria that form is rarely found, the oblong or square being prevalent. No tomb with painted walls, or with architectural decorations carved in the rock, has ever been discovered in this necropolis. Some, however, of a singular description have been brought to light.[9]

Tomb of the Cæcinæ.

In this same part of the necropolis, as long since as 1739, was discovered a tomb of the Cæcina family, illustrious in Roman

[8] Gori (Mus. Etr. III. p. 93) says the tombs of Volterra are more frequently square than round, and are sometimes even triangular. Inghirami says they are generally circular, especially when small, but quadrangular when large (Mon. Etrusc. IV. p. 80); and he gives a plate of one with four square chambers (IV. tav. 16). Gori asserts that the roofs are often formed of a single stone of enormous size, sometimes supported in the middle by a pillar hewn from the rock. The entrances generally face the west. Testimony, unfortunately, is well-nigh our only authority in the matter. A second tomb is sometimes found beneath the first, says Inghirami (IV. p. 94). In the centre of the floor of the tomb, there is often a hole, probably formed as a receptacle for the water that might percolate through the roof and walls. The vases are generally placed between the urns, or in front of them, if there be not room at the side, and the mirrors are also laid in front. Inghir. IV. p. 83. When the body was not burnt, as usual, it was laid on the bare rock. Sarcophagi were very rarely used.

[9] A tomb was found in this necropolis, in 1738, which was supposed, from the numerous pots, pans, and plates within it, to have been an Etruscan kitchen—some of the pots being full of the bones of kids and of little birds. MS. description, cited by Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 90. But these must have been the relics of the funeral feast; a pair of gold earrings in an urn was hardly consistent with the idea of a kitchen.

annals. As described by Gori, who must have seen it, this tomb was very like the Grotta de' Marmini, but on a larger scale. At the depth of eight feet below the surface, was found an archway of beautiful construction, opening on a passage lined with similar masonry, and leading down to the rock-hewn door of the tomb, which was closed with a large slab. The sepulchre was circular, about forty feet in diameter, supported by a stout column in the midst, and surrounded by a triple tier of benches, all hewn from the rock. Forty urns of alabaster, adorned with painting and gilding, were found lying, not on the benches where they had originally been arranged, but in a confused heap on the floor, as though they had been cast there by former plunderers, or "thrown down by an earthquake," as Gori suggests—more probably the former. Just within the door stood a beautiful Roman *cippus*, with a sepulchral inscription in Latin, of "A. Cæcina."[1] Most of the urns also bore inscriptions, some in Etruscan, a few in Latin, but all of the same family. They have fortunately been preserved in the Museum of the city, just then commenced, but the tomb where they had lain for at least two thousand years, has been covered in, and its very site is now forgotten.[2]

A second tomb of this family was discovered in 1785, containing about forty urns; none of them with Latin inscriptions.[3]

A third tomb of the Cæcina family was discovered in 1810, outside the Gate of Diana, containing six chambers, and numerous urns with Etruscan inscriptions.[4] Thus it would appear that this family was numerous as well as powerful. It has become extinct only in our own day.[5]

In 1831, Signor Giusto Cinci, to whom most of the excavations at Volterra of late years are due, discovered the vestiges of two tumular sepulchres, which had been covered in with

[1] Gori (III. p. 94, tab. 11) and Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. VI. p. 23. tav. D 3.) call it an altar, which it resembles in form; but the inscription marks it as a *cippus*. It is now in the Museum of Volterra.

[2] Descriptions and illustrations of this tomb are given by Maffei, Osserv. Lett. V. p. 318; Gori, loc. cit. tab. 10; and Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 85, tavv. 14, 15.

Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. I. p. 11.

A description of it will be found in Inghirami's Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 107. The door was 12 *braccia* (23 feet) below the surface; the first chamber was of irregular form, having a column in the midst, and two rows of benches around the walls, on which the urns were found upset and in great confusion; the inscriptions were all Etruscan. The other five chambers were of inferior size. Inghirami thinks it was the early Christians who overturned the urns in these tombs, in their iconoclastic zeal.

[5] See the next Chapter, p. 186.

masonry, in the form of domes. Though but slight vestiges remained, it was evident that the cone of one had been composed of small rectangular blocks of tufo, rudely hewn, and uncemented; the other, of large masses of travertine, also without cement, whose upper sides proved the structure to have been of irregular polygons, though resting on a basement of rectangular masonry.[6] This is the only instance known of polygonal construction so far north in Italy, and is the more remarkable, as every other relic of ancient architecture on this site is strictly rectangular. Though the construction of this tomb betokened a high antiquity, the alabaster urns it contained betrayed a comparatively recent date,[7] and seemed to mark a reappropriation of a very ancient sepulchre. These domed tombs must have borne a close analogy in miniature to the Treasuries of Atreus and Minyas, and also to the Nuraghe of Sardinia, and the Talajots of the Balearic Islands.[8]

[6] These monuments were only 5 feet apart. Each cone had a basement of regular masonry, about 9 feet square, and beneath one of these were several courses of rude blocks, below the surface of the ground, and resting on the doorway of the sepulchre, which was composed of two upright blocks, crossed by a third as a lintel.

[7] Inghirami says, as late as the seventh or eighth century of Rome, the period to which he refers most of the urns of Volterra. He has given full particulars of these tombs, together with illustrations. Ann. Inst. 1832, pp. 26–30, tav. d'Agg. A.

[8] These were genuine specimens of the *tholus*, or domed structure of the Greeks, such as we see it in the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ; and they are the only instances known of such *tholi* in Etruria, though one was found some ages since at Gubbio, the ancient Iguvium, in Umbria, where the celebrated inscribed tablets, called the Eugubian Tables, were discovered. Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. p. 100, tab. 18. 6. They also closely resemble the Nuraghe of Sardinia, and still more the Talajots of the Balearics, inasmuch as the latter are cones containing but one such chamber, while the Nuraghe have often several. The point of difference is, that these domed tombs of Volterra, like that of Gubbio, must have been covered with a mound of earth, while the Nuraghe and Talajots are solid cones of masonry, like one of the towers in the Cucumella of Vulci, but hollowed into chambers, and raised above the surface. The Nuraghe still exist in great numbers in Sardinia. No fewer than 3000 are said by De la Marmora to be scattered over the shores of that island, and the Talajots are not much less numerous in the Balearics. The former, which rise 30 or 40 feet above ground, have sometimes two or three stories, each with a domed chamber connected by spiral passages left in the masonry; sometimes several chambers are on the same floor, communicating by corridors; the structure, instead of being conical, is sometimes three-sided, yet with the angles rounded. Some of them have basements of masonry like these tombs of Volterra; and others are raised on platforms of earth, with embankments of masonry twenty feet in height. Though so numerous, none are found in so complete a state of preservation that it can be decided whether they terminated above in a perfect or a truncated cone. They are, in general, of regular though rude masonry, but a few are of polygonal construction. They are evidently of high antiquity. The construction of the domed chambers, formed, like the Treasury of Atreus, by the convergence of horizontal strata, establishes this beyond a doubt. To what race to ascribe them is still in dispute. De la Marmora, Micali, and Arri, assign them to the Phœnicians or Carthaginians; Petit-Radel,

Excavations are still carried on at Volterra, and of late years with much regularity and spirit. Multitudes of urns have been brought to light, together with coins and jewellery, and various objects in terra cotta, bronze, and glass.[9] In 1868 a deposit of sixty archaic Greek coins, of silver, was discovered—proving that commercial intercourse existed between Volterra and Greece long prior to the Roman conquest.[1]

When the first edition of this work was published there was but a single sepulchre in this necropolis, the Grotta de' Marmini, preserved for public inspection. Two others have since been added, both situated in the Villa Inghirami, which lies to the east of Volterra, near the Convent of San Girolamo. The traveller should not omit to pay a visit to this Villa to see these

to the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, in which he is followed by Abeken; and to this view Inghirami also inclines. Müller, however, regarded them as Etruscan, rather than Pelasgic (Etrusk. IV. 2, 2). For Petit-Radel's opinion there is ancient authority; for the pseudo-Aristotle (de Mirab. Auscult. cap. 104) mentions the *tholi* of Sardinia, built by Iolaus, son of Iphicles, in the ancient Greek style. Diodorus (IV. p. 235, ed. Rhod.) speaks of them under the name of Dædalia, so called from the celebrated Dædalus, their traditional architect. These *tholi* can be no other than the Nuraghe. Though Micali does not take them to be tombs, and Canina (Archit. Ant. V. p. 547) thinks they were treasuries or forts, there is little doubt of their sepulchral character; for skeletons have often been found in them, and funereal furniture, chiefly in metal. For detailed descriptions and illustrations of them, see De la Marmora, Voyage en Sardaigne, tom. II., and Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 121; 1834, pp. 68–70; Petit-Radel, Nuraghes de la Sardaigne, Paris, 1826–8; Arri, Nur-hag della Sardegna, Torino, 1835; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. II. pp. 43 *et seq.*; III. p. 111, tav. 71; Abeken, Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 155–160; 1841, pp. 40–2; Mittelitalien, pp. 236–8.

Conical structures, roofed in exactly on the same plan as the Treasury of Atreus and other ancient *tholi*, have been discovered in the Valley of the Ohio. Mr. Stephens (Yucatan, I. p. 433) wisely forbears to infer for them a common origin, which could be no more satisfactorily established by these monuments than for the inhabitants of Egypt and Central America by the coincidence of pyramidal structures in both lands.

[9] For accounts of the excavations at Volterra in past ages, see Inghirami, Monumenti Etruschi, IV. Ragionamento, V. pp. 78-110. For the more recent operations consult the Bullettini of the Archæological Institute. In 1844, I saw at Volterra, in the possession of Signor Agostino Pilastri, a number of curious bronzes, which had been just discovered in the neighbourhood, not in a sepulchre as usual, but buried at a little depth below the surface, and on a spot where no ancient relics had previously been found. It seemed as though they had been hastily interred for concealment, but whether in ancient or comparatively modern times it was impossible to say. They consisted of six crested snakes, their sex distinguished by the comb, probably attached as adornments to helmets or shields—the *hermes* of a Genius, 18 inches high, with diadem and *patera*—two female figures, most ludicrously attenuated, each holding a *patera*—a male in a toga, about a foot high, of excellent art—a horse galloping, probably a *signum militare*—and a large votive dove, 10 or 12 inches long, of solid bronze, with an Etruscan inscription on its wing, which is given in my notice of these articles, Bull. Inst. 1845, p. 137.

[1] Bull. Inst. 1868, p. 134. For the most recent *scavi*, see Bull. Inst., 1874, pp. 229–236.

tombs, and the Buche de' Saracini. May he have such a bright spring morning as I enjoyed, for the walk. The sun, which had scarcely scàled the mountain-tops, looked in vain through the clear ether for a cloud to shadow his brightness. The wide, deep valley of the Cecina at my feet, all its nakedness and wrinkled desolation lost in the shadow of the purple mountains to the south, was crossed by two long lines of white vapour, which might have been taken for fleecy clouds, had they not been traceable to the tall chimneys of the Saltworks in the depths of the valley. Behind the mass of Monte Catino, to the west, shone out the bright blue Mediterranean, with the rocky island of Gorgona prominent on its bosom; far beyond it, to the right, the snow-capt mountains of Corsica hovered like a cloud on the horizon, and to the left, rose the dark, sullen peaks of Elba, half-concealed by intervening heights. So pure the atmosphere, that many a white sail might be distinguished, studding the far-off deep; and even the track of a steamer was marked by a dark thread on the bright face of the waters.

As I descended the hill to the convent of San Girolamo the scenery on the northern side of Volterra came into view. The city, with its walls and convents crowning the opposite steep, now formed the principal object; the highest point crested by the towers of the fortress, and the lower heights displaying fragments of the ancient wall, peeping at intervals from the foliage. At my feet lay an expanse of bare undulating country, the valley of the Era, broken into ravines and studded with villages; softening off in the distance into the well-known plain of Pisa, with the dark mountains behind that city—

Per cui i Pisan veder Lucca non ponno—

expanding into a form which recalled the higher beauties of the Alban Mount. There was still the blue sea in the distance, with the bald, jagged mountains of Carrara, ever dear to the memory, overhanging the Gulf of Spezia; and the sublime hoary peaks of the Apennines, sharply cutting the azure, filled up the northern horizon—sea, gulf, and mountains, all so many boundaries of ancient Etruria. The weather had been gloomy and misty the previous days I had spent at Volterra, so that this range of icy sublimities burst upon me like a new creation. The convent of S. Girolamo, with its grove of ilices and cypresses, formed a beautiful foreground to the scene.

The Villa Inghirami, which lies lower on the slope, belongs to

one of that old Volaterran family, which for ages has been renowned for arts and arms,—

Chi può l' armi tacer d' un Inghirami ?—

or has distinguished itself in scientific or antiquarian research; and a most illustrious member of which was the late Cavalier Francesco, the celebrated writer on Etruscan antiquities. The antiquarian interest of the spot lies in the tombs and in the so-called Buche de' Saracini. To see them you must beat up the gardener of the Villa, who will furnish you with lights.

The tomb which was first discovered on this spot is in the form of a Latin cross, with four square chambers, all surrounded by benches hewn from the rock, on which are arranged some forty sepulchral urns, most of them of *panchina* or of alabaster, with a few of terra-cotta. Not all were found within this tomb, for in addition to those that belong to it are some from the Cinci collection, the best of which were long since transferred to the Etruscan Museum at Florence.

The other sepulchre was opened in 1861 by the brothers Inghirami, in whose ground it lies. You approach it by a passage sunk in the rock; the tomb is circular and about twenty feet in diameter, the roof being supported by a pillar of rock in the centre. On the bench which surrounds the chamber is a double row of urns, fifty-three in all, most of them of alabaster and in excellent preservation. From the variety of styles of art which these urns display, it is evident they belong to different epochs, and it may be inferred that this tomb served as a family vault through many generations. Some are of very simple archaic character, others show that minute attention to details which marks an advanced period of art. The recumbent figures on the lids have all the character of portraits. The reliefs generally display well known subjects from the Theban cycle, or the Trojan War; the siege of Thebes—Laius slain by Œdipus—the mutual slaughter of Eteocles and Polyneices—Paris kneeling on an altar, and defending himself from his brethren—the Rape of Helen—Philoctetes in Lemnos—the murder of Clytæmnestra and her paramour—the death of Neoptolemus, slain by Orestes—Perseus rescuing Andromeda—Pelops carrying off Hippodameia in a *quadriga*. Not a few show scenes of private life—banquets, boar-hunts, death-beds, the parting of relatives, funerals, &c. A few have quite novel subjects. Two warriors, sword in hand, and each bearing on his shoulder a woman with a baby or idol in her

arms, are proceeding from a temple towards a gateway, and are passing the guards stretched in slumber on the ground, one of whom suddenly awaking, seeks to protect himself with his pillow from the threatened blow. Behind the temple stands a Fury with a torch. This scene has been interpreted as the Rape of the Palladium.[2]

Two other urns with novel subjects are in fragments; in one relief is a human figure with a monkey's head, which we recommend to the attention of all advocates of the modern theory of evolution.[3]

Another relief shows a man standing under a tree, holding his horse by the bridle; and before him stand five oxen, three sheep, and as many pigs. This scene has been interpreted as Ulysses conversing with his companions, brutified by the enchantments of Circe; but as these animals are genuine cattle without any indications of metamorphosis, it is not easy to accept this interpretation of this novel subject.[4]

To see the "Buche de' Saracini" you must enter a little cave in a bank, and follow the gardener through a long passage cut in the rock, six feet wide but only three high, so that you must travel on all fours. From time to time the passage widens into chambers, yet not high enough to permit you to stand upright; or it meets other passages of similar character opening in various directions, and extending into the heart of the hill, how far no one can say. In short, this is a perfect labyrinth, in which, without a clue, one might very soon be lost.

By whom, and for what purpose these passages were formed, I cannot hazard an opinion. Though I went far into the hill, I saw no signs of tombs, or of a sepulchral appropriation—nothing to assimilate them to catacombs. That they have not lost their original character is proved by the marks of the chisel everywhere fresh on the walls. They are too low for subterranean communications, otherwise one might lend an ear to the vulgar belief that they were formed to connect the Villa with the Palazzo Inghirami in the town. They have no decided Etruscan character, yet are not unlike the tortuous passages in the Poggio Gajella at Chiusi, and in the Grotta Regina at Toscanella. The cave at the entrance is lined with rude masonry, apparently of no

[2] Kiessling, Arch. Anz. 1861, p. 228, cited by Brunn, Bull. Inst. 1862, p. 211.

[3] Similar figures are to be seen in a painted tomb at Chiusi. See Chapter 54, p. 343 of this volume.

[4] For an account of these tombs in the Villa Inghirami, see Bull. Inst. 1862, pp. 207–213.

early date. Another tradition ascribes their formation to the Saracens, once the scourges, and at the same time the bugbears of the Italian coast. Though these infidel pirates were wont to make descents on these shores during the middle ages, carrying off plunder and women, they were often creatures of romance rather than of reality; every trace of wanton barbarity and destruction is attributed to them, as to Cromwell's dragoons in England; and as they have also the fame of having been great magicians, many a marvel of Nature and of Art is ascribed to their agency. In this case, tradition represents them as having made these passages to store their plunder, and keep their captives. Twenty miles from the sea, forsooth! Hence the vulgar title of Buche de' Saracini, or "the Saracens' Dens."



ETRUSCAN MARINE DEITY.

CHAPTER XLIV.

VOLTERRA.—*VOLATERRÆ.*

THE MUSEUM.

Qual di pennel fu maestro o di stile
Che ritraesse l'ombre e gli atti che ivi
Mirar farieno uno 'ngegno sottile?—DANTE.

Miratur, facilesque oculos fert omnia circum
Æneas, capiturque locis; et singula lætus
Exquiritque auditque virûm monimenta priorum.—VIRGIL.

SOME consolation for the loss of the tombs which have been opened and reclosed at Volterra is to be derived from the Museum, to which their contents for the most part have been removed. Here is treasured up the accumulated sepulchral spoil of a century and a half. The collection was in great part formed by Monsignor Guarnacci, a prelate of Volterra, and has since received large additions, so that it may now claim to be one of the most valuable collections of Etruscan antiquities in the world.[1] Valuable, not in a marketable sense, for a dozen of the

[1] The excavations at Volterra were commenced about 1728, in consequence of the interest excited by the publications of Dempster and Buonarroti. They were continued for more than thirty years; and such multitudes of urns were brought to light that they were used as building materials. It was seeing them lie about in all directions that first excited Gori's curiosity, and led him to the study of Etruscan antiquities. Even in 1743, he said that so many urns had been discovered in the last three years, that the Museum of Volterra surpassed every other in Etruscan relics (Mus. Etrus. III. p. 92); though it was not till 1761 that Monsignor Guarnacci presented his collection to the city. After that time interest flagged in Etruscan antiquities, but of late years it has revived, and excavations have been carried on briskly, chiefly by members of the Cinci and Inghirami families.

Vulcian vases and mirrors in the Gregorian Museum would purchase the contents of any one of its nine or ten rooms; and the collection at Munich, or that in the British Museum, would fetch more dollars in the market than the entire Museum of Volterra, with the Palazzo Pubblico to boot. But for the light they throw on the manners, customs, religious creed, and traditions of the ancient Etruscans, the storied urns of Volterra are of infinitely more value than the choicest vases ever moulded by the hand of Eucheir, or touched by the pencil of Eugrammos. The latter almost invariably bear scenes taken from the mythical cycle of the Greeks, and, with rare exceptions, throw no light on the history, or on the inner life of that people, or of the Etruscans. The urns of Volterra, Chiusi, and Perugia, on the other hand, are more genuine—native in conception and execution, bearing subjects of-every day life, as well as of-every day death, illustrative of Etruscan usages and religious beliefs;—often indeed exhibiting scenes from the Greek mythology, but treated in a native manner, and according to Etruscan traditions. Thus the Museum of Volterra is a storehouse of facts, illustrative of the civilisation of ancient Etruria. I cannot agree with Maffei, that "he who has not been to Volterra knows nothing of Etruscan figured antiquity"[2]—this is too like the unqualified boastings of the other Peninsula. He was a townsman of Volterra, and his evidence may be suspected of partiality. Yet it may fairly be said, that this Museum is fully as instructive as any other collection of Etruscan antiquities in Italy or elsewhere, and that in this respect Volterra yields in interest to no other Etruscan site.

The Museum has hitherto been contained in the Palazzo Pubblico of Volterra, where it was crammed into nine or ten small chambers, but at the beginning of 1877, it was transferred, together with the Library, to another and more suitable building, where the monuments, newly arranged by Signor A. Cinci, son of the gentleman to whose researches on this site antiquarian science is so much indebted, are now exhibited to greater advantage.

I do not propose to lead the reader through the several rooms of the Museum in succession, and to describe the articles *seriatim;* nor do I pretend to give him every detail of those I notice; it will suffice to call his attention to those of greatest interest, pointing out their subjects and characteristic features; assuring him that not a single visit, or even two or three, will suffice to make him

[2] Maffei, Osserv. Letter. V. p. 315. The remark was made when the Museum had but sixty urns; now it has more than four hundred.

acquainted with the Museum, but that continued study will only tend to develop new facts and supply him with fresh sources of interest.

The urns, of which there are said to be more than four hundred, are sometimes of the local rock called *panchina*, but more generally of alabaster, which is only to be quarried in this neighbourhood. Thus no doubt can be entertained of their native and local character.[3] They are miniature *sarcophagi*, resembling those of Tarquinii and Toscanella in everything but material and size; being intended to contain not the entire body, but merely the ashes of the deceased, a third of the dimensions suffices,—

Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sunt hominum corpuscula.

These "ash-chests" are rarely more than two feet in length; so that they merit the name, usually applied to them, of urnlets —*urnette*. Most have the effigy of the deceased recumbent on the lid. Hence we learn something of the physiognomy and costume of the Etruscans; though we should do wrong to draw inferences as to their symmetry from the stunted distorted figures often presented to us. The equality of women in the social scale of Etruria may also be learned from the figures on these urns. It is evident that no inferior respect was paid to the fair sex when dead, that as much labour and expense were bestowed on their sepulchral decorations as on those of their lords. In fact, it has generally been remarked that the tombs of women are more highly ornamented and richly furnished than those of the opposite sex. Their equality may perhaps be learned also from the tablets which so many hold open in their hands, which seem to intimate that they were not kept in ignorance and degradation, but were educated to be the companions rather than the slaves of the men. Nay—if we may judge from these urns, the Etruscan ladies had the advantage of their lords; for whereas the latter are generally represented reclining in luxurious indolence, with

[3] This *panchina* is an arenaceous tufo of aqueous formation, containing marine substances. It is of a warm yellow hue, more or less reddish. The alabaster quarries are at Spicchiajola, 3 miles distant, and at Ulignano, 5 or 6 miles from Volterra, both in the Val d' Era. A few of the Etruscan urns are of travertine, which is found at Pignano, 6 miles to the east, in the same valley. Inghirami, indeed, suggests that these urns may be the work of Greeks settled at Volterra, after its conquest by the Romans (Mon. Etrus. I. p. 541); but such a supposition is unnecessary, inasmuch as the Hellenic mythology was well known to the Etruscans; and the style of art of these urns, and the treatment of the subjects, having a thoroughly native character, are quite opposed to this view.

chaplet around their brows, torque about their neck, and a *phiala*, or the more debauched *rhyton* in one hand, with sometimes a wine-jug in the other; the women, though a few seem to have been too fond of creature comforts, are, for the most part, guiltless of anything beyond a fan, an egg, a pomegranate, a mirror, or it may be tablets or a scroll. Though the Etruscan fair ones were not all Tanaquils or Begoës, they were probably all educated —at least those of the higher orders. Let them not, however, be suspected of cerulean tendencies—too dark or deep a hue was clearly not in fashion; for the ladies who have the tablets in one hand, generally hold a pomegranate, the emblem of fertility, in the other, to intimate that while their minds were cultivated, their domestic duties were not neglected—an interpretation which I think may fairly be put on the union of the tablets and pomegranates in the hands of these fair Etruscans.[4]

It has been questioned whether these articles really represent tablets, but all doubt on that point is removed by an urn in this very collection, where a lady is portrayed with a pair of these objects painted black, on which a legend is scratched in Etruscan characters.[5]

On these urns the female figures are always decently draped, while the men are generally but half clad. Most of the figures and reliefs were originally coloured and gilt, but few now retain more than very faint traces of such decoration.

As to the reliefs on the urns, it may be well to consider them in two classes; those of purely Etruscan subjects, and those which illustrate well-known mythological legends; though it is sometimes difficult to pronounce to which class a particular monument belongs. We will first treat of the latter.

[4] See Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 43; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 105, for an illustration of this fact—a lady of the Cæcina family, with tablets and a pomegranate. That writer takes this fruit, which was sacred to Proserpine, to indicate that the lady in question placed herself under the special protection of the Queen of Hades. I may possibly be mistaken in my interpretation of the tablets, which may have allusion to domestic duties, and may indicate that the dame who holds them was a good housewife, and took careful note of her expenses.

[5] Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 180) takes these tablets to be a mirror in the form of a book. But no mirrors of this form have ever been discovered; and it is difficult to believe that an article so frequently represented on Etruscan urns, would never have been found in tombs, if it had been of metal, like other ancient mirrors. That the tablets of the ancients were of this form is well known. A proof of this is presented by a pair of hinged tablets of ivory, discovered in the recent excavations on the Esquiline, and now preserved in the Etruscan Museum of the Capitol. It is probable that these tablets—*tabulæ*, *pugillares*—were thin plates of wood, or of bone, coated with wax, which will account for no specimens of them having been found in Etruscan sepulchres.

It has been truly remarked, that from Etruscan urns might be formed a series of the most celebrated deeds of the mythical cycle, from Cadmus to Ulysses. Many links in such a chain might be furnished by the Museum of Volterra, which also contains other monuments illustrative of the doings of the divinities of Grecian fable. I can only notice the most striking.

The Rape of Proserpine.—The gloomy king of Hades is carrying off his struggling bride in his chariot; the four steeds, lashed to a gallop by a truculent Fury with outspread wings, who acts as charioteer, are about to pass over a Triton, whose tail stretches in vast coils almost across the scene. In another relief of the same subject, a snake takes the place of the sea-monster.[6] In a third, Charun, with a serpent in each hand, stands at the horses' heads.

Aurora.—The goddess who "gives light to mortals and immortals," is rising in her chariot from the waves, in which dolphins are sporting. She has here not merely a pair of steeds, as represented by Homer, but drives four in hand, as Guido has depicted her in his celebrated fresco.[7]

Cupid and Psyche.—One relief represents the god of love embracing his bride; each having but a single wing.[8]

Actæon attacked by his dogs.—This scene is remarkable only for the presence of a winged Fury, who sits by with torch reversed.[9] On another urn Diana with a lance stands on one side, and an old man on the other.[1]

Centaurs and Lapiths.—A subject often repeated. In con-

[6] Illustrated by Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. I. tav. 9, 53; VI. tav. D. 5. Gori, I. tab. 78; III. cl. 3, tab. 3. This is a common subject on Etruscan sepulchral monuments, It is thought to symbolise the descent of the soul to the other world; and as such would be a peculiarly appropriate subject for the urns of young females. The Fury driving the *quadriga*, seems an illustration of that passage in Claudian (Rapt. Proserp. II. 215), where Minerva thus addresses Pluto—

> quæ te stimulis facibusque profanis
> Eumenides movêre? tuâ cur sede relictâ
> Audes Tartareis cœlum incestare quadrigis?

But this monument must be much earlier than the poem. The monster and the serpent may be explained by another passage in the same writer (II. 157), where the "ruler of souls" drives over the groaning Enceladus—the fish's-tail, which marks a Triton, having probably been substituted by the sculptor, through caprice or carelessness, for the serpent-tail of a Giant.

[7] Hom. Odys. XXIII. 246. For illustrations, see Inghirami, I. tav. 5. Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 25.

[8] So it is represented by Inghirami, I. tav. 52.

[9] Inghir. I. tav. 70. This may be Artemis herself, who was sometimes represented with wings by the Greeks, as on the Chest of Cypselus (Pausan. V. 19, 5), and frequently by the Etruscans, an instance of which is shown in the woodcut, at page 473, of Vol. I.

[1] Inghir. I. tav. 65. Gori, I. tab. 122.

formity with Ovid's description, some of the monsters are striving to escape with the women they have seized, while others are hurling rocks at Theseus and his fellows.[2] From the numerous repetitions of certain subjects on Etruscan urns, sometimes precisely similar, more frequently with slight variations, it is evident that there was often one original type of the scene, probably the work of some celebrated artist.

Perseus and Andromeda.—The maiden is chained to the walls of a cavern; the fearful monster with open jaws is about to devour her, when Perseus comes to her rescue. Contrary to the received legend, she is here draped. Her father Cepheus sits by, horror-struck at the impending fate of his daughter. The presence of a winged demon—probably the Juno of the maiden—is an Etruscan peculiarity. On another relief of the same subject, the protecting spirit is wanting; but some palm-trees mark the scene to be in Ethiopia.[3]

Bacchic scene.—Two naked Satyrs, each bearing a draped Mænad on his shoulder—a subject not uncommon on archaic Greek vases, but unique on an Etruscan urn.

The mythical history of Thebes has afforded numerous subjects to these Etruscan urns—perhaps chosen for the moral of retributive justice throughout expressed.

Cadmus.—Here he is contending with the dragon of Mars, which has enfolded one of his companions in its fearful coils.[4] There he is combating the armed men who sprung from the teeth of the dragon which Minerva ordered him to sow—his only weapon being the plough with which he had opened the furrows. This scene, however, will apply to Jason, as well as to Cadmus, for the former is said to have sown half the teeth of the same dragon, and to have reaped the same fruits. This is a very

[2] Ovid. Met. XII. 223 *et seq.* Gori, I. tab. 152, 153; III. cl. 3, tab. 1, 2.

[3] Perseus in the one case has all his attributes—*pileus*, *talaria*, *harpe*, and *Gorgoneion*—in the other, the last two only. Gori, I. tab. 123; III. c. 13, tab. 1. Inghirami, I. tav. 55, 56. Ovid (Met. IV. 690) represents both the parents of the maiden as present. It may have been so in the original scene which was the type of these reliefs, and the Juno may be an Etruscan version of the mother. The scene of this exploit of Perseus is said to have been at Joppa, in proof of which the skeleton of the monster was shown there at the commencement of the Empire, and was brought to Rome to feed the appetite of that people for the marvellous. Its dimensions are chronicled by Pliny. N. H. IX. 4; Mela, I. 11; cf. Strab. I. p. 43; XVI. p. 759.

Another urn represents Perseus, with the *gorgoneion* in his hand, attacked by two warriors; a female genius steps between him and his pursuers. Inghir. I. tav. 54.

[4] Inghir. I. tav. 62, p. 519. Inghirami (I. p. 657) offers a second interpretation of this scene—that it may be Adrastus slaying the serpent of Nemea, and that the figure in its coils is the young Opheltes. Gori, I. tab. 156.

common subject on Etruscan urns, especially on those of terra-cotta.[5]

Dirce tied to the wild bull by Amphion and Zethus.—A very rare subject on Etruscan urns.

Œdipus and the Sphinx.—The son of Laius is solving the riddle put to him by

> "That sad inexplicable beast of prey,"

whose "man-devouring" tendencies are seen in a human skull beneath her paws. A Fury with a torch stands behind the monster.[6]

Œdipus slaying Laius.—He has dragged his father from his chariot, and thrown him to the earth; and is about to plunge his sword into his body, heedless of the warning of a Juno, who lays her hand on his shoulder, as if to restrain his fury. Another winged demon, whose brute ears mark him as allied to "Charun," stands by the horses' heads.[7]

Amphiaraus and Eriphyle.—In some of these scenes a woman, reclining on her couch, is thought to represent the treacherous

> "Eriphyle, that for an ouche of gold,
> Hath privily unto the Grekis told
> Where that her husband hid him in a place,
> For which he had at Thebis sory grace."

For behind her stands a figure, thought to be Polyneices, with the necklace of Harmonia in his hand, with which he had bribed her; and on the other side is a man muffled, as if for a journey, who is supposed to represent Amphiaraus.[8]

[5] Lanzi took this scene to represent Jason; Inghirami referred it to Cadmus; Passeri and Winckelmann to Echetlus, or Echetlæus, the mysterious rustic who, in the battle of Marathon, with his plough alone made fearful slaughter of the Persians (Pausan. I. 32, 5; cf. I. 15, 3). See Inghir. Mon. Etr. I. pp. 402, 527 *et seq.* Braun doubts if the instrument in the hands of the unarmed man be a plough, and takes the figure to represent Charun himself, or one of his infernal attendants, who is about to take possession of one of the warriors who is slain. Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 264. This scene, and the mutual slaughter of the Theban brothers, are the most common of all represented on Etruscan monuments, and will be found in every collection of such antiquities. There are several of it in the British Museum. For illustrations, see Dempster, Etrur. Reg. tab. 64; Inghir. I. tav. 63, 64; VI. tav. L. 3. Gori, I. tab. 157.

[6] The subject is repeated, with the omission of the skull. Inghir. I. tav. 67, 68.

[7] Inghir. I. tav. 66. Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 21, 1. Gerhard takes this figure to be Mantus, the king of the Etruscan Hades. Gottheit. d. Etrus. p. 63, taf. VI. 2.

[8] Inghir. I. tav. 19, 20, 74–77, pp. 182 *et seq.* Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 36. Inghirami follows Lanzi in interpreting this scene as the parting of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. Gori (II. p. 262) took it for a version of the final parting-scene so often

The Seven before Thebes.—There are three urns with this subject. One, which represents the assault of Capaneus on the Electrian Gate of Thebes, is very remarkable. The moment is chosen when the hero, who has defied the power of Jove, and has endeavoured to scale "the sacred walls," is struck by a thunder-bolt, and falls headlong to the earth; his ladder also breaking with him. The amazement and awe of his comrades are well expressed. The gate of the city is evidently an imitation of the ancient one of Volterra, called Porta all' Arco; for it is represented with the three mysterious heads around it, precisely in the same relative positions.[9] In the other two urns Capaneus is wanting, though an assault on the gate is represented; but the original type is still evident, though the three heads are transferred to the battlements above, and are turned into those of warriors resisting the attack of the besiegers. In one of these scenes a woman, probably Antigone, is looking out of a small window by the side of the gate. And in both, the principal figure among the besiegers grasps a severed head by the hair, and is about to hurl it into the city.[1]

The boy Opheltes, or Archemorus, squeezed to death by a huge serpent.

Polyneices and Eteocles.—The fatal combat of the Theban Brothers is a subject of most frequent occurrence on Etruscan

represented on Etruscan monuments, without any reference to Greek mythology. It has also been regarded as the death of Alcestis. Ann. Inst. 1842, pp. 40–7,—Grauer. Cf. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. 40. B. The parting of Amphiaraus and his wife was one of the scenes which adorned the celebrated Chest of Cypselus. Pausan. V. 17, 7.

[9] Inghir. I. tav. 87. Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 29; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 108. Though the gate in this scene is a perfect arch, there are no *voussoirs* expressed. The freedom and vigour of design in this relief show it to be of no early date. Inghirami (I. p. 678 *et seq.*) infers this from the presence of warriors on horseback, for such are never described by Homer. But mounted warriors appear in monuments of the highest antiquity. The date of these urns is more safely determined by the style of art. For descriptions of this scene see Æschyl. Sept. ad Theb. 423–456, and the prolix yarn of Statius, Theb. X. 828—ad finem. Pausan. IX. 8, 7. The subject of Capaneus has been found also on Etruscan *scarabæi.* One of them bears the name "CAPNE" in Etruscan characters. Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 118.

[1] Inghir. I. tav. 88, 90; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 30, 31. Gori, I. tab. 132. Inghirami (I. p. 681) thinks the female at the window is intended for Antigone counting the besiegers. He remarks that both Greeks and Romans were wont to hurl the heads of their slaughtered foes into beleaguered cities, in order to infuse terror into the besieged; an instance of which is seen on Trajan's Column, where Roman soldiers are casting the heads of the Dacians into their city. From this he unnecessarily infers that these urns are of the same date as that celebrated column. The style of art proves them to be of no early period; one of them is among the most beautiful urns yet discovered at Volterra.

urns, and there are many instances in this Museum. They are generally represented in the act of giving each other the death-wound. A Charun, or a Fury, who sits behind them, puts one hand on the shoulder of each.[2]

The Trojan War has also furnished scenes for some of these urns.

The Rape of Helen.—A scene often repeated. "The faire Tyndarid lasse," is hurried on board a "brazen-beaked ship"—attendants are carrying vases and other goods on board—

> — crateres auro solidi, captivaque vestis
> Congeritur—

all is hurry and confusion—but Paris, marked by his Phrygian cap, is seated on the shore in loving contemplation of

> "the face that launched a thousand ships,
> And burnt the topmost towers of Ilium."[3]

Sometimes the fond pair are represented making their escape in a *quadriga*.[4]

The Sacrifice of Iphigeneia.—The maiden is borne to the altar by Ulysses and Diomede, followed by two women and her father. The priestess stands with sword upraised for the sacrifice, when a Lasa interposes and substitutes a kid or a fawn in her place—the "ram caught in the thicket" of the earlier legend.[5]

Philoctetes, "the skilful archer," sitting in a cave in Lemnos, where he was left when on his way to Troy, having been bitten in the foot by a serpent.[6]

On another urn he is seen issuing from his cave, quiver in hand, to meet Ulysses and Diomede, or it may be Pyrrhus, who have landed from their ships to announce that the oracle had declared that Troy could not fall until the arrows which Hercules had bequeathed to Philoctetes were brought against her.

Telephus in the Grecian camp before Troy, seeking to be healed of the wound he had received from Achilles.

[2] Gori, I. tab. 133. Inghirami, I. tav. 92, 93; VI. tav. V. 2. In the very similar representation of this combat on the Chest of Cypselus, a female demon or Fate, with the name "Ker" inscribed, having the fangs and claws of a wild beast, was introduced behind one of the brothers. Pausan. V. 19, 6.

[3] Gori (Mus. Etrus. I. tab. 138, 139; III. class. 3, tab. 5) interprets this scene as the fate of Auges and her son Telephus.

[4] Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 7.

[5] One urn is entitled, "The Self-Sacrifice of Iphigeneia," showing a woman lying on a couch with a sword in her body. But this appears a misnomer, for it more probably represents the death of Clytæmnestra, with the two avengers in the act of slaying Ægisthus.

[6] Hom. Il. II. 721.

Penthesileia, Queen of the Amazons, offering her assistance to Priam, who receives her sitting on his couch.

Battle of the Greeks and Amazons.—This, a favourite subject on the sarcophagi of Corneto, is rarely found on the cinerary urns of Volterra. One urn, however, bears a spirited representation of this combat. The central group of a mounted Amazon contending with a Greek on foot is admirable; and there is much grace in the figure of the wounded heroine on the ground, to whom another is offering water to allay her thirst. At each end of the scene stands a winged Lasa, holding a horse; the repose of her figure contrasting strongly with the passionate energy of the combatants.

One scene represents the death of Polites, so beautifully described by Virgil.[7] The youth has fled to the altar for refuge, the altar of his household gods, by which stand his venerable parents; but the relentless Pyrrhus rushes on, thirsting for his blood. Priam implores mercy for his son—even his guardian genius steps in to his aid, and holds out a wheel to his grasp. The urn tells no more, but leaves the catastrophe—*finis Priami fatorum*—to the imagination of the beholder.[8]

A scene very similar to this shows Paris, when a shepherd, ere he had been rendered effeminate by the caresses of Helen, defending himself against his brothers, who, enraged that a stranger should have carried off the prizes from them in the public games, sought to take his life. The palm-leaf he bears in his hand, as he kneels on the altar to which he had fled for refuge, tells the tale. The venerable Priam comes up and recognises his son. A Juno, or guardian spirit, steps between him and his foes.[9]

[7] Virg. Æn. II. 526—558.

[8] Gori, Mus. Etrus. I. tab. 171; III. cl. 4, tab. 16, 17. The demon in this scene is by many regarded as Nemesis. Gori interprets this scene as "Sacra Cabiria."

[9] Gori, I. tab. 174; III. class. 3, tav. 9; cl. 4, tab. 18, 19. Another version is given on the urn numbered 384, which is of superior art. This is a scene frequently occurring on Etruscan urns; and is found also on bronze mirror-cases, of which I have seen several instances—two now in the British Museum. It has been explained as the death of Pyrrhus, at Delphi, and the female demon is supposed to represent the Pythia, at whose command the son of Achilles was slain.—Pausan. I. 13, 9. But in most of these scenes the Juno is manifestly protecting the youth, and in one instance throws her arm round his neck. Yet in others, the office of the demon, or demons, for there are sometimes two, is more equivocal; and they have been interpreted as Furies urging on the brothers of Paris to take revenge. Mus. Chius. I. tav. 81. In such cases the scene will well admit of interpretation as the death of Neoptolemus, and the man who slays him, would be either the priest of the temple (Pausan. X. 24, 5), or Machæreus (Strab. IX. p. 421), or Orestes (Virg. Æn. III. 333), though Euripides represents him not as the actual murderer, but only as the

Ulysses and the Sirens is a favourite subject. The hero is represented lashed by his own command to the mast of his vessel, yet struggling to break loose, that he may yield to the three enchantresses and their "warbling charms."[1]

The great hero of Homeric song is also represented in the company of Circe—

> "The daughter of the Sun, whose charmed cup
> Whoever tasted lost his upright shape;"

for his companions, her victims, stand around, their heads changed

> "Into some brutish form of wolf or bear,
> Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,
> All other parts remaining as they were."

Ulysses slaying the suitors with his arrows. His faithful nurse Eurycleia stands behind him, and one of the guilty women of Penelope rushes to an altar to escape the vengeance of her lord. A Fate, as usual, is present at the slaughter.

The death of Clytæmnestra.—This is a favourite subject, chosen, doubtless, as illustrative of the doctrine of retribution. In one scene the mariticide is reclining on her couch, when Orestes and Pylades rush in with drawn swords; one seizes her, the other her paramour Ægisthus, and a winged Fate stands by to betoken their end.[2] In another, the queen lies a corpse on her bed, and the avengers are returning from the slaughter. But the most remarkable monument is a large, broken urn, on which Orestes—"URSTE"—is represented in the act of slaying his mother, "CLUTMSTA," and his companion is putting to death Ægisthus. At one end of the same relief the two friends, "URSTE" and "PULUCTRE" (Pylades), are kneeling on an altar, with swords turned against their own bosoms, making expiation, while the truculent, brute-eared "CHARUN," with his fatal mallet raised, and a Fury with flaming torch, and hissing serpent, are rising from the abyss at their feet.[3] On the broken

contriver of the plot to slay Pyrrhus. (Androm. 891, *et seq.*; 1085, *et seq.* On the urn by which Micali (Ital. av. Rom. tav. 48) illustrates this scene, the Lasa has an eye in each outspread wing, just like the marine deity, represented in the wood-cut at the head of this chapter.

[1] Gori, I. tab. 147.

[2] Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 11, 2.

[3] Micali, Italia, av. Rom. tav. 47; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 109, tom. III. p. 183; Inghirami, Mon. Etr. VI. tav. A. 2; Raoul-Rochette, Mon. Ined. pl. 29; Ann. Inst., 1837, 2, p. 262—Braun. Greek names are by no means expressed on Etruscan monuments in an uniform manner. On one mirror, which represents the same mythical event as this urn, the names are spelt

fragment adjoining this urn is a warrior also kneeling on an altar, with two other figures falling around him, to which are attached the names "ACNS" and "PRIUMNES."[4]

Orestes persecuted by the Furies.—There are here not three only of these avengeful deities, but five, armed with torches or mallets, attacking the son of Agamemnon, who endeavours to defend himself with his sword.[5]

Many of these urns bear mythological subjects purely native. The most numerous class is that of marine deities, generally figured as women from the middle upwards, but with fishes' tails instead of legs—

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne.

A few, however, are represented of the male sex, as that in the woodcut at the head of this chapter. These beings are generally winged also, probably to show their superhuman power and energy; and smaller wings often spring from their temples—a common attribute of Etruscan divinities, symbolical, it may be, of a rapidity and power of intellectual action, far transcending that of mortals.[6] They have not serpent-locks, or the resemblance of their heads to that of the Greek Medusa would be complete; but they have sometimes a pair of snakes knotted around their brows, and uprearing their crests, just like those which are the distinctive mark of Egyptian gods and monarchs. These trifold divinities bear sometimes a trident or anchor, a rudder or oar, to indicate their dominion over the sea—sometimes a sword, or it may be, a firebrand or a mass of rock, to show their might over the land also, and their power of destruc-

"URUSTHE" and "CLUTUMSTA," (Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 237); and on another, "URUSTHE" and "CLUTHUMUSTHA;" and a fierce demon, named "NATHUM," with huge fangs, and hair on an end, stands behind the avenger, and brandishes a serpent over the murderess's head. Gerh. Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 238; Gottheiten der Etrusker, taf. VI. 5, pp. 11, 63; Bull. Inst., 1842, p. 47. Gerhard takes this demon to be a female, and equivalent to Mania. A totally different interpretation has been found for this urn. Etrusco-Celts, if they will, may pronounce the inscriptions to be choice Irish, and may hug themselves in the discovery that Urste means "stop the slaughter!"—Clutmsta, "stop the pursuit!"—Puluctre, "all are prisoners!" (Etruria Celtica, II. p. 166)—but few will be inclined to reject the old-fashioned interpretation of Orestes and Clytæmnestra.

[4] Inghir. I. tav. 43. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 109. There are some kindred scenes, where two armed men, kneeling on an altar, are defending themselves against their foes. One of them being sometimes represented with a human head in his hand, seems intended for Perseus. Gori, I. tab. 150, 175; Inghir. I. tav. 58, 59; VI. tav. A. 5.

[5] Inghir. I. tav. 25; cf. Gori, I. tab. 151.

[6] The wings may be considered an Etruscan characteristic, for they are rarely found attached to similar figures on Greek monuments.

tion, or their malignant character; which they further display by brandishing these weapons over the heads of their victims. They are often represented with a torque or snakes' tails about their necks. Marine deities would naturally be much worshipped by a people, whose power lay greatly in their commerce and maritime supremacy; and accordingly the active imaginations of the Etruscans were thus led to symbolise the destructive agencies of nature at sea. For these are evidently beings to be propitiated, whose vengeance is to be averted; very unlike the gentle power to which the Italian sailor now looks for succour in the hour of peril—

In mare irato, in subita procella,
Invoco te, nostra benigna stella!

It is highly probable that these sea-gods were of Etruscan origin; yet as we are ignorant of their native appellations, it may be well to designate them, as is generally done, by the names of the somewhat analogous beings of Grecian mythology, to which, however, they do not answer in every respect. The females then are usually called Scylla,[7] though wanting the peculiar characteristic of that monster, who

Pube premit rabidos inguinibusque canes.

The male sea-divinities, which are of less frequent occurrence, are commonly called Glaucus.[8] On one urn such a being is enfolding a struggling warrior in the coils of each tail.[9] In another, he has thus entangled two figures of opposite sexes, and is seizing them by the hair.[1] One of these deities, illustrated in the woodcut at the head of this chapter, has an eye in either

[7] Scylla, with the Greeks, seems to have been the embodied emblem of the sea, or of its monsters; and she thus personifies the perils of a maritime life. Ann. Inst., 1843, p. 182.

[8] Glaucus is very rarely represented on ancient works of art. Never has he been found on painted vases—only on medals, gems, Etruscan urns, and in an ancient painting in the Villa Adriana. Ann. Inst., 1843, p. 184. M. Vinet, who writes the article cited, regards Glaucus as the personification of the colour of the sea (pp. 173, 181). He thinks the word expressed "that clear hue, verging on green or blue, but in which white predominates, which the sky or the surface of the waves assumes under certain conditions, and at certain hours of the day. On viewing these effects of light, the people, who of the seven-hued rainbow had formed Iris, could not possibly have refrained from increasing the abundant series of their creations, and Neptune henceforth counted a new subject in his empire." For illustrations of Glaucus and Scylla see Mon. Inst. III. tav. 52, 53.

[9] Were it not for the sex of the monster this scene might represent the companions of Ulysses encountering Scylla; or it may be an Etruscan version of the same myth. Gori (I. tab. 148) represents it as a female.

[1] Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 23.

wing, a symbol, it may be, of all-searching power, added to that of ubiquitous energy.[2] A third bears a shield on his arm, and carries his cuirass and sword on his long fish-tail. Another of these sea-gods, similarly winged, but without the eyes, is represented carrying off a naked girl, having slain the warrior, her protector.

When, instead of fishes' tails, the woman's body terminates in snakes, she is commonly called Echidna, the sister of Medusa and the Gorgons, the mother of Cerberus, the Hydra, the Chimæra, the Sphinx, and other mythical monsters, and herself

> "Stupendous, nor in shape resembling aught
> Of human or of heavenly; monstrous, fierce
> Echidna; half a nymph, with eyes of jet
> And beauty-blooming cheeks; and half again
> A speckled serpent, terrible and vast,
> Gorged with blood-banquets; trailing her huge folds
> Deep in the hollows of the blessed earth."[3]

Akin to her is the male divinity, the

> "Typhon huge, ending in snaky twine,"

already treated of in describing the tombs of Corneto.[4] He is said to have been her lover, and the progenitor of all those monsters,

> "Horrible, hideous, and of hellish race,
> Born of the brooding of Echidna base."

As the fish is emblematical of the depths of the sea, so the serpent would seem to symbolise those of the land; and we shall probably not be mistaken in regarding these snake-tailed beings as personifying the subterranean powers of nature, such as have to do with fissures and caverns, and especially such as regard volcanic disturbances.[5] That these destructive agencies should have been deified in a land which, in various ages, has expe-

[2] Micali, op. cit. tav. 24. This writer (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 180) regards the eye in the wings as a symbol of celerity and foresight; Inghirami (I. p. 79), of circumspection. On another urn in this Museum, the eye is represented on the wing of a Charun, who is conducting a soul to the other world (Micali, op. cit. tav. 104, 1; Inghir. I. tav. 8); and on another, on the wing of a Lasa, or Juno, who protects Paris from the assaults of his brothers (*ut supra*, p. 170). It is found also on the wing of a Charun interfering in a battle-scene, on a Volterran urn, from the tomb of the Cæcinæ, now in the Museum of Paris. Micali, op. cit. tav. 105; Ital. av. Rom. tav. 43.

[3] Hesiod. Theog. 295 *et seq.*

[4] See vol. I. p. 329.

[5] In a cavern under a hollow rock was Echidna's abode. Hesiod. Theog. 301. It is well established that Typhon, and the other Giants were, in the Greek mythology, symbols of volcanic agencies.

rienced from them terrible catastrophes, and which, on every hand, bears traces of their effects, is no more than might be expected; and their relation to the sepulchre among a people who always committed their dead to the caverns of the rock, or to the bowels of the earth, will be readily understood.

Some of these urns show the heads alone of these wing-browed divinities, which, in certain cases, degenerate into mere masks. One head, with serpents tied beneath the chin, is not unlike Da Vinci's celebrated Medusa in the Florence Gallery. Other urns bear representations of dolphins sporting on the waves, marine-horses, or *hippocampi*,[6]

Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus—

symbols, it may be, of maritime power, but more probably of the passage of the soul to another state of existence; which is clearly the case where one of these monsters bears a veiled figure on his back.[7]

Other twofold existences are of the earth. Centaurs, of both sexes, not combating their established foes the Lapithæ, but forming the sole or chief subject in the scene; sometimes with wings; sometimes robed with a lion's skin, and holding a large bough. Etruscan centaurs, be it observed, especially those on early monuments, have generally the fore-legs of a man, the hind ones only of a horse.[8] Like the sea-monsters, the centaur may be a symbol of the passage of the soul.[9]

Griffons are also favourite subjects on these urns. That they are embodiments of some evil and destructive power, is evident in their compound of lion and eagle. And thus they are generally represented; now, like beasts of prey, tearing some animal to pieces; now overthrowing the Arimaspes, who sought to steal the gold they guarded.[1]

[6] The idea of the *hippocampus* on ancient monuments was probably suggested by the singular fish of that name, which abounds in the Mediterranean, and whose skeleton resembles a horse's head and neck placed on a fish's tail. See Inghir. VI. tav. D. 2, 3.

[7] Inghir. I. tav. 6; cf. Braun, Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 261.

[8] So the Centaur was represented in early Greek works—the chest of Cypselus, for instance. Pausan. V. 19, 7.

[9] It is evident from the frequent introduction of this *chimæra* into funeral monuments that it had a conventional relation to the sepulchre. Virgil (Æn. VI. 286) represents Centaurs stalled with other monsters, at the gate of Hell—

Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque biformes, &c.

[1] Inghir. Mon. Etrus. I. tav. 39, 41, 42, 99. Gori, I. tab. 154, 156; III. cl. 3, tab. 4. The Arimaspes on these urns are not one-eyed, as represented by the ancients. Herod. III. 116; IV. 13, 27; Plin. VII. 2; Pausan. I. 24, 6.

One small urn has the legs and seat of a couch carved in relief on its front, and a couple of small birds below, apparently picking up the crumbs. These have been interpreted as "the sacred fowls of Etruscan divination"—the birds from whose motions was learned the will of the gods.[2] But to me they seem inserted, as in the painted tombs of Corneto, merely for artistic reasons, to fill the vacant space beneath the banqueting-couch.

The reliefs illustrative of Etruscan life are the most interesting monuments in this collection. They may be divided into two classes; those referring to the customs, pursuits, and practices of the Etruscans in their ordinary life, and those which have a funereal import. It is not always easy to draw the distinction.

To commence with their sports. There are numerous representations of boar-hunts, of which the Etruscans of old were as fond as their modern descendants. The *Tuscus aper*, though celebrated in ancient times, can hardly have abounded as much as at present, when he has so much more uncultivated country for his range; for the Maremma, which was of old well populated, is now to a great extent a desert. Some of these scenes may have reference to Meleager and the boar of Calydon, or to the exploit of Hercules with the fierce beast of Erymanthus; for the subject is variously treated. Its frequent occurrence on urns, as well as on vases and in painted tombs, shows how much such sports were to the Etruscan taste.[3]

Other reliefs represent the games of the circus, which resembles that of the Romans, having a *spina*, surmounted by a row of cones or obelisks. In some of these scenes are bull-fights; in others, horse-races, or gladiatorial combats. We know that the Romans borrowed the two latter games from the Etruscans.[4]

These urns, though not being of early date they can hardly be cited as proofs, yet tend to confirm the high probability that the circus, as well as its games, was of Etruscan origin. We know that the Romans had no such edifices before the accession of Tarquin, the first of the Etruscan dynasty, who built the Circus

[2] Inghir. I. tav. 36, pp. 308–311.

[3] In one of these boar-hunts the beast is attacked by two winged boys, who are thought to be Cupids catching the boar which killed Adonis. Theocr. Idyl. 30; Inghir. I. tav. 69, p. 586. Macrobius (I. 21), who gives the astronomical symbolism of the legend, tells us that the boar was an emblem of winter; and on this account, thinks Inghirami (I. p. 594), he is represented on sepulchral monuments, to indicate the season when the annual *inferiæ* or *parentalia* were held in honour of the dead. Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 4.

[4] Liv. I. 35; Nicol. Damasc. ap. Athen. IV. c. 39. Before the introduction of the amphitheatre, in the time of Augustus, the Romans often held their gladiatorial combats in the circus, as here represented. See Chap. V., p. 71, of Vol. I.

Maximus, and "sent for boxers and race-horses to Etruria;"[5] and we know also, from the frequent representations of them in the painted tombs, that such sports must have been common in that land; so that it is a fair conclusion that similar structures to that Tarquin raised for their display, already existed there. As an Etruscan, he is likely to have chosen for his model some circus with which he was well acquainted—probably that of Tarquinii, his native city, and the metropolis of the Confederation. That no vestiges of such structures are extant may be accounted for by supposing them to have been of wood, as the scaffolding of the original Circus Maximus is said to have been.[6]

Processions there are of various descriptions—funeral, triumphal, and judicial. In one of the latter, four judges or magistrates, wrapt in togas, are proceeding to judgment. Before them march two lictors, each with a pair of rods or wands, which may represent the *fasces* without the *secures* or hatchets, just as they were carried by Roman lictors, before one of the consuls when in the City.[7] They are preceded by a slave, bearing a curule chair, another *insigne* of authority, and, like the lictors and *fasces*, of Etruscan origin.[8] Other slaves carry the *scrinium* or *capsa*, a cylindrical box for the documents, and *pugillares*, or wax tablets for noting down the proceedings.[9]

On another urn the four magistrates are returning from judgment, having descended from their seats on the elevated platform. The lictors, who precede them in this case, bear forked rods. They are encountered by a veiled matron, with her two daughters,

[5] Liv. loc. cit. — Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruriâ maxime acciti. Cf. Dion. Hal. III. p. 200.

[6] Dion. Hal. loc. cit. The only Etruscan monument which shows us how the spectators were accommodated at the public games, is the Grotta delle Bighe at Corneto, where they are depicted seated on simple platforms, apparently of wood—just such as are now raised at a horse-race or other spectacle in Florence or Rome, but with curtains to shade them from the sun. See Chap. XXV. p. 375, Vol. I.

These circus-scenes ought, perhaps, to be classed with the funereal subjects; for it is highly probable that they represent the games in honour of the deceased. In one scene, where a *spina* is introduced, it has manifestly a figurative allusion; for a man and woman are taking their last fare-well at it, as if to intimate that the soul had reached its goal and finished its course. Inghir. I. tav. 100.

[7] Cicero, de Repub. II. 31; Val. Max. IV. 1, 1; Plutarch. Publicola; Dion. Hal. V. p. 278. So they are represented also on an Etruscan *cippus*, described at page 112; and also on an urn with a banqueting-scene, which Inghirami interprets as the curse of Œdipus (I. tav. 72, 73; cf. Gori, III. cl. 3, tav. 14).

[8] Liv. I. 8; Flor. I. 5; Dion. Hal. III. p. 195; Strabo, V. p. 220; Sil. Ital. VIII. 486–8; Diodor. Sic. V. p. 316, ed. Rhod.; Macrob. Saturn. I. 6; cf. Sallust. Catil. 51.

[9] This scene is illustrated by Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 40; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 112, 1; Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 23, 27.

and two little children of tender age — the family, it may be, of the criminal come to implore mercy for the husband and father.[1]

Here are also triumphal processions, which history tells us the Etruscans had as well as the Romans;[2] and which, in fact, are generally attributed to the former people,[3] though there is no positive evidence of such an origin, beyond the introduction into such processions of golden or gilt chariots, drawn by four horses; the earlier triumphs having been on foot.[4] Here are instances of both modes, the victor being preceded by *cornicines* or trumpeters, by fifers and harpers, and where he is in a chariot, by a lictor also with a wand.[5] The Etruscanism of the scene lies in the winged genius, who, with a torch in her hand, is seated on one of the horses.[6] It may be that the scene is rather funereal than festive, and that the figure in the chariot with the attributes of triumph is intended to represent a soul entering on a new state of existence. Just as in the Tomba Golini at Orvieto, the soul on its triumphal entrance to Elysium, is represented driving a *biga*, followed by a trumpeter, and attended by a winged Lasa.[7] A further analogy may be found in the Grotta del Tifone at Corneto, where souls are attended by demons, one with a torch, and by

[1] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 112, 2; Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 15.

[2] Flor. I. 5; Appian. de Reb. Pun. LXVI.; cf. Plin. XXXIII. 4.

[3] Dempster, Etrur. Reg. I. p. 328; Gori, Mus. Etr. I. p. 370. Müller (Etrusk. II. 2, 7) considers the Roman triumph to be either immediately derived from Etruria, or to be a continuation of the pageants which the kings of Rome had received from that land.

[4] Plutarch. Romul.; Flor. I. 5. Dionysius (II. p. 102) says Romulus triumphed in a *quadriga* (cf. Propert. IV. eleg. I. 32); but Plutarch opposes this, and cites ancient statues of that monarch to prove that he triumphed on foot. The introduction of the *quadriga* from Etruria is generally ascribed to the elder Tarquin.

[5] Illustrations of these urns will be found in Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 34, 35; Gori, I. tab. 178, 179; III. cl. 3, tab. 28. The description Appian (loc. cit.) gives of a triumph in the Etruscan style, corresponds nearly with the scenes on these urns. The victor, he says, was preceded by lictors in purple tunics, and then, in imitation of an Etruscan pageant, by a chorus of harpers and satyrs belted and wearing golden chaplets, dancing and singing as they went. One in the midst of them wore a long purple robe, and was adorned with golden bracelets and torques. Such men, he says, were called Lydi, because the Etruscans were colonists from Lydia. These were followed by men bearing vessels of incense, and last of all came the victorious general in his *quadriga*, clad in his *toga picta*, and *tunica palmata*, with a golden crown of oak leaves on his brow, and an ivory sceptre, adorned with gold, in his hand. See Müller, Etrusk. IV. 1, 2.

[6] It seems probable that this winged demon may correspond to the Nike or Victory, commonly represented on Greek coins and other works of art, as hovering over the *quadriga* of a conqueror. On another urn in this museum, a *quadriga*, in which stands a warrior, is drawn by a Fury with a torch, into an abyss. Lanzi (ap. Inghir. I. p. 669) interpreted it as the death of Amphiaraus—Amphiaraëæ fata quadrigæ. Ingh. I. tav. 84; Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 12.

[7] *Ut supra*, p. 55.

figures bearing wands, preceded by a *cornicen* ;[8] which procession is supposed to represent the triumphal entrance of souls into the unseen world.[9]

Of marriages, few representations, which have not a mythical reference, have been found on the sarcophagi or sepulchral urns of Etruria, though most of the earlier writers on these antiquities mistook the farewell-scenes, presently to be described, where persons of opposite sexes stand hand in hand, for scenes of nuptial festivity.[1]

There are several representations of sacrifices; the priest pouring a libation on the head of the bull about to be slain. In one case the victim is a donkey—the delight of the garden-god,—

Cæditur et rigido custodi ruris asellus.

In another scene, a beast like a wolf is rising from a well, but is restrained by a chain held by two men, while a third pours a libation on his head, and a fourth strikes him down with an axe. It is evidently no ordinary sacrifice, for all the figures are armed.[2]

Here also is seen the dreadful rite of human sacrifice, too often performed by the Etruscans, as well as by the Greeks and Romans.[3] The men who sit with their hands bound behind their backs, and on whose heads the priestesses are pouring

[8] See Vol. I. p. 331–333.

[9] Urlichs, Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 47.

[1] Buonarroti, Passeri, Gori, even Lanzi and Micali, made this mistake. See Inghirami, I. pp. 191, 208. Two sarcophagi bearing nuptial scenes have been described in Chapter XXX., Vol. I., p. 472.

[2] Inghir. I. tav. 60 ; VI. tav. E. 5, 4 ; Gori, III. cl. 3, tab. 10. Dempster (tab. 25) gives a plate of a Perugian urn, with a similar scene ; but the monster has a human body with a dog's head. It is not easy to explain this very singular subject. Buonarroti (p. 24, ap. Dempst. II.) sees in the victim the monster Volta, which is said to have ravaged the land of Volsinii, and to have been destroyed by Porsena. Plin. II. 54. Passeri (Acheront. p. 59, ap. Gori, Mus. Etr.) interprets it as the demon of Temessa, called Lycas, which was clad in a wolf's skin, and was overcome by Euthymus, the pugilist. Pausan. VI. 6, 9–11. Inghirami takes it to represent Lycaon protected by Mars, with Ceres as a Fury by his side.

[3] Maffei (Osserv. Letter. IV. p. 65) indignantly rejects this charge against his forefathers : "They cannot, and they ought not to attribute so unworthy and barbarous a custom to our Etruscans, without any foundation of authority !" It is true there is no recorded evidence of such a practice among the Etruscans, unless the Roman captives, put to death—*immolati*—in the forum of Tarquinii (Liv. VII. 15, 19), may be regarded as offered to the gods. The Phocæan prisoners stoned to death at Cære (Herod. I. 167) can hardly have been sacrificed. But monuments abundantly establish the fact. Müller, indeed, thinks the Romans learned this horrid rite from the Etruscans (Etrusk. III. 4, 14). Inghirami (I. p. 716), though admitting it to be an Etruscan custom, thinks it had gone out of practice before the date of these urns. Yet we know it had not entirely fallen into disuse in Greece or Rome till Imperial times.

libations, are captives about to be offered to a deity, or to the Manes of some hero. They may be the Trojans whom Achilles sacrificed to the shade of Patroclus; they may be Orestes and Pylades at the altar of Diana. Observe the altar in this scene. It is precisely like a Roman Catholic shrine, even to the very cross in the midst, for the panelling of the wall shows that form in relief.[4]

In another scene the victim lies dead at the foot of the altar, and a winged genius sits in a tree hard by. Micali takes this to represent the oracle of Faunus, Inghirami that of Tiresias.[5]

Not all these sacrificial scenes are of this sanguinary character. Offerings of various descriptions are being brought to the altar, and in one case a tall amphora stands upon it.

On one urn, on which a young girl reclines in effigy, is a school scene, with half a dozen figures sitting together holding open scrolls; seeming to intimate that the deceased had been cut off in the bloom of life, ere her education was complete.[6] In this, as in certain other cases, there seems a relation between the figure on the lid and the bas-relief below, though in general the reliefs, especially when the subject is from the Grecian mythology, bear no apparent reference to the superincumbent effigy.[7]

Banqueting scenes are numerous, and bear a close resemblance to those in the painted tombs of Tarquinii and Clusium. There are generally several couches with a pair of figures of opposite sexes on each—a corroboration from another source of the high social civilisation of the Etruscans[8]—and there are children of

[4] Gori, I. tab. 170. Two of these reliefs, illustrated by Inghirami (I. tav. 96, 97), may represent a human sacrifice. In one, a man is on his knees amid some warriors; and slaves are bearing, one a ladder, another a jar on his shoulder, and a large mallet in his hand, and a boy plays the double pipes. The other relief has the same features, but the victim is falling to the earth, apparently just struck by the sword of one of the group. Gori (I. tab. 146) calls this scene "the death of Elpenor." Another relief, which represents a youth stabbing himself on an altar, is interpreted by Lanzi and Inghirami (I. p. 673, tav. 86) as the self-sacrifice of Menœceus, son of Creon.

[5] Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 41; Inghir. I. tav. 78, p. 654.

[6] Gori, III. cl. 2, tab. 12.

[7] The relation is seen also in some of the car-scenes presently to be described; but, with rare exceptions, there seems to be no relation beyond that of juxta-position, between the urn and its lid. Besides the incongruity of subject, the material is often not the same. The style of art betrays a wide difference of excellence, and even of antiquity. Inghirami cites a case of a young girl reclining on the lid of an urn, which bears an epitaph for a person of more than 70 (I. p. 399; cf. 408, tav. U. 3, 2). In the case cited, it is most likely that the lid was shifted from one urn to the other, in the removal from the sepulchre. The frequent incongruities of this description render it probable that the urns were kept in store, and fitted with lids to order.

[8] See Chap. XXV. p. 310 of Vol. I.

various ages standing around, sometimes embracing each other; pictures of domestic felicity, such as are rarely seen on the monuments of antiquity. The usual musicians are present—*subulones*, with the double-pipes; *citharistæ*, with the lyre; and players of the *syrinx* or Pandean pipes—all, as well as the revellers, crowned with garlands of roses. Tables, bearing refreshments, stand by the side of the couches, together with *scamna* or stools, on which the musicians stand, or by which the attendants ascend to fill the goblets of the banqueters, elevated as they are by lofty cushions.[9] Just such tables and stools are often represented in relief on the face of the bench of rock on which the body or sarcophagus was laid in the tomb—the banqueting-hall of the dead.

The most interesting scenes, because the most touching and pathetic, are those which depict the last moments of the deceased. A woman is stretched on her couch; her father, husband, sisters or daughters are weeping around her; her little ones stand at her bed-side, unconscious how soon they are to be bereft of a mother's tenderness—a moment near at hand, as is intimated by the presence of a winged genius with a torch on the point of expiring. Sometimes the dying woman is delivering to her friend her tablets, open as though she had just been recording her thoughts upon them. This death-bed scene is a favourite subject. It may be remarked that the couches are sometimes recessed in alcoves, and sometimes canopied over like bedsteads, though in a more classical style. Behind the couch is often a column surmounted by a pine-cone, a common funereal emblem.[1] Most of such scenes, however, bear but a metaphorical reference to the dread event. It has been already mentioned that souls are often symbolised by figures on horseback.[2] On an urn, on

[9] Inghirami, I. tav. 72, 73, 82; VI. tav. Y. 3; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 37, 38; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 107; Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 14. Two of these banquet-scenes Inghirami takes to represent Œdipus pronouncing a curse on his sons. Another, he thinks, represents Ulysses in disguise, at the banquet of Penelope's suitors. Inghir. VI. tav. F.

[1] Inghir. I. tav. 95; Gori, III. cl. 4, tab. 13, 23. Such an alcove is also shown in an urn, illustrated by Gori (III. cl. 3, tab. 6), where a man seems to be taking farewell of his wife, who reclines on the couch. Another somewhat similar relief is interpreted by Inghirami (I. tav. 61, p. 514), as Sthenebœa, the wanton wife of Prœtus, despatching Bellerophon to Lycia.

[2] The horse on sepulchral monuments has been thought to show the equestrian rank of the deceased, or to denote the elevation of the soul to divine dignity. Inghir. I. p. 179. But for the most part it was probably no further symbolical, than as significant of a journey. Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 259. It was frequently introduced on funeral urns by the Greeks and Romans; the latter probably borrowed it from the Etruscans. Sometimes the beast's head alone is represented looking in at a

the lid of which he reclines in effigy, a youth is represented on horseback about to start on that journey from which "no traveller returns," when his little sister rushes in, and strives to stay the horse's steps,—in vain, for the relentless messenger of Death seizes the bridle and hurries him away. It is a simple tale, touchingly told; its truthful earnestness and expressive beauty are lost in the bare recital.

"An unskilled hand, but one informed
With genius, had the marble warmed
With that pathetic life."

There are many such family-separations, all of deep interest. The most common is the parting of husband and wife, embracing for the last time. That such is the import is proved by the fatal horse, in waiting to convey him or her to another world; and a Genius, or it may be grim Charun himself, in readiness as conductor, and a slave, with a large sack on his shoulders, to accompany him—intimating the length and dreariness of the journey—while his relations and little ones stand around, mourning his departure. Here the man is already mounted, driven away by Charun with his hammer, while a Juno throws her arm affectionately round the neck of the disconsolate widow, and tries to assuage her grief.[3] Here again the man has mounted, and a group of women rush out frantically to stop him. In some the parting takes place at a column, the bourn that cannot be repassed; the living on this side, the dead on that; or at a doorway, one within, the other without, giving the last squeeze of the hand ere the door closes upon one for ever.[4]

There are many versions of this final separation, and the horse, or some other feature in the scene, is sometimes omitted; but the subject is still intelligibly expressed.[5]

Numerous urns represent the passage of the soul alone, without any parting-scene;[6] and in these old Charun, grisly, savage,

window upon a funeral feast, as in the celebrated relief in the Villa Albani. Inghir. VI. tav. G. 3. On one of these urns the horse is represented trampling over prostrate bodies, as if to intimate the passage through the regions of the dead. Inghir. I. p. 246, tav. 27.

[3] Inghir. I. tav. 28.

[4] Inghir. I. tav. 38; VI. tav. Q. 2, I. 3; Gori, I. tab. 84, 189.

[5] Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 39; Gori, I. tab. 169; III. cl. 7, tab. 20, 21. Visconti interprets these parting-scenes as representing in general the parting of Protesilaus and Laodameia (ap. Inghir. I. p. 297). But Inghirami (p. 724) takes them to symbolize the separation of the soul and the body.

[6] It may be observed that the costume of these souls is generally the simple toga, often muffling the face—not as travellers are conventionally distinguished on Greek painted vases by *petasus*, staff, sandals, and dishevelled hair.

and of brutish aspect, with his mallet raised to strike, and often with a sword in the other hand, generally takes part; now leading the horse by the bridle, or clutching it by the mane; more often driving it before him, while a spirit of gentle aspect, and with torch inverted, takes the lead.[7] The slave with a sack on his shoulder generally follows this funeral procession, and has reference either to the length of the journey which requires such provision, or to the articles of domestic use with which the tomb was furnished, as he often carries a vase or pitcher in his hand. In some cases a vase, in others a Phrygian cap, lies under the horse's feet, as if to express that the delights and pursuits of this world were for ever abandoned, and cast aside as worthless; and on one urn a serpent occupies the same place, marking the funereal character of the scene.[8]

As the good and bad demons on these urns are not to be distinguished by their colour, as in the painted tombs, they are to be recognised either by their attributes, by their features and expression, or by the offices they are performing. The good are handsome and gentle, the evil ill-favoured and truculent. Charun, in particular, has satyresque features and brute's ears, and in one case a horn on his forehead. The mallet and sword are his usual attributes, as well as those of his ministers; some of whom bear a torch instead, the general emblem of Furies.[9] But the good spirits, in many cases, also hold a torch; indeed, this seems merely a funereal emblem, to distinguish between the living and the dead. As the flame symbolises the vital spark, the demon, in these farewell scenes, who stands on the side of the living holds his torch erect; he on the side of the dead has it inverted. The spirit, therefore, who leads the fatal horse, has it always turned downwards.[1] When two demons with torches,

[7] The genius is not always introduced. Inghirami takes it to represent, sometimes a Fury, sometimes one of the Virtues! (I. pp. 80, 139).

[8] For illustrations of these urns, see Inghir. Mon. Etrus I. tav. 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 37; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 26; Gori, I. tab. 84; III. cl. 3, tab. 11; cl. 4, tab. 24. In one of these reliefs (Ingh. I. tav. 28), Braun recognises the re-meeting of souls in the other world. Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 260. This would be more likely in tav. 33, 34. The demons are not always in the same scene with the other figures; as where a muffled soul on horseback occupies the front of the urn, Charun one of its ends, and a genius, with torch inverted, the other. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 104, 2, 3.

[9] For the characteristics of the Etruscan Charun, see the Appendix to this Chapter.

[1] This might be supposed to mark an evil demon, but I think it has more probably reference to the surrounding figures than to the genius himself. He is here a minister of Death, it is true, but not a malignant spirit who revels in destruction, like the hammer-bearing Charun, who also attends the soul.

thus differently arranged, are in the same scene, they seem to indicate the very moment of the soul's departure—now here, now there—

> "Like snow that falls upon the river—
> A moment white—then melts for ever!"

It may be observed, that the good spirits are almost always females, or Junones, an Etruscan compliment to man's ministering angel; but the hideous attendants of Charun are, in most cases, males.

There are funeral processions of a different character. A covered car or waggon, open in front, and drawn by two horses or mules—what the Romans called a *carpentum*, and the modern Spaniards would term a *galera*—is accompanied by figures on foot. In one instance it is preceded by a litter, out of which a woman is looking; and in several it is encountered by a man on horseback. In this car is seen reclining, now a mother with her child, now an elderly couple, but generally a single figure, the counterpart in miniature of the recumbent effigy on the lid of the urn. I would interpret it as representing the transport of the actual ash-chest or sarcophagus to the sepulchre, which seems confirmed by the drowsy air and drooping heads of the horses. Nor is this view opposed by the figures with musical instruments, nor by an armed man, who in one case follows the car.[2] On one urn the funeral procession is manifestly represented, for the deceased is stretched on a bier, carried on men's shoulders. These car-scenes, so far as I can learn, are peculiar to Volterra; for I have seen them on no other site.[3]

Though cinerary urns are so numerous in this collection, there are but two sarcophagi, properly so called; both of tufo, and both found in the tomb of the Flavian family in 1760.[4] The

[2] In general it is essentially distinguished from the horse-scenes by the absence of Charun and his ministers, or of attendant genii, and of figures taking farewell. There is nothing to hint that it is more than a representation of actual life. In one instance only does it seem to refer to the passage of the soul, and there the car is preceded by a demon with two small shields, and followed by another with a torch. The car may not in every instance be the hearse; in some, where several figures are reclining within it, it may answer to the mourning coach, conveying the relatives of the deceased.

[3] For illustrations see Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 27, 28; Gori, I. tab. 169; III. cl. 4, tab. 22. On a vase from Vulci, in the Archaic style, a scene very similar is depicted. The corpse is stretched on a bier, placed on wheels and drawn by two mules; the widow and son of the deceased are seated on the bier; mourners on foot are accompanying it, all with their hands to their heads in token of grief; and it is followed by a *subulo* playing his double-pipes, and by a number of warriors lowering their lances. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 150, tav. 96 1.

[4] The tomb contained moreover forty

recumbent figures on the lids are of opposite sexes. On the sarcophagus of the male is a procession of several figures, each with a pair of wands, not twisted like those in the Grotta Tifone at Corneto, or on the sculptured tomb of Norchia; except one who bears a short thick staff, which may be intended for a lictor's *fascis*. They precede a figure in a toga, which seems to represent a soul; unless there be some analogy to the procession of magistrates already described, and he represent the infernal judge on his way to sit in sentence.[5] For the soul is figured at one end of the sarcophagus, under the conduct of an evil genius with a hammer, yet not Charun, since he has not brute's ears, nor is he of truculent or hideous aspect, like the genuine Charun, who is to be seen with all his unmistakable attributes at the opposite end of the monument.

The other sarcophagus, on which reclines a woman, has reliefs of unusual beauty, whose Greek character marks them as of no very early date. There are two distinct groups; in one, a mother with her little ones around her, is taking an embrace of her husband—in the other, she is seated mournfully on a stool, fondling her child, which leans upon her lap. The one scene portrays her in the height of domestic felicity; the other in the lonely condition of a widow, yet with some consolation left in the pledges of her love. Or if the first represent the farewell embrace, though there is no concomitant to determine it as such, in the second is clearly set forth the greatness of her loss, and the bitterness of her bereavement.

It is such scenes as these, and others before described, which give so great a charm to this collection. The Etruscans seem to have excelled in the palpable expression of natural feelings. How unmeaning the hieroglyphics on Egyptian sarcophagi, save to the initiated! How deficient the sepulchral monuments of Greece and Rome in such universal appeals to the sympathies!—even their epitaphs, from the constant recurrence of the same conventional terms, may often be suspected of insincerity.[6] But the touches of nature on these Etruscan urns, so simply but eloquently expressed, must appeal to the sympathies of all—they

urns, all with inscriptions. These are the only genuine Etruscan sarcophagi Inghirami ever saw from the tombs of Volterra; so universal was the custom of burning. Mon. Etrus. I. pp. 9, 34.

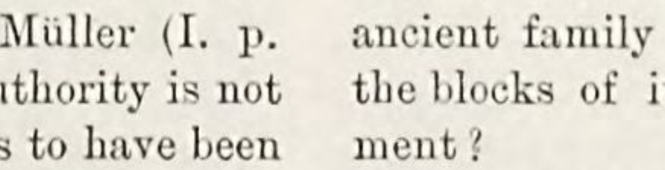
[5] Inghirami (I. p. 31, tav. 3) takes this for a funeral procession preceding the corpse.

[6] Hear a Roman's description of Greek inscriptions. "Inscriptionis apud Græcos mira felicitas: . . inscriptiones, propter quas vadimonium deseri possit. At quum intraveris, dii deæque! quam nihil in medio invenies!" Plin. N. H. præfat.

are chords to which every heart must respond; and I envy not the man who can walk through this Museum unmoved, without feeling a tear rise to his eye,

> "And recognising ever and anon
> The breeze of Nature stirring in his soul."

The interest of the urns of Volterra lies rather in their reliefs than in their inscriptions. Some, however, have this additional interest. It has already been said that this Museum contains the urns found in the tomb of the Cæcinæ, that ancient and noble family of Volterra, which either gave its name to, or received it from, the river which washes the southern base of the hill;[7] a family to which belonged two "most noble men" of the name of Aulus Cæcina, the friends of Cicero; the elder defended by his eloquence; the younger honoured by his correspondence. The latter it was who wrote a libel on Julius Cæsar, and was generously pardoned by him; and who availed himself of his hereditary right, as an Etruscan patrician, to dabble in the science of thunderbolts. The name is found more than once on these urns, and is thus written in Etruscan—



or "AULE CEICNA." But it occurs also in its Latin form on others of these monuments—on a beautiful altar-like *cippus*, and on a cinerary urn.[8] Others of the Cæcinæ distinguished themselves under the Empire in the field, in the senate, or in letters.[9]

[7] Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 416) thinks it more probable that the family gave its name to the river, than the river to the family. An Englishman's experience would lead him to the opposite conclusion. One of this family, Decius Albinus Cæcina, at the beginning of the fifth century after Christ, had a villa on the banks of the river (Rutil. I. 466); and Müller (I. p. 406) remarks, but on what authority is not obvious, that this estate seems to have been in the possession of the family for a thousand years.

[8] The *cippus* has already been mentioned at page 153. The urn bears this inscription—

A · CAECINA · SELCIA · ANNOS XII.

The figure on this urn is that of a youth. The relief displays one of the car-scenes—a proof, among many others, that after the Roman conquest the Etruscans adhered to their funeral customs. On another urn the same name—AV · CEICNA · SELCIA—occurs in Etruscan characters. One of the modern gates of Volterra is called "Porta a Selci." Can it have derived its name from the ancient family of Selcia, rather than from the blocks of its masonry, or of the pavement?

[9] Dempster (Etrur. Reg. I. p. 231) gives a detailed account of the various individuals of this illustrious family, who are mentioned by ancient writers; but still better notices will be found in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography. Cf. Müller, Etrusk. I. pp. 416–8.

This family has continued to exist from the days of the Etruscans, almost down to our own times; though it now appears to be extinct. I learned the general opinion at Volterra to be, that the last of his race was a bishop, who died in 1765. His epitaph in the Cathedral calls him, "Phil. Nic. Coecina. Patric. Volat. Zenopolit. Epūs, &c." Fantozzi, the *custode* of the Museum, however, assures me that he remembers a priest of this name some forty or fifty years since; and as he is a barber, he should, *ex officio*, be well informed on such points. In Dempster's time, more than two centuries since, the family was flourishing—"*hodie nobilitate suâ viget*"—and two of its members, very studious men, and "*ad bonas artes nati*," were his intimate friends. One of them rejoiced in the ancient name of Aulus Cecina.[1]

Another Etruscan family of Volterra, of which there are several urns, is the



or "CRACNA;" the Gracchus, or it may be, the Gracchanus, of the Romans.

The Flavian has been already mentioned, as one of the Etruscan families of Volterra. In its native form, as found on these urns, it was written "VLAVE."[2]

The inscriptions on these urns are generally carved on the stone, and filled with black or red paint, more frequently the latter, to make them more legible; so that they are often preserved with remarkable freshness.[3]

These cinerary urns of Volterra cannot lay claim to a very remote antiquity. They are unquestionably more recent than many of those of other Etruscan sites. This may be learned from the style of art—the best, indeed the only safe criterion—which is never of that archaic character found on certain reliefs on the altars or *cippi* of Chiusi and Perugia. The freedom and mastery

[1] Dempster, I. p. 233. An A. Cecina wrote the history of his native city—"Notizie Istoriche di Volterra"—perhaps it was Dempster's friend. Inghirami (I. p. 7) mentions a Lorenzo Aulo Cecina, a proprietor, at Volterra, who made excavations in 1740.

[2] Among the Etruscan inscriptions in this museum, I observed the names of "URINATI," which occurs also at Bomarzo, Castel d' Asso, Chiusi, and Perugia (see Vol. I. pp. 170, 186); "SETRES," found also at Chiusi; "TLAPUNI," written "TLABONI," in some of the Latin inscriptions; CNEUNAE, LAUCINA, SAUCNI, PHELMUIA, RANAZUIA, and others, which I have seen on no other Etruscan site.

[3] Pliny (XXXIII. 40) tells us that *minium* was used in this way in sepulchral and other inscriptions, to make the letters more distinct.

of design, and the skill in composition, at times evinced, bespeak the period of Roman domination; while the defects display not so much the rudeness of early art, as the carelessness of the time of the decadence.[4]

There are other sepulchral monuments of a different character in this Museum—*stelæ*, or slabs, with Etruscan inscriptions, and *cippi* of club-like, or else phallic, form.

Of *terra-cotta* are the figures of an old man and woman reclining together as at a banquet, and probably forming the lid of an urn. They are full of expression. Monuments in this material are rarely found at Volterra; yet there are a few urns of very small size, with the often repeated subjects of the Theban brothers, and Cadmus or Jason destroying the teeth-sprung warriors with the plough. The figures on the lids are generally wrapt in togas, and recline, not as at a banquet, but as in slumber.[5]

The most remarkable urn in this material is one from the *scavi* of 1874, which bears a novel and most startling subject in relief. A woman draped, and holding aloft a rod or a sword in her right hand, stands in a car drawn through the air by four winged dragons, or serpents, of enormous size, which though wide apart, appear to be all approaching the spectator. Two of these monsters spring from the *antyx* of the car, two from its wheels, which seem to be rushing through flames. On the earth below, a figure of each sex has sunk on one knee, and looks up with awe and terror at the fearful dragons, passing over their heads, whose supernatural dimensions dwarf them to pigmies. At one end of the urn, Charun with open wings and with mouth wide and distorted, sits in an attitude of grief, and at the opposite end is a Lasa in a similar attitude. It has been suggested that this scene represents the flight of Medeia from Corinth to Athens in a chariot drawn by winged dragons,—[6]

[4] Inghirami, whose criterion seems to be chiefly the presence or absence of the beard, assigns a very late date to these urns of Volterra. In truth he regards them rather as Roman than Etruscan; and as he considers certain bas-reliefs, even when of very archaic character, to be subsequent to the year 454 of Rome, because the males are represented beardless; so these, he infers by comparison, must be of a very late date —the best, of the days of the first Emperors; the worst, of the time of Alexander Severus and downwards. Mon. Etrus. I. pp. 252, 689, 709. The fallacy of this test of the beard in determining the age of monuments has already been shown. Vol. I. p. 381. Inghirami (I. pp. 82, 247) also thinks those urns the oldest, which have reliefs at the ends, because they must have been made when the tombs were not crowded, and the urns could be placed far enough apart for the decorations to be seen. But this, as a test of antiquity, is not to be relied on.

[5] The toga, be it remembered, was used in Imperial times as a shroud alone in the greater part of Italy. Juven. Sat. III. 171.

[6] Bull. Inst. 1874, p. 233. If the male figure on the earth be Jason, the woman is

Aderat demissus ab æthere currus
Quò simul ascendit, frenataque colla draconum
Permulsit, manibusque leves agitavit habenas ;
Sublimis rapitur,[7]

and this seems to be the true interpretation of this weird subject.

One of the most archaic monuments in the Museum is a bas-relief of a bearded warrior, of life-size, on a large slab of yellow sandstone, which, from the Etruscan inscription annexed, would seem to be a *stele*, or flat tombstone.[8] He holds a lance in one hand, and his sword, which hangs at his side, with the other. The peculiar quaintness of this figure, approximating to the Egyptian, or rather to the Persepolitan or Babylonian in style, yet with strictly Etruscan features, causes it to be justly regarded as of high antiquity. It is very similar to the warrior in relief found near Fiesole, and now in the Palazzo Bonarroti at Florence, though of a character less decidedly archaic.[9]

The capital of a Composite column, with heads among the foliage, resembling that in Campanari's garden at Toscanella, is worthy of particular attention.

There is a headless statue of a woman with a child in her arms, of marble, with an Etruscan inscription on her right arm.[1] It was found in the amphitheatre. The child is swaddled in the unnatural manner still practised by Italian mothers.[2]

There is not much pottery in this Museum ; enough to show the characteristic features of Volterran ware, but nothing of ex-

probably Glauke, for whose sake Jason had deserted the sorceress.

[7] Ovid. Met. VII. 218.

[8] Inghirami (IV. p. 84) suggests that it may have formed the door, or closing slab, of a tomb, and the warrior may represent the guardian Lar. The *custode* declares that it formed the door to the Grotta dei Mármini.

[9] It is illustrated by Gori, III. cl. 4, tav. 18, 2 ; Inghirami, VI. tav. A ; Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 14, 2 ; Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 51, 2.

[1] The inscription would run thus in Roman letters—

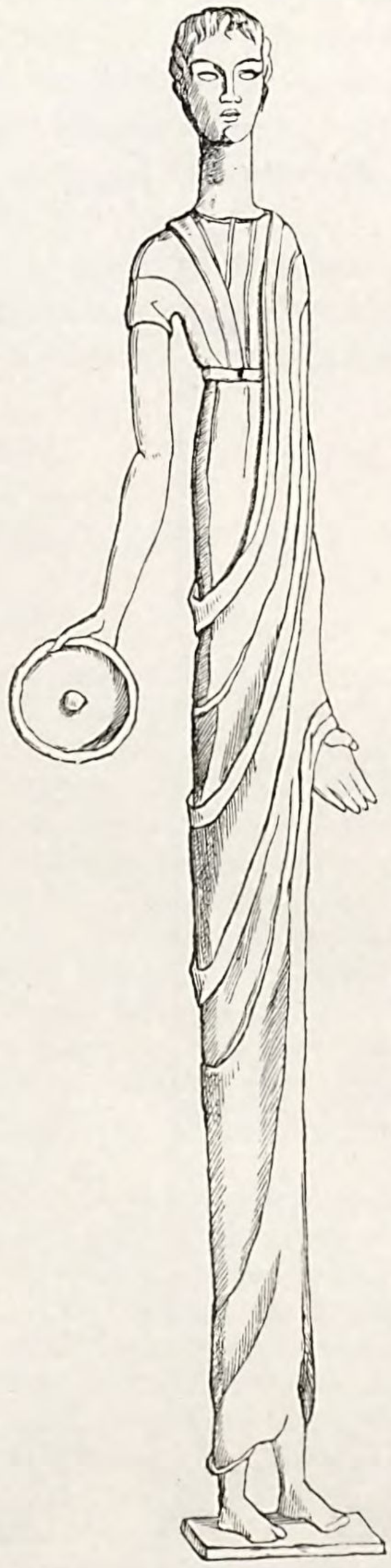
MI · KANA · LARTHIAS TANR
VEL · CHINET · MTH.

[2] Dempster, tab. 42 ; Gori, III. p. 60, cl. I. tab. 9 ; Gerhard, Gottheit. d. Etrusk. taf. III. 1. Some have thought this statue represented Nortia, or the Fortune of the Etruscans, because the Fortune of Præneste is described by Cicero (de Divin. II. 41) as nursing the infant Jove. Pausanias (IX. 16, 2) says this goddess at Thebes was represented bearing the infant Plutus in her arms. Others have thought this statue might be Diana, or Ceres, or Juno with the infant Hercules. Gerhard, however, thinks it represents Eileithyia or Juno-Lucina, the goddess of Pyrgi. Gottheiten der Etrusker, pp. 39, 60. The marble of which it is formed is not that of Carrara, but a grey description, which is said to be quarried in the Tuscan Maremma. In Alberti's time this statue was lying in one of the streets of Volterra, together with a statue of Mars, "very cunningly wrought, and sundry urns of alabaster, storied with great art, on which are certain characters, understood by none, albeit many call them Etruscan."

traordinary interest. The painted vases of this site are very inferior to those of Vulci, Tarquinii, or Chiusi. The shapes are ungainly, the clay is coarse, the varnish neither lustrous nor durable, the design of peculiar rudeness and rusticity. Staring *silhouette* heads, or a few large figures carelessly sketched, take the place of the exquisitely designed and delicately finished groups on the best vases of Vulci. Of the early styles of Etruscan pottery—the Egyptian and the Archaic Greek—with black figures on the yellow ground of the clay, Volterra yields no examples. Yellow figures on a black ground betray a more recent date, and the best specimens seem but unskilful copies of Etruscan or Greek vases of the latest style. Everything marks the decadence of the ceramographic art.[3]

Yet there is an ancient ware of great beauty, almost peculiar to Volterra. It is of black clay, sometimes plain, sometimes ribbed, sometimes decorated with colour and with figures in relief; but in simple elegance of form, and brilliancy of varnish, it is not surpassed by the ancient pottery of any other site in Etruria.

There is a fair collection of figured *specula*, or mirrors, in this Museum—some in a good style of art. The most common subject is a winged Lasa, or Fate. Among the bronzes is a helmet with cheek-pieces, in excellent preservation; numerous small figures of Lares or other divinities, *ex-votos*, among them a tall Lemur, unnaturally elongated, some thirty inches high, like that shown

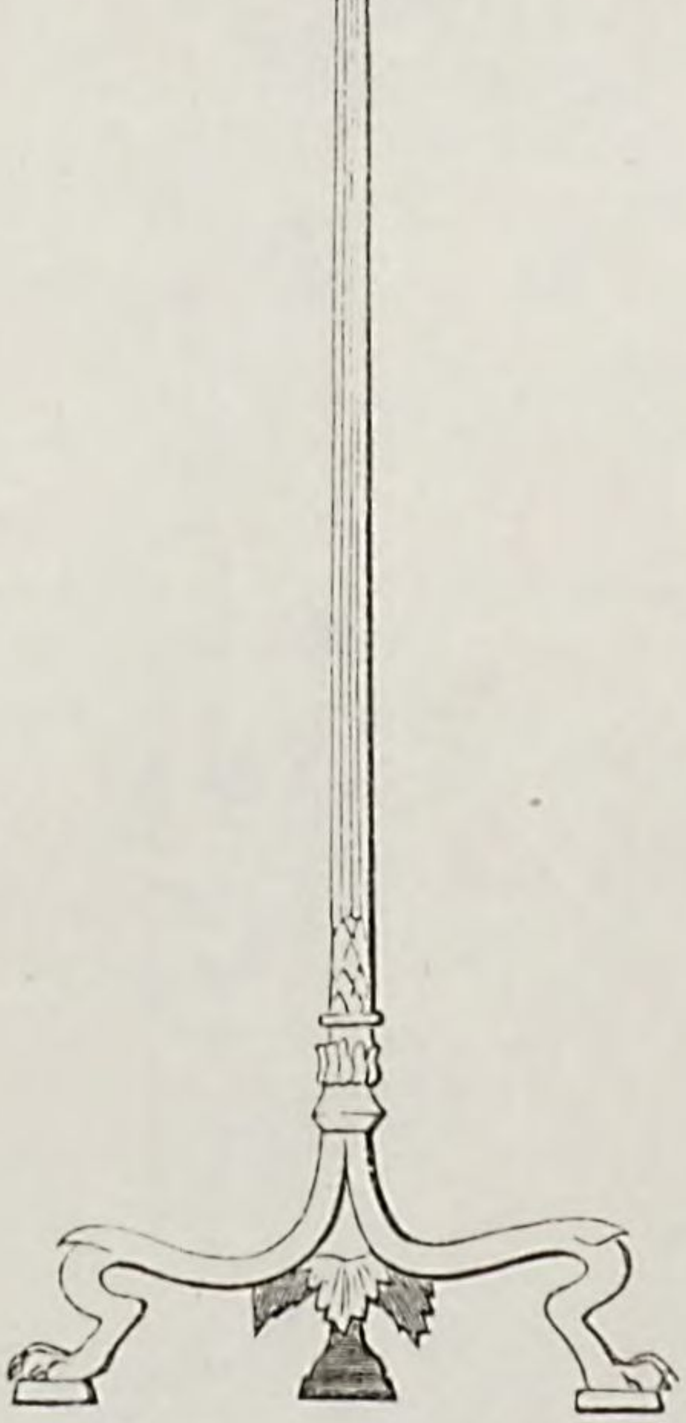


BRONZE FIGURE.

[3] Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 216) says that most beautiful Greek vases have been occasionally found on this site. On the other hand, vases like those of Volterra have been discovered at Tarquinii and Orvieto.

in the woodcut; besides *candelabra, situlæ*, strigils, knives, flesh-hooks, and the usual metal furniture of Etruscan tombs.

There are also numerous Etruscan coins—many belonging to the ancient Volaterræ, and found in the neighbourhood. They are all of copper, cast, not struck—some are *dupondii*, or double *asses*, full three inches in diameter, with a beardless Janus-head, wearing a *petasus*, on the obverse, and a dolphin, with the word "VELATHRI" in large letters around it, on the reverse. The smaller coins, from the *as* down to the *uncia*, differ from these in having a club, or a crescent, in place of the dolphin. The Janus-head is still the arms of Volterra. The dolphin marks the maritime power of the city in ancient times.[4]



ETRUSCAN CANDELABRUM.

Among the minor curiosities are spoons, pins, and dice of ivory; *astragali*, or huckle-bones, which furnished the same diversion to the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans, as to school-

[4] Volterra presents a more complete series of coins than any other Etruscan city. But they are all of copper; none of gold or silver. The *as* has sometimes the prow of a ship on the reverse, as in that of early Rome; and sometimes a single head, instead of the Janus, on the obverse. This Janus-head was put on coins, says Athenæus (XV. c. 46), because Janus was the first to coin money in bronze; on which account many cities of Greece, Italy, and Sicily assumed his head as their device. Cf. Macrob. Saturn. I. 7. But Servius (ad Virg. Æn. XII. 198) gives a much more reasonable explanation—that it symbolised the union of two people under one government, and this interpretation is received by modern writers. Lanzi, Sagg. II. p. 98. Melchiorri, Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 113. The dolphin is understood to mark a city with a port—in any case it is an Etruscan symbol—*Tyrrhenus piscis*. These coins with the legend of "Velathri" were at first ascribed to Velitræ of the Volsci, but their reference to Volaterræ is now unquestioned. *Ut supra*, page 139.

The coins of Velathri are illustrated by Lanzi, II. tav. 7; Dempster, I. tab. 56–9; Guarnacci, Origini Italiche, II. tav. 20–22; Inghirami, III. tav. 1, and 4; Marchi and Tessieri, Æs grave, cl. III. tav. 1. See also Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 332; Lepsius, Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 105; Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 189; Mionnet, Suppl. I. pp. 205–7.

boys in our own day; and sundry articles in variegated glass, some of great delicacy and beauty.

There is also a collection of Etruscan jewellery—chains, *fibulæ* of large size, rings for the fingers, with Etruscan inscriptions; and large ear-rings, all wrought in gold; *scarabæi*, but not numerous; a few are from Egypt. These articles are not found in such abundance at Volterra, as on some other Etruscan sites. The most curious and beautiful jewellery this necropolis has yielded is preserved in the Etruscan Museum at Florence.

In the Casa Cinci there was formerly a valuable collection of urns and other Etruscan relics, but the greater part of them has now been sold. In the Casa Giorgi, there was also a collection of urns.[5]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLIV.

NOTE.—THE CHARUN OF THE ETRUSCANS.—See p. 182.

THE Charun of the Etruscans was by no means identical with the Charon of the Greeks. Dr. Ambrosch, in his work, "De Charonte Etrusco," endeavours to show that there was no analogy between them; though referring the origin of the Etruscan, as of the Greek, to Egypt (Diod. Sic. I. c. 92, p. 82, ed. Rhod.), whence Charon was introduced into Greece, together with the Orphic doctrines, between the 30th and 40th Olympiads (660—620 B. C.); and though he thinks the Etruscan Charun owes his origin immediately to the scenic travesties of the Greek dramatic poets. Dr. Braun (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 269), however, who rejects this Orphic origin of the Etruscan Charun, and thinks him Cabiric, maintains the analogy between him and the aged ferryman of Hellenic mythology. But in the Etruscan system he is not merely "the pilot of the livid lake;" his office is also to destroy life; to conduct shades to the other world; and, moreover, to torment the souls of the guilty.

Like the ferryman of the Styx, the Etruscan Charun is generally represented as a squalid and hideous old man, with flaming eyes, and savage aspect; but he has, moreover, the ears, and often the tusks, of a brute, and has generally negro features and complexion, and frequently wings—in short, he answers well, cloven feet excepted, to the modern conception of the devil. See the frontispiece to this volume. But instead of hands he has sometimes lion's paws. In the painted tombs of Etruria he is generally depicted of a livid hue, just as the demon Eurynomos, who devoured the flesh of the dead, was painted by Polygnotus of a colour between black and blue, like that of flies

[5] One of these represented Polyphemus issuing from his cave, and hurling rocks at Ulysses in his ship. A Juno interposes, with drawn sword. In this Etruscan version of the myth, the Cyclops has two eyes! Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. 45. Another urn showed carpenters and sawyers at their avocations; this is interpreted by Micali (op. cit. tav. 49), as the building of the ship Argo. I have seen a similar urn in the museum of Leyden.

which settle upon meat (Paus. X. 28, 7). He is distinguished, however, principally by his attributes, chief of which is the hammer or mallet; but he has sometimes a sword in addition, or in place of it; or else a rudder, or oar, which indicates his analogy to the Charon of the Greeks; or a forked stick, perhaps equivalent to the *caduceus* of Mercury, to whom as an infernal deity he also corresponds; or, it may be, a torch, or snakes, the usual attributes of a Fury.

He is most frequently introduced intervening in cases of violent death, and in such instances we find his name recorded; as in the relief with the death of Clytæmnestra, described at page 170, and as on a purely Etruscan vase from Vulci, in which Ajax is depicted immolating a Trojan captive, while "Charun" stands by, grinning with savage delight (Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 9); and as in the François painted tomb on the same site (Vol. I. p. 449).

He is also often represented as the messenger of Death, leading or driving the horse on which the soul is mounted (*ut supra*, pp. 181, 182); or, as on a vase at Rome, and another from Bomarzo, now at Berlin, accompanying the car in which the soul is seated (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 261; cf. vol. I. p. 343 of this work); or attending the procession of souls into the other world, as shown in the Grotta de' Pompej, of Corneto (Vol. I. pp. 331 *et seq.*; cf. Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 275); though this scene both Braun and Ambrosch regard as not so much a real representation of the infernal minister and his charge, as a sort of theatrical masquerade, such as were used in Bacchic festivals.

Charun, in the Etruscan mythology, is also the tormentor of guilty souls; and his mallet or sword is the instrument of torture. Such scenes are represented in the Grotta Cardinale at Corneto (Vol. I. p. 331; cf. Byers' Hypogæi of Tarquinia, Pt. II. pl. 6, 7, Pt. III. pl. 5, 6; Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 27.); and in the Grotta Tartaglia at the same place (Vol. I. p. 384; Dempst. II. tab. 88; Inghir. IV. tav. 24); in some instances the victim is depicted supplicating for mercy (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 268).

In many of these scenes it is difficult to distinguish between Charun and other infernal demons, his attendants, who carry hammers or other analogous attributes; for two or more are sometimes introduced in the same scene, as in that which forms the frontispiece to this volume, and as in the Grotta Cardinale at Corneto, where many such beings, of both sexes, are similarly armed. They may generally be supposed the attendants on Charun. Müller, indeed, considers that in many instances these demons on Etruscan monuments represent Mantus, the King of Hades (Etrusk. III. 4, 10), as the Romans introduced a figure of Pluto, armed with a hammer, at their gladiatorial combats, to carry off the slain (Tertull. ad Nat. I. 10). Gerhard also (Gottheit. d. Etrusk. pp. 16, 56, taf. VI. 2, 3) thinks it is Mantus who is often represented on these urns, especially where he is crowned, though he distinguishes the beings with hammers and other attributes generally by the name of Charun. Both Müller and Gerhard refer the origin of the "Manducus" (Fest. ap. P. Diac. *sub voce;* Plaut. Rud. II. 6, 51), the ridiculous effigy, with wide jaws and chattering teeth, borne in the public games of the Romans, to this source, and consider it as a caricature of the Etruscan Charun, or leader of souls—Manducus—*quasi* Manium Dux. But Charun must be regarded rather as a minister of Mantus, than as identical with him. He is often represented on Etruscan urns, accompanied by female demons or Fates, who, in other cases, are substituted for him. Dr. Ambrosch fancied that the sex of the demons indicated that of the defunct; but female Fates or Furies are often introduced into scenes which represent the death of males, as in the mutual

slaughter of the Theban Brothers. The eyes in the wings of Charon, or of a female demon, his substitute, have already been mentioned (at p. 173) as intimating superhuman power and intelligence.

Müller suggests that the Charun of the early Greek traditions may have been a great infernal deity, as in the later Greek poems ; and thinks the Χαρώνειοι κλίμακες, or Charontic steps, of the Greek theatre, indicate a greater extension of the idea than is usually supposed.

It may appear strange that Charun has never been found designed on Etruscan mirrors, those monuments which present us, as Bunsen remarks, with a figurative dictionary of Etruscan mythology (Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 18). This must be explained by the non-sepulchral character of these articles. The Etruscan lady, while dressing her hair or painting her cheeks, would scarcely relish such a memorial of her mortality under her eyes, but would prefer to look at the deeds of gods or heroes, or the loves of Paris and Helen. Occasionally, however, it must be confessed that scenes of a funereal character were represented on these mirrors.

Charun was often introduced as guardian of the sepulchre—as in the painted tomb of Vulci (Vol. I. p. 466) ; as in that of Orvieto (*ut supra*, p. 51) ; and as also in a tomb at Chiusi, opened in 1837, where two Charuns, large as life, were sculptured in high relief in the doorway, threatening the intruder with their mallets (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 258).

It has been remarked by Müller, as well as by Platner in his "Beschreibung der Stadt Rom," that the Charun Michael Angelo has introduced into his celebrated picture of the Last Judgment, partakes much more of the conception of his Etruscan forefathers, than of the Greek poets.

The mallet is considered by Dr. Braun rather as a symbol, or distinctive attribute, than as an instrument, yet it is occasionally represented as such. In one instance it is decorated with a fillet (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. p. 260) ; in another it is encircled by a serpent (Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 97). In every case it appears to have an infernal reference ; in the Greek mythology it is either the instrument of Vulcan, of the Cyclops, or of Jupiter Serapis ; but as an Etruscan symbol it is referred by Braun to the Cabiri, in whose mysterious worship he thinks Charun had his seat and origin. Gerhard, who embraced the doctrine of the northern origin of the Etruscans, a doctrine acceptable to Germans, suggests the analogy of Thor with his hammer ; and reminds us that in the northern mythology there was also a ferryman for the dead ; that female demons, friendly or malignant, were in readiness to carry off the soul ; and that even the horse, as in Etruria, was present for the swift ride of the dead (Gottheiten der Etrusker, pp. 17, 57).

For further notices respecting the Etruscan Charun, see the work of Ambrosch, "De Charonte Etrusco," and the review of it by Braun, Ann. Inst. 1837, 2. pp. 253—274, to which I am largely indebted for this note. Ambrosch's work I am not acquainted with, except through this article by Dr. Braun.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE MAREMMA.

Guarda, mi disse, al mare ; e vidi piana
Cogli altri colli la Marema tutta,
Dilectivole molto, e poco sana.
Ivi è Massa, Grossetto, e la distructa
Civita vechia, e ivi Popolonia,
Che apenna pare tanto è mal conduta.
Ivi è ancor ove fue la Sendonia.
Queste città e altre chio non dico,
Sono per la Marema en verso Roma,
Famose e grandi per lo tempo antico.

FACCIO DEGLI UBERTI.

The green Maremma !—
A sun-bright waste of beauty—yet an air
Of brooding sadness o'er the scene is shed ;
No human footstep tracks the lone domain—
The desert of luxuriance glows in vain.

HEMANS.

THESE lines of Mrs. Hemans present a true summer picture of the Tuscan Maremma ; and such is the idea generally conceived of it at all seasons alike by most Englishmen, except as regards its beauty. For few have a notion that it is other than a desert seashore swamp, totally without interest, save as a preserve of wild boars and roe-bucks, without the picturesque, or antiquities, or good accommodation, or anything else to compensate for the dangers of its fever-fraught atmosphere—in short,

"A wild and melancholy waste
Of putrid marshes,"

as desolate and perilous as the Pomptine. They know not that it is full of the picturesque and beautiful ; a beauty peculiar and somewhat savage, it is true, like that of an Indian maiden, yet fascinating in its wild unschooled luxuriance, and offering abundant food for the pencil of the artist and the imagination of the poet. They think not that in summer alone it is unhealthy ; that from October to May it is as free from noxious vapours as

any other part of Italy, and may be visited and explored with impunity. They scarcely remember that it contains not a few sites of classical interest; and they forget that it has excellent roads, and railroads, which bring it into regular communication with Pisa, Siena, Florence, and Rome; and that its accommodations are as good as will be found on most by-roads in the Italian Peninsula.

The road that runs from Volterra southward to the Maremma is "carriageable" throughout, though somewhat rugged in parts, and nowhere to be rejoiced in after heavy rains. At the foot of the long-drawn hill, and five miles from Volterra, are the Saline, the government Salt-works, where the deep wells and the evaporating factories are well worthy of inspection. Through the hollow flows the Cecina of classical renown,[1] a small stream in a wide sandy bed, between wooded banks, and here spanned by a suspension bridge,—verily, as the natives say, "*una gran bella cosa!*" in the midst of this wilderness. From the wooded heights beyond, a magnificent view of Volterra, with her mural diadem, is obtained. A few miles further is Pomarance, a neat little town, said to have a comfortable inn. Let the traveller then, who would halt the night somewhere on this road, remember the same, especially if it be his intention to visit the celebrated borax-works of Monte Cerboli, about six miles distant.[2] At Castelnuovo, a village some ten or twelve miles beyond Pomarance, I can promise him little comfort. All this district, even beyond Castelnuovo and Monterotondo, is boracic, and the hills on every hand are ever shooting forth the hot and fetid vapour in numerous tall white columns, which, by moonlight on their dark slopes, look like "quills upon the fretful porcupine."

Some miles beyond Castelnuovo, the road, which has been continually ascending from the Cecina, attains its greatest elevation. Here it commands a prospect of vast extent, over a wide expanse of undulating country to the sea, nearly twenty miles distant, with the promontory of Piombino and Populonia rising like an island from the deep, and the lofty peaks of Elba seen

[1] Pliny (III. 8) shows that the river had the same name in his time, "fluvius Cæcinna,"—how much earlier we know not; but probably from very remote times. Mela (II. 4) speaks of it among the towns on this coast. But he may have cited "Cecina," instead of Vada Volaterrana, the port which was near its mouth; or he may have referred to it as a river, as Cluver (II. p. 469) opines, who would read the passage—"Etrusca et loca et flumina," instead of the current version—"loca et nomina."

[2] An excellent description of these works is given in Murray's Handbook. See also Repetti, *vv.* Lagoni, Monte Cerboli, Pomarance.

dimly in the far horizon. Among the undulations at the foot of the height, which the road here crosses, is the hill of Castiglione Bernardi, which Inghirami pronounced to be the site of the Vetulonia of antiquity.

Though I had taken this road with the intention of visiting this hill, I failed to reach it, being deterred by one of those sudden deluges of rain common in southern climates, which burst like a water-spout upon me, just as I had begun to descend; and I therefore regained the shelter of my *carrettino* with all speed, and made the best of my way to Massa. I passed this site with the less regret, for my friend, Mr. Ainsley, had twice previously visited the spot furnished with directions from Inghirami himself, and had sought in vain, in a careful examination of the ground, for any remains of Etruscan antiquity, or for any traces of an ancient city of importance. He found it, as Inghirami indeed had described it, "a circumscribed mound, not more than half a mile in circuit, and quite incapable of holding a city such as Vetulonia must have been." On it were to be seen only the ruins of a castle of the middle ages, overgrown with enormous oaks, and he could not "perceive among the extant masonry a single stone which bore a trace of ancient Tyrrhene construction, such as might correspond with the remains of the Etruscan city of Vetulonia."[3] Why then did Inghirami suppose this to have been the site of that famous city? First—because he finds the hill so called in certain documents of the middle ages, one as far back as the eleventh century.[4] Secondly—because it is not far from the river Cornia,

[3] Inghirami, Ricerche di Vetulonia, pp. 35, 36, 52. Published also in the Memorie dell' Instituto. IV. pp. 95–136.

[4] Ric. di Vetul. p. 29; cf. Repetti V. p. 706. How this spot acquired the name of Vetulonium which it bore during the middle ages, it is not easy to say. That it bore this appellation in Etruscan times we have no proof. That the names of places were often altered by the ancients we have evidence in Etruria and its confines—Camers was changed to Clusium, Agylla to Cære, Aurinia to Saturnia, Nequinum to Narnia, Felsina to Bononia—and we know that the name of a town was sometimes transferred from one site to another, as in Falerii and Volsinii—and that names were occasionally multiplied we see in Clusium Vetus and Clusium Novum; in Arretium Vetus, Arretium Fidens, and Arretium Julium. It must also be remembered that the nomenclature of the middle ages is no evidence of that of more early times. Through the fond partiality of an ecclesiastic for his native place, or the blunder of some antiquary, ancient names were often attached to sites, to which they did not belong. Such errors would soon however become traditional with the people, anxious to maintain the honour of their native town, and would even pass into their documents and monumental inscriptions. Thus it was that Civita Castellana was made the ancient Veii; and thus Annio's forgeries and capricious nomenclature became current for ages in the traditions of the people.

which abounds in hot springs, some of which he thinks must have been those mentioned by Pliny as existing,—*ad Vetulonios*;"[5] besides being in the immediate neighbourhood of a lake—Lago Cerchiaio—of hot sulphureous water. Thirdly—because a few Etruscan tombs have been found in the vicinity. Fourthly—and on this Inghirami lays most stress—because the situation assigned to Vetulonia by Ptolemy was in the district comprised between Volterra, Siena, and Populonia,[6] which he thinks may correspond with this hill of Castiglione Bernardi. Nevertheless, so little could he reconcile this circumscribed site with that of a first-rate city, such as Vetulonia is described to have been, that he was driven to suppose the existence of two ancient cities or towns of that name—the one of great renown lying on the northern slopes of the Ciminian; the other, that famous for hot springs, occupying this hill of Castiglione.[7]

The views of the late Cavaliere Inghirami, coming from a man of approved archæological eminence, are entitled to all respect. But he broached them in this instance without confidence, and in ignorance of another site in the Maremma, which, had he known it, he would have admitted to have much stronger claims to be regarded as that of the ancient Vetulonia. Let it here suffice to mention that Mr. Ainsley's description and sketches of Castiglione Bernardi represent it in entire accordance with the admission of Inghirami, as a small, isolated, conical hill, about the size of the Poggio di Gajella at Chiusi, certainly not so large as the Castellina at Tarquinii—a mere "*poggetto angusto*," or "*monticello*," to use Inghirami's own words, without any level space that could admit of an Etruscan town, even of fourth or fifth-rate importance. M. Noël des Vergers also was convinced by the evidence of his own eyes, that it was impossible for the Poggio di Castiglione Bernardi to have been the site of an ancient city.[8] To which I may add, that if this were an Etruscan site, as the neighbouring

[5] Plin. N. H. II. 106.

[6] Ric. di. Vetul. p. 93. But how little Ptolemy is to be trusted—how full he is of errors and inconsistencies, that if the towns of Etruria were arranged according to the latitudes and longitudes he assigns to them, we should have an entirely new map of the land—I have shown at length in an article in the Classical Museum, 1844, No. V. pp. 229–246.

[7] Ricerche di Vetulonia, p. 50. He ultimately gave up the idea of a Ciminian Vetulonia, and fell back upon his hill of Castiglione. His opinion that this was the site of Vetulonia is supported by Dr. Ambrosch, who to reconcile this mean site with that of Vetulonia is driven to attempt to invalidate the evidence of Silius Italicus as to the importance and grandeur of that ancient city. I have replied to his objections in the above-mentioned paper in the Classical Museum.

[8] Étrurie et les Étrusques, I. p. 42.

tombs seem to indicate, it can have been only one of the thousand and one "villages and castles"—*castella vicique*—which existed in this land. The traveller may rest satisfied that no remains of an Etruscan town are to be seen on the spot. Should he wish to verify the fact, he will find accommodation at Monte Rotondo, a town two or three miles from the Poggio of Castiglione; and he can see, in the house of Signor Baldasserini, the proprietor of this *tenuta*, a number of vases and other Etruscan antiquities, discovered in the neighbourhood.

A descent of many miles through a wild tract of oak forests, underwooded with tamarisk, laurestinus, and brushwood, leads to the plain of Massa. That city crowns the extremity of a long range of heights, and from a distance somewhat resembles Harrow; but its walls and towers give it a more imposing air. Though the see of a bishop, with nearly 3000 inhabitants, and one of the principal cities of the Maremma, Massa is a mean, dirty place, without an inn—unless the chandler's shop, assuming the name of "Locanda del Sole," may be so called. The Duomo is a small, neat edifice, of the thirteenth century, in the Byzantine style, with a low dome and a triple tier of arcades in the façade. The interior is not in keeping, being spoilt by modern additions, and has nothing of interest beyond a very curious font of early date, formed of a single block.

Massa has been supposed by some to occupy the site of Vetulonia, an opinion founded principally on the epithet "Veternensis," attached to a town of this name by Ammianus Marcellinus,[9] the only ancient writer who speaks of Massa, and which is regarded as a corruption of "Vetuloniensis." The towns-people, ready to catch at anything that would confer dignity on their native place, have adopted this opinion, and it has become a local tradition; not to be the more credited on that account. I have little doubt, however, that there was originally an Etruscan population on the spot. Adjoining the town, to the south-east, is a height, or rather a cliff-bound table-land, called Poggio di Vetreta, or Vuetreta, which has all the features of an Etruscan site. It is about a mile in length, and three-quarters of a mile in its greatest breadth; it breaks into cliffs on all sides, except where a narrow isthmus unites it to the neighbouring heights. No fragments of ancient walls could I perceive; but there are not a few traces of sepulchres in the cliffs.[1] It is highly probable

[9] Amm. Marcell. XIV. 11, 27. He peaks of it as the birth-place of Gallus Cæsar, the brother of Julian the Apostate.

[1] In the cliffs just opposite the Cathedral

that the original name of this town is to be traced in its Roman appellation (if that, indeed, belong to this site),[2] which indicates, not Vetulonia, but rather Volturnus or Volturna as its root; and the town may have taken its name from a shrine to one of those Etruscan deities, on or near the spot.[3]

The rock is here a rich red tufo, much indurated, and picturesquely overhung with ilex. Traces of volcanic action are occasionally met with in this part of Italy, though the higher mountains are of limestone, sandstone, or clay slate.

This height commands a magnificent view. The wide Maremma lies outspread at your feet, and the eye is led across it by a long straight road to the village of Follonica on the coast, some twelve or thirteen miles distant. Monte Calvi rises on the right, overhanging the deep vale of the Cornia; and many a village sparkles out from its wooded slopes. The heights of Piombino and Populonia rise beyond it, forming the northern horn of the Bay of Follonica; the headland of Troja, with its subject islet, forms the southern; the tower-capped islet of Cerboli rises between them; and the dark, abrupt peaks of Elba, the dim island of Monte Cristo, and the deep blue line of the Mediterranean, bound the horizon.[4]

are some sepulchral niches, and so also in the rocks beneath Massa itself. Mr. Ainsley observed, in the cliffs of the Poggio di Vetreta, some passages running far into the rock, like the Buche de' Saracini at Volterra. They were probably sewers. Below this height there is also a Giardino di Vuetreta. This name has been supposed to be derived from Vetulonia, but is more probably a corruption of the Latin appellation of the town; if it be not rather traceable to the glass-factories, once common in this district. Inghir. Ric. di Vetul. p. 39; Memor. Inst. IV. p. 120. Ximenes (cited by Inghirami, op. cit. p. 62) asserts the currency of a tradition at Massa, that in a dense wood five miles west of that town, are the ruins of the city of Vetulonia; but Inghirami ascribes this tradition to its true source, as will presently be shown.

[2] Repetti (III. p. 139) does not think there is sufficient authority for identifying the Massa Veternensis of Marcellinus with this town of Massa Marittima; for he shows (cf. p. 109) that numerous places, not only in Tuscany, but in the Papal State, especially in the southern district of Etruria, had the title of Massa, *i.e.*, "a large estate," in the middle ages, most of which have now dropped it. He inclines to recognise the birth-place of Gallus in Viterbo, and would read "Massa Veterbensis," instead of "Veternensis." Cluver (II. p. 513), however, did not hesitate to identify the modern Massa with that of A. Marcellinus.

[3] For Volturnus and Volturna, or Vertumnus and Voltumna, see Chap. XXXVI. p. 33. Veternensis, deprived of its Latin adjectival termination, becomes Veterni or Veterna, which seems nothing but a corruption of the Etruscan Velturna, or Velthurna, the Latin Volturnus, according to the frequent Roman substitution of *o* for the Etruscan *e*. Velthur or Velthurna was also an Etruscan proper name, frequently found inscribed on the walls of tombs and on sepulchral monuments, and may have had the same relation to this town, that the ancient family Cæcina had to the river of that name.

[4] Massa is 38 miles from Volterra, 40 from Siena, 16 from Castelnuovo, 20 from Piombino, 24 from Populonia, 24 from Campiglia, 30 from Grosseto.

Its elevated position might be supposed to secure Massa from the pestiferous atmosphere of the Maremma; but such is not the case. The city does not suffer so much as others on lower ground, yet has a bad name, proverbialised by the saying,

Massa, Massa—
Salute passa.

It is a dreary road to Follonica across the plain. Let the traveller, however, drive on rather than pass the night at Massa; for the inn, though of no high pretensions, is far more comfortable at the former place. Follonica, indeed, is much more frequented, lying on the rail-road from Rome to Leghorn and Pisa, having a little port and large iron factories where the ore brought from Elba is smelted. This industrious little village appears quite civilised after the dreamy dulness of Massa.[5]

In the former edition of this work, it was stated that on the coast between Leghorn and Populonia there were no sites or objects of Etruscan antiquity. Since the date of its publication, the researches of M. Noël des Vergers, who devoted ten years to excavations in the Maremma, availing himself of the experience of Signor Alessandro François, have brought to light various sites of interest, to which discoveries he makes modest reference in his great work on Etruria. "Dans la plaine ondulée qui s'étend de la Mediterranée à l'Apennin, les hauteurs de Riparbella, de Guardistalla, de Bibbona, de Bolgari, sont entourées de tumulus, tombes isolées ou hypogées de famille, annonçant l'ancienne existence de centres de population. A Beloria, entre autres, entre Riparbella et la mer, sur la route qui conduit des Maremmes à Volterra, les collines qui bordent la rive droite du fleuve recèlent une véritable nécropole, trop éloignée de Volaterræ ou de Populonia pour pouvoir être rattachée à l'une de ces vieilles cités. Et ce ne sont pas seulement des tombeaux qui attestent l'ancienne population de ces contrées désertes, mais souvent des ruines remontant à la période étrusque ou romaine n'ont pas été si bien cachées par la végétation des forêts, qu'elles ne se montrent au voyageur dès qu'il s'écarte de la route. On peut, en cheminant le long de cette côte, tantôt en vue de la mer, tantôt au milieu des bois de chênes-liéges, des bouquets d'yeuses

[5] Abeken thinks that the abandoned mines, which Strabo (V. p. 223) saw in the neighbourhood of Populonia, must have been at Follonica. Mittelitalien, p. 30. But Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 240) mentions Caldana as the site of these mines. They are probably those which have been re-opened of late with great success in the vicinity of Campiglia.

ou de lentisques, s'imaginer qu'on y retrouvera les ruines de quelques villes ignorées, et qu'on va voir apparaître ce qui peut rester encore de ces cités perdues qu'on appelait Caletra, Sudertum, Salpinum, Statonia, Manliana, Vetulonia, &c., *inania regna*, royaumes vides, ne contenant plus que la poussière des peuples qui les ont fondés."[6]

The necropolis at Beloria, mentioned in the above extract, as among the hills several miles from the sea, probably belonged to the Etruscan town of Cæcina, which lay between Populonia and Pisa.[7] Here were discovered a warrior tomb, several family sepulchres, and many others of more ordinary character. Among their contents may be specified two cinerary urns whose mouths were found covered with thin sheets of gold; painted vases of inferior art; vessels of bronze, one of elegant form; a figured mirror of the same metal; sundry rings of gold, one of them set with a scarabeus of amethyst, bearing the figure of a stork, and a magnificent pair of gold earrings of large size, and of extreme elegance, wrought with the utmost elaboration of which Etruscan art is capable.[8] The site of the ancient Cæcina has not been determined, but it was probably in the neighbourhood of the modern village called Fitto di Cecina, which is of quite recent construction, and where travellers on their way to Volterra will find a tolerable inn. The ancient port of Vada Volaterrana, near the mouth of the Cecina, is not mentioned as Etruscan, though it seems very improbable that the maritime city of Volaterræ would not have availed itself of it, and of the communication with the sea afforded by the Cæcina.[9]

In the wide plain between Cecina and Bolgheri there are numerous tumuli, showing that of old there must have been a dense population in this region, now so sparsely inhabited. At three miles to the S. E. of Cecina one of large size, called La

[6] L'Étrurie et les Étrusques, I. p. 15.

[7] P. Mela, II. 4.

[8] Bull. Inst. 1850, p. 78.

[9] Vada is mentioned by Cicero, pro Quintio, c. VI; Pliny, III. 8; Rutilius, I. 453; and the Itineraries. It must have received its name from the swamps in the neighbourhood. But it was a port, as Rutilius shows, and it still affords protection to small vessels. There are said to be some Roman remains there. Here were also some ancient Salt-works, and the villa of Albinus Cæcina, who resided here at the commencement of the fifth century of our era (Rutil. I. 466–475; cf. Müller, Etrusk. I. pp. 406, 418), which Repetti (I. p. 65) places on the neighbouring height of Rosignano, where there are some ancient remains, called "Villana." M. Noël des Vergers, however, has fixed the site of this villa on a rising ground near the Fitto di Cecina, on the left bank of the river, and about a mile from its mouth, where extant remains indicate a Roman villa of great extent and splendour. Bull. Inst. 1850, pp. 75–77.

Cucumella, was probed by M. des Vergers, and found to contain a tomb constructed of masonry, but it had been rifled in ancient times, and contained nothing to repay the excavator.[1]

Bibbona, which stands on a height about six miles from the sea, has been ascertained to occupy an Etruscan site. Beneath its castle, was found a deposit of no less than 52 bronzes of most archaic Etruscan character, many of which are now in the Museum at Florence.[2] Near Castagneto, which lies half-way up the wooded slopes, about three miles inland from the station of that name, some remains of ancient walls have been discovered by Signor Gamurrini, which were thought by him to mark the site of Vetulonia,[3] long supposed to have stood in this district of the Maremma. After this station the hills approach the sea, and the railway skirting the wild thickets of the Maremma, reaches the shore at Torre San Vincenzo. This is a village, with a large church, and an old tower of the thirteenth century. The railway follows nearly the line of the old post-road, and of the ancient Via Aurelia, which may be traced by fragments all along this coast.[4] From Torre S. Vincenzo a road runs S. E. to Campiglia high among the hills, and another along the coast, skirting the Maremma jungle, to Populonia, whose ruined towers are seen cresting the wooded headland to the south. The railway runs between these two roads, having the heights of Campiglia to the left, and the wide corn-plain in front and to the right, which it crosses on its way to the station of Campiglia. Hard by this station are Le Caldane, the hot springs, which have been regarded by Inghirami and earlier writers, as the *aquæ Calidæ ad Vetulonios* of Pliny.[5] They are still used as hot baths. From this station a road of three miles leads to Campiglia, and another of seven miles across the plain to Populonia. Of this Etruscan site, I shall treat at length in the next chapter. A mile or so beyond the station you cross the Cornia, which flows out from the wide valley on the left, between the heights of Massa and Campiglia,[6] and after nine more miles across the wide plain reach the shore again at the little port of Follonica.

Well do I remember my first visit to the Maremma, more than thirty years ago. Everything was then in a state of primitive

[1] Bull. Inst. 1850, p. 78.

[2] Bull. Inst. 1864, p. 138.

[3] Bull. Inst. 1868, p. 134.

[4] For the stations and distances on the Via Aurelia, from Cosa to Luna, see the Appendix to this Chapter.

[5] Plin. N. H. II. 106.

[6] The Cornia is supposed to be the Lynceus of Lycophron (Cassand. 1240), a river of Etruria which abounded in hot springs. Cluver. II. p. 472. Inghir. Ric. di Vetul. p. 26.

nature; a dense wood ran wild over the plain; it could not be called a forest, for there was scarcely a tree twenty feet in height; but a tall underwood of tamarisk, lentiscus, myrtle, dwarf cork-trees, and numerous shrubs unknown to me, fostered by the heat and moisture into an extravagant luxuriance, and matted together by parasitical plants of various kinds. Here a break offered a peep of a stagnant lagoon; there of the sandy Tombolo, with the sea breaking over it; and above the foliage I could see the dark crests of Monte Calvi on the one hand, and the lofty promontory of Populonia on the other. Habitations there were none in this wilderness, save one lonely house on a rising-ground. If a path-way opened into the dense thickets on either hand, it was the track of the wild beasts of the forest. Man seemed to have here no dominion. The boar, the roebuck, the buffalo, and wild cattle had the undisputed range of the jungle. It was the "woods and wasteness wide" of this Maremma, that seized Dante's imagination when he pictured the Infernal wood, inhabited by the souls of suicides,

—— un bosco
Che da nessun sentiero era segnato.
Non frondi verdi, ma di color fosco;
Non rami schietti, ma nodosi e 'nvolti;
Non pomi v' eran, ma stecchi con tosco.
Non han si aspri sterpi, nè sì folti
Quelle fiere selvegge, che 'n odio hanno
Tra Cecina e Corneto i luoghi colti.

After some miles there were a few traces of cultivation—strips of land by the road-side redeemed from the waste, and sown with corn; yet, like the clearings of American backwoods, still studded with stumps of trees, showing the struggle with which nature had been subdued. At this cool season the roads had a fair sprinkling of travellers—labourers going to work, and not a few pedlars, indispensable beings in a region that produces nothing but fish, flesh, and fuel. But the population is temporary and nomade, consisting of woodcutters, agricultural labourers and herdsmen, and those who minister to their wants. These colonists—for such they may strictly be called—are from distant parts of Tuscany, mostly from Pistoja and the northern districts; and they come down to these lowlands in the autumn to cut wood and make charcoal—the prime duties of the Maremma labourer. In May, at the commencement of the summer heats, the greater part of them emigrate to the neighbouring mountains, or return to their homes; but a few linger four or five weeks longer, just to

gather in the scanty harvest, where there is any, and then it is *sauve qui peut*, and "the devil take the hindmost." No one remains in this deadly atmosphere, who can in any way crawl out of it—even "the birds and the very flies" are said, in the emphatic language of the Tuscans, to abandon the plague-stricken waste. Follonica, which in winter has two or three hundred inhabitants, has scarcely half-a-dozen souls left in the dog-days, beyond the men of the coast-guard, who are doomed to rot at their posts. Such, at least, is the report given by the natives; how far it is coloured by southern imaginations, I leave to others to verify, if they wish. My advice, however, for that season would be

> —has terras, Italique hanc litoris oram,
> Effuge; cuncta malis habitantur mœnia;

for the sallow emaciation, or dropsical bloatedness, so often seen along this coast, confirms a great part of the tale. In October, when the sun is losing his power to create miasma, the tide of population begins to flow again towards the Maremma.

The same causes must always have produced the same effects, and the Maremma must have been unhealthy from the earliest times. Yet scarcely to the same extent as at present, or the coast and its neighbourhood would not have been so well peopled, as extant remains prove it to have been. In Roman times we know it was much as at the present day.[7] Yet the Emperors and patricians had villas along this coast in spots which are now utterly deserted. The Romans, by their conscriptions, and centralising system, diminished the population; the land fell out of cultivation, and malaria was the natural consequence; so that where large cities had originally stood, mere road-stations, post-houses, or lonely villas met the eye in Imperial times. The same causes which reduced the Campagna of Rome to a desert must have operated here. The old saying,

> Lontan da città,
> Lontan da sanità,

is most applicable to these regions, where population and cultivation are the best safeguards against disease. It is probable that under the Etruscans the malaria was confined to the level of the coast, or we should scarcely find traces of so many cities, the chief of the land, on the great table-lands, not far from the sea;

[7] Pliny (Epist. V. 6) says of it—Est sane gravis et pestilens ora Tuscorum, quæ per litus extenditur. Cf. Virg. Æn. X. 814; Serv. ad loc.; Rutil. I. 282.

on sites, which now from want of cultivation and proper drainage, are become most pestilent; but which, from their elevation, ought to enjoy immunity from the desolating scourge.

It is but justice to add, that the rulers of Tuscany, for a century past, have done much to improve the condition of this district, both by drainage, by filling up the pools and swamps, and by reclaiming land from the waste for agricultural purposes. But much yet remains to be done; for the mischief of ages cannot be remedied in a day. The success already attained in the Val di Chiana, and the natural fertility of the soil, offer every encouragement. "In the Maremma," saith the proverb, "you get rich in a year, but—you die in six months"—*in Maremma s'arricchisce in un anno, si muore in sei mesi.*

The peculiar circumstances of the Maremma are made the universal excuse for every inferiority of quantity, quality, or workmanship. You complain of the food or accommodation. My host shrugs his shoulders, and cries, "*Ma che—cosa vuole, signor? siamo in Maremma*"—what would you have, sir? we are in the Maremma. A bungling smith well-nigh lamed the horse I had hired; to my complaints he replied, "*Cosa vuole, signor? è roba di Maremma.*"[8] "Maremma-stuff" is a proverbial expression of inferiority. These lower regions of Italy, in truth, are scarcely deemed worthy of a place in a Tuscan's geography. "*Nel mondo, o in Maremma,*" has for ages been a current saying. Thus, Boccaccio's Madonna Lisetta tells her gossip that the angel Gabriel had called her the handsomest woman "in the world or in the Maremma." The traveller will find, however, that as accommodation deteriorates, the demands on his purse

[8] The use of this word *roba* is most singular and amusing, and should be understood by the traveller. It is of universal application. What cannot be designated as *roba?* It is impossible to give its equivalent in English, for we have no word so handy. The nearest approach to it is "thing" or "stuff," but it has a much wider application, accommodating itself to the whole range of created objects, animate or inanimate, substances or abstractions. It implies belonging, appertaining to, or proceeding from. The Spaniards use the cognate word *ropa*, but in a more limited sense. Our word "robe" has the same origin, and "rubbish" comes from its depreciative inflexion—*robaccia*. An Italian will speak of his wife and children, as well as of his goods and chattels, as his *roba*. A mountain is the *roba* of the Tuscan, Roman, or Neapolitan State, as the case may be. The mist rising from a stream and the fish caught in it, are alike *roba di fiume*—"river-stuff." The traveller will sometimes have his dignity offended when he hears the same term applied to himself as to the cloth on his back—*roba di Francia* or *roba d'Inghilterra;* or when he hears himself spoken of as "steam-stuff," because he happens to have just landed from a steam-boat. Even the laws and institutions of his country, and the doctrines or observances of his creed, will be brought by the Italian under this all-comprehensive term.

become more exorbitant; not wholly without reason, for everything comes from other parts—nothing is produced in the Maremma. Milk, butter, fruit, all the necessaries of life, even bread and meat, are brought from a distance; fowls and eggs, and occasionally fish or a wild-boar chop, are the only produce of the spot. Corn is not yet grown in sufficient quantities for the winter population.

Such is the picture I drew of the Maremma in 1844. Since that date the district between Follonica and Cecina has so much improved, that the likeness is hardly to be recognised.[9] The swampy jungle has in many parts given place to corn, and though malaria still reigns in the hot season, its influence is much modified by drainage and cultivation. My description, however, still applies with unabated force to that portion of the coast which extends southwards from Follonica to Monte Argentaro, "where the country presents in the highest degree that aspect of lonely and savage grandeur, which is the peculiar characteristic of the Maremma."

Campiglia is a town of some consequence, having 2000 resident inhabitants; but in the cool season that number is almost doubled by the influx of the labourers from other parts of Italy, who migrate to the Maremma. In the Locanda of Giovanni Dini, I experienced great civility and attention, and as much comfort as can be expected in a country town, off the high road, and where the tastes and whims of foreigners are not wont to be studied. Those visitors to Populonia, who do not accept the hospitalities of the Desiderj, and who do not seek a lodging at Piombino, cannot do better than make the acquaintance of Giovanni of Campiglia.

It is in the heights in the neighbourhood of Campiglia, that Vetulonia was long supposed to be situated. Leandro Alberti, in 1550, first gave to the world a long and detailed account of some ruins in a dense wood hereabouts, which, from the name of the wood, and from the vicinity of the hot springs of Le Caldane, he concluded to be the remains of Vetulonia, or, as he calls it, Itulonium.

He asserts that between the Torre di S. Vincenzo and the headland of Populonia, three miles from the sea, and in the midst of dense woods, is a spacious inclosure of ancient masonry, composed of blocks from four to six feet long, neatly put together,

[9] Tuscany is indebted for much of this improvement to the assiduous exertions of her ate benevolent ruler, Leopold II.

and without cement; the wall being ten feet thick. In many parts it is overthrown to the foundations. Within this are many fountains, or reservoirs, almost all ruined and empty; besides certain wells, some quite choked with earth; mosaic pavement of marble and other costly stones, but much ruined; the remains of a superb amphitheatre, in which lies a great block of marble, inscribed with Etruscan characters. Both within and around the said inclosure, among the dense thickets and underwood, lie fragments of statues, broken capitals and bases of columns, slabs, tablets, tomb-stones, and such-like remains of antiquity, together with very thick substructions and fragments of massive walling, which he thinks belonged to some temple or palace. This wood, he says, is called Selva di Vetletta, and the ruins, Vetulia; which he takes to be Vetulonia, or a temple called Vitulonium. All around these remains are ruined fountains; and two miles beyond, on the same wooded hills, is a large building, where alum is prepared; and three miles further, are the mines, where iron ore is dug up. Following the said hill, which faces the south, for another mile, and descending to its foot, you find the marsh through which the Cornia flows to the sea.[1]

I have given Alberti's account for the benefit of those who would seek for the ruins he describes.

Though Alberti's opinion as to this being the site of Vetuloria, has been now broached for three centuries, and though it has been adopted, through good faith in his statements, by almost every subsequent writer on Italian antiquities,[2] no one has ever been able to discover a vestige of the ruins he pretends to describe; yet no one seems to have doubted their existence, accounting for their disappearance by the density of the forest which covers the slopes of these mountains.[3] The wood, how-

[1] Alberti, Descrittione d' Italia, p. 27. Inghirami (Ric. di Vetul. p. 38) tells us that Leandro Alberti did not describe these ruins from his personal acquaintance, but copied a manuscript account by a certain Zaccaria Zacchio, of Volterra, who wrote long before him; and pronounces the above account to be the offspring of Zacchio's lively imagination, copied by the credulous Alberti.

[2] Cluver. Ital. Ant. II. p. 472; Dempster, Etrur. Reg. II. p. 432; Ximenes, Maremma Sanese, p. 24; Targioni-Tozzetti, Viaggi in Toscana, IV. pp. 117, 268; Müller, Etrusk. I. pp. 211, 347; Cramer, Anc. Italy, I. p. 187. Some of these writers contented themselves with repeating the accounts of their predecessors; and even those who had travelled along this coast, accepted implicitly the assertion, carried away by the great authority of Cluverius, who gave the statement to the world as his own, at least without acknowledging that he had it from Alberti.

[3] Santi (Viaggio, III. p. 189, cited by Inghir. Ric. di Vetul. p. 47) sought in vain for a vestige of these ruins; yet would he not impugn the authority of previous writers, "although no one had been able to ascertain the site of the ancient and

ever, would not afford an effectual concealment, for it is cut from time to time, at least once in a generation; so that any ruins among it must, since Alberti's days, have been frequently exposed for years together, and some traditional record of their site could hardly fail to be preserved among the peasantry. Inghirami was the first to impugn Alberti's credibility, after he had sought in vain for these ruins, and for any one who had seen them; but finding that no one, native or foreigner, had ever been able to discover their site, he concluded them to have existed only in Alberti's imagination.[4] He admits, however, the currency of such rumours along this coast; but could never meet with any one who had ocular testimony to offer as to the existence of these ruins, and therefore refers such traditions to their probable source—the statement of Alberti, repeated by subsequent writers, till it has become current in the mouths of the peasantry.[5]

My own experience does not quite agree with Inghirami's; for though I made many inquiries at Campiglia and Populonia, not only of residents, but of *campagnuoli* and shepherds, men whose life had been passed in the neighbouring country, I could not learn that such names as Vetulonia, Vetulia, or even Vetletta, or Vetreta, had ever been heard in this district; nothing beyond the Valle al Vetro (Vetriera, as I heard it) which Inghirami speaks of, the valley below Campiglia, towards the Caldane—a name derived from the glass-factories formerly existing there,[6] traces of which are still to be seen in the dross from the furnaces.

Though the ruins Alberti describes are not now to be found, that there was an Etruscan population in the neighbourhood of Campiglia is a fact, attested by tombs that have been opened at Monte Patone, a mile below the town on the road to Populonia. They have been reclosed, but the description I received of their form and contents—sarcophagi with reliefs, and recumbent figures

irrecoverably lost Vetulonia." Sir Richard Colt Hoare was also disappointed in his search for these ruins, yet did not call in question their existence. Classical Tour, I. p. 46. And it must be confessed that Alberti's description, in no way vague or extravagant, has all the air of verity.

[4] Inghirami investigated all this country with the greatest care, but could find no vestige of Alberti's Vetulonia; nor even, among the traditions of the peasantry, a trace of the name Vetulia, or Vetletta, which he thinks to have been formed by Zacchio or Alberti, from that of Vetreta, which exists in several spots along this coast where there have been in former days manufactories of glass. He also shows, from other palpably absurd statements of Alberti with regard to Populonia, how little he is worthy of confidence in such matters. Ric. di Vetul. pp. 40, 48, 49.

[5] Ric. di Vetul. p. 63. To this source he ascribes the tradition of the Massetani, mentioned above, at page 199.

[6] Ric. di Vetul. p. 39.

on the lids—fragments of bronze armour, embossed with lions, cocks, boars, serpents, geese, and strange chimæras, such as had never been seen or heard of by my informants—and pottery of sundry kinds—thoroughly persuaded me of their Etruscan character.

The precise site of this Etruscan town I did not ascertain. It may have been at Campiglia itself, though no traces of such antiquity are now to be seen there. In fact, were we to trust to such blind guides as Annio of Viterbo and Leandro Alberti, we should hold that Campiglia was founded by the "sweet-worded Nestor," who named it after his realm of Pylos, and that the syllable Cam, by some unexplained means, afterwards stole a march on the old appellation, and took its place at the head of the word.

After all, it is a mere assumption, founded partly on Alberti's description, and partly on the hot springs at Le Caldane, that Vetulonia stood in this neighbourhood, as there is no statement in ancient writers which should lead us to look for it here, rather than elsewhere along the coast. But the fashion was set by Alberti, and it has ever since been followed—fashions in opinion not being so easily cast aside as those in dress.[7]

Roman remains also have been found in this neighbourhood. I heard of sundry pieces of mosaic, and other traces of Roman villas, that had been recently brought to light.[8]

The summit of the hill above the town is called Campiglia Vecchia, but there are no remains more ancient than the middle ages. Forbear not, however, to ascend; for you will thence obtain one of the most magnificent panoramas in all Italy—where mountain and plain, rock and wood, sea and sky, lake,

[7] Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 194) suggests three causes, which may have given rise to this opinion. The hot springs of the Caldane—the reported existence of the names of Vetulia, Vetleta, &c., in the neighbourhood—and "the order in which Ptolemy mentions Vetulonia, after having cited Rusellæ and Arretium and before passing to Suana, Saturnia, and Volci." With regard to the latter reason, nothing more can be deduced from the order of these places than from the latitude and longitude Ptolemy assigns them, as it is evident they follow no geographical arrangement—"Pisæ, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, Fæsulæ, Perusia, Arretium, Cortona, Acula, Biturgia, Manliana, Vetulonium, Sæna, Suana, Saturnia, Eba, Volci, Clusium," &c.

[8] Near Campiglia some ancient mines have of late years been reopened and worked with great success by an English gentleman, who, as I heard the story, was led to turn his attention to this spot from observing the mention made by Strabo (V. p. 223) of some abandoned mines near Populonia. *Vide supra*, p. 200. According to Dempster (II. p. 432), Campiglia could boast of mines of a richer metal, for he calls it—"argenti fodinis nuper ditissima, ac monetæ officina." In the mountains of Campiglia also are quarries of white marble, to which the Duomo of Florence is more indebted for its beautiful incrustations than to the marble of Carrara. Repetti, I. p. 421.

river, and island, are brought together into one mighty spirit-stirring whole, in which Nature exults in undying strength and freshness.

Turn your back on the deep valley of the Cornia and the lofty mountains inland, and let your eye range over the other half of the scene. Campiglia lies at your feet, cradled in olive-groves, and its grey feudal castle, in ivy-grown ruin, scowls over the subject town. Now glance southward, far across the green and red Maremma and the azure bay of Follonica, to the headland of Troja, with the islet at its foot. Far beyond it, in the dim horizon, you will perceive another island, the Giglio, so favourite a feature in the scenery of Corneto. To the west of it rises the lofty islet rock of Monte Cristo. Nearer still, the many-peaked mass of Elba, once the whole realm of him for whom Europe was too small, towers behind the heights of Piombino; and on the northern extremity of these heights gleams the castle of Populonia, overhanging its sail-less port. Due west, Capraja rises from the blue deep; and far, far beyond, the snow-capped mountains of Corsica faintly whiten the horizon. To the north-west, seen through a gap in the olive-clad heights on which you stand, is the steep islet-rock of Gorgona.

How delightful at times is ignorance! How disenchanting is knowledge! Look at those luxuriant, variegated woods, those smiling lakes at your feet; admire them, rejoice in them—think not, know not, that for half the year they "exhale earth's rottenest vapours," and curdle the air with pestilence. Let yonder castle on its headland be to you a picturesque object, placed there but to add beauty to the scene; listen not to its melancholy tale of desolation and departed grandeur. Those islands, studding the deep, may be barren, treeless, storm-lashed rocks, the haunt only of the fisherman, or forsaken as unprofitable wildernesses; but to you who would enjoy this scene, let them, one and all, be what they appear,

> "Summer-isles of Eden, lying
> In dark purple spheres of sea."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLV.

The following are the ancient stations and distances on the Via Aurelia, and along the coast, from Cosa northwards to Luna, as given by the three Itineraries :—

VIA AURELIA

Continued from Vol. I., p. 436.

ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS.

Cosa	
Lacum Aprilem	M. P. XXII.
Salebronem	XII.
Manliana	VIIII.
Populonium	XII.
Vada Volaterrana	XXV.
Ad Herculem	XVIII.
Pisas	XII.
Papiriana	XI.
Lunam	XXIIII.

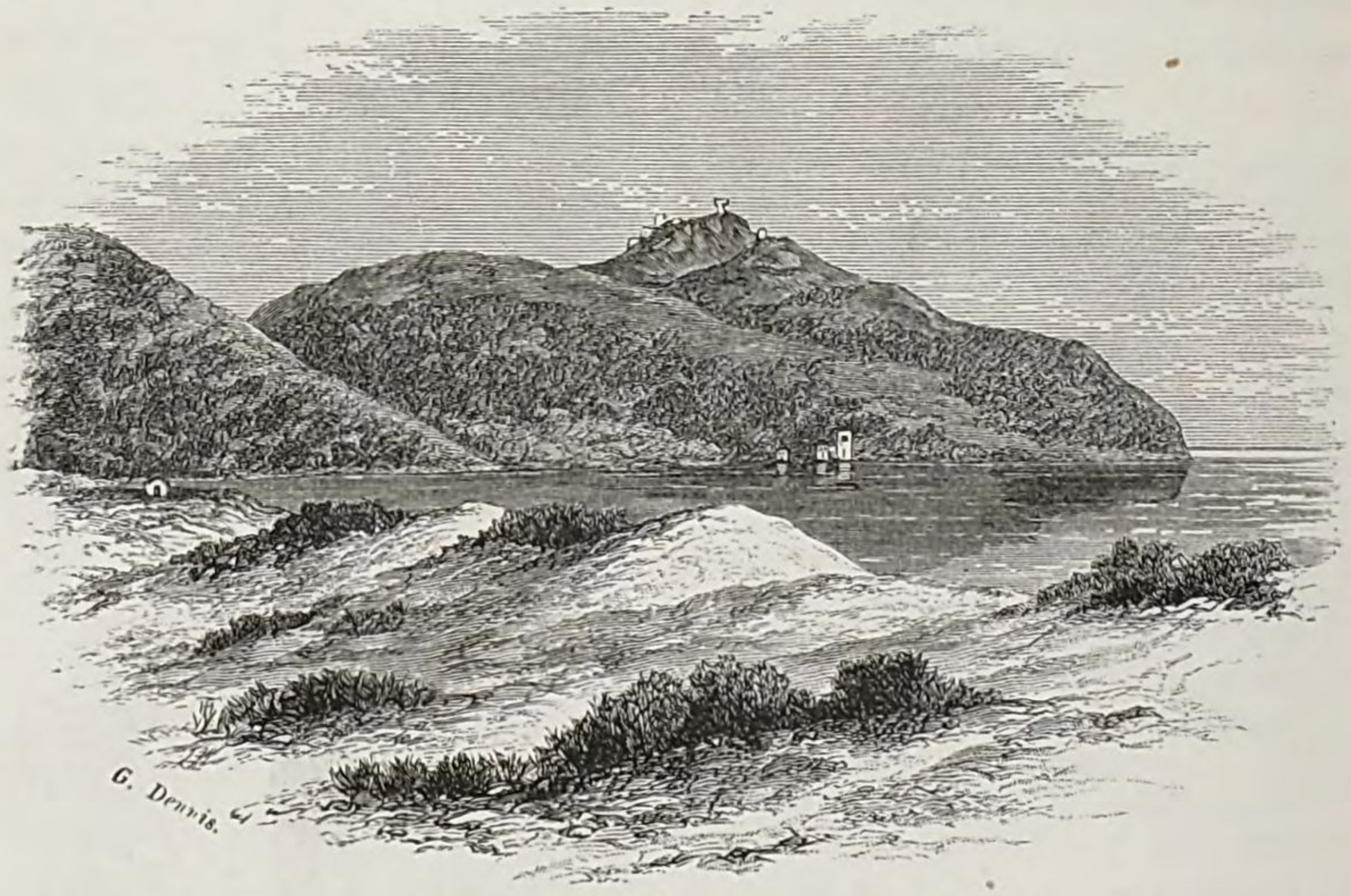
MARITIME ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS.

Arnine, fluv.	
Portum Herculis	M. P. XXV.
Cetarias Domitianas	III.
Almina, fluv.	VIIII.
Portum Telamonis	—
Fluv. Umbronis	—
Lacu Aprile	XVIII.
Alma, flum.	XVIII.
Scabros, port.	VI.
Falesiam, port.	XVIII.
Populonium, port.	XIII.
Vada, port.	XXX.
Portum Pisanum	XVIII.
Pisas, fluv.	VIIII.
Lunam, fluv. Macra	XXX.

PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.

Cosa	
Albinia, fl.	M. P. VIIII.
Telamone	IIII.
Hasta	VIII.
Umbro, fl.	VIIII.
Saleborna	XII.
Manliana	VIIII.
Populonio	XII.
Vadis Volateris	X.
Velinis	X.
Ad Fines	XIII.
Piscinas	VIII.
Turrita	XVI.
Pisis	VIIII.
Fossis Papirianis	XI.
Ad Taberna Frigida	XII.
Lunæ	X.

The latter distances on this route, as given in the Maritime Itinerary, are far from correct, and those given by the Table are still more inaccurate, and in many cases hardly intelligible.



POPULONIA, FROM THE EAST.

CHAPTER XLVI.

POPULONIA.—*POPULONIA.*

Proxima securum reserat Populonia litus
  Qua naturalem ducit in arva sinum . . . . . .
Agnosci nequeunt ævi monimenta prioris
  Grandia consumpsit mœnia tempus edax.
Sola manent interceptis vestigia muris ;
  Ruderibus latis tecta sepulta jacent.—Rutilius.

So long they traveiled with little ease,
Till that at last they to a castle came,
Built on a rocke adjoyning to the seas ;
It was an auncient worke of ántique fame
And wondrous strong by nature and by skilful frame.
Spenser.

From Follonica there are two ways to Populonia—one along the sandy strip of shore, called Il Tombolo, to Piombino, fifteen miles distant,[1] and thence six miles further over the mountains;

[1] Piombino is not an ancient site. Here, however, a beautiful votive statue of Apollo in bronze was found in the sea some years since, having a Greek inscription on its foot—ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΝ—it is now in the Louvre. M. Letronne thinks it may have decorated some temple of Minerva in the neighbouring Etruscan city of Populonia. Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 198–222. Tav. d'Agg. D. 1. Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. 58, 59. Between Follonica and Piombino, and about a mile from the latter, is the Porto de' Faliesi, the Faleria of Rutilius (I. 371), the Falesia Portus of the Maritime Itinerary, see page 211. The neighbouring lagoon, of which Rutilius speaks, is that into which the Cornia empties itself. Repetti (IV. p. 293) says the ancient port is now much choked by the deposits from that river.

the other by the railroad as far as the Campiglia station, and then across the Maremma. The former road, in fine weather, is practicable for a carriage throughout.

From Campiglia Station to Populonia there is a direct road of seven miles across the plain. When I did it many years since, this track was practicable only on foot or on horseback, for the jungle stretched from the Leghorn road to the very foot of the heights of Populonia. The wood was dense enough in parts, yet I could catch an occasional glimpse of the castle-crowned headland to which I was bound. The ground was swampy; the paths, mere tracks made by the cattle; yet such difficulties were in time overcome, and I was approaching Populonia, when I encountered a more formidable obstacle in a flock of sheep. Not that, like the knight of La Mancha, or his heroic prototype, Ajax Telamonius, I took them for foes to be subdued; but some half-a-dozen dogs, their guardians, large and fierce as wolves, threatened to dispute my further progress. Seeing no shepherd at hand to calm their fury, and not caring to fight a passage, or to put Ulysses' example and Pliny's precept into practice, and sit down quietly in their midst,[2] I made a *détour* by the sea-shore, where a range of sand-hills concealed me from their view. Here the sand, untrodden perhaps for ages, lay so loose and deep that I verified the truth of the saying—

> Chi vuol patir nel mondo una gran pena,
> Dorma diritto, o cammini per arena.

This was the beach of the celebrated port of Populonia, once the chief mart of Etruscan commerce; but not a sail, not even a skiff now shadowed its waters, which reflected nothing but the girdle of yellow sand-hills, and the dark headland of Populonia, with the turreted ruins on its crest, and the lonely Tower of Baratti at its foot. It was the scene delineated in the woodcut at the head of this chapter.

It is a steep ascent up the olive-clad slope to Populonia. Just before reaching the Castle, a portion of the ancient wall is passed, stretching along the brow of the hill; but this is by no means the finest fragment of the Etruscan fortifications.

The Castle of Populonia is an excellent specimen of the Italian feudal fortress; its turrets and machicolated battlements make it as picturesque an object as its situation renders it prominent in

[2] Homer (Odys. XIV. 31) tells us that Ulysses, on being attacked by the dogs of Eumæus, knowingly sat down, and let his stick drop. Pliny (VIII. 61) also says that you may calm dogs' fury by sitting down on the ground.

the scenery of this district. The ancient family of the Desiderj have been the hereditary lords of Populonia for centuries; and though the donjon and keep are no more, though the ramparts are not manned, and no warder winds his horn at the stranger's approach, the Desiderj still dwell within the castle-walls, in the midst of their dependents, retaining all the patriarchal dignity and simplicity of the olden time, without its tyranny; and with hospitality in no age surpassed, welcome the traveller with open doors. I had not the good fortune to make the acquaintance of this amiable family as they were absent at the time of my visit; but my friend, Mr. Ainsley, who in the previous spring had visited Populonia, was persuaded—compelled I may say—to stay a week at the Castle, finding it impossible to refuse the urgent hospitality of the Cavaliere. It is refreshing to experience such cordiality in a foreign land—to find that hospitality which we are apt to regard as peculiarly of British growth, flourishing as luxuriantly in another soil. However reluctant to receive such attentions from strangers, in a case like this where there is no inn, nor so much as a wineshop where refreshment may be had, one feels at liberty to trespass a little. This dependence, however, on the good offices of others is likely to interfere with liberty of action, and might be no slight inconvenience, were the antiquities of Populonia very extended or numerous. As it is, the traveller may drive over in the morning from Piombino, five miles distant, or even from Campiglia, see thoroughly the remains at Populonia, and return before sunset the same day.

There are few relics of antiquity extant at Populonia beyond its walls, which may be traced in fragments along the brow of the hill, showing the Etruscan city to have had a circuit of little more than a mile and a half.[3] The area thus inclosed is of the form of a shoulder of mutton, with the shank-end towards the north-east. These dimensions place Populonia in the rank of an inferior city, which must have derived its importance from its situation and commerce, rather than from the abundance of its population.

Populonia can hardly have been one of the Twelve chief cities of the Etruscan Confederation. Nothing said of it by ancient writers marks it as of such importance; and the only statement that can in any way be construed to favour such a view, is made by Livy, who mentions it among the principal cities of Etruria,

[3] Micali's Plan of Populonia (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. II.) makes the circuit of the walls to be more than 8000 feet.

but at a time when the whole of that state had long been subject to Roman domination.[4] The authority of Servius, indeed, is directly opposed to that view, in the three traditions he records of it:—first, that it was founded by the Corsicans, "after the establishment of the Twelve cities of Etruria;" secondly, that it was a colony of Volaterræ; and thirdly, that the Volaterrani took it from the Corsicans.[5] At any rate, it was an inferior and dependent town in Etruscan times, and its consequence arose from its commerce, from its being a great naval station, and also from the strength of its position, which enabled it to defy the attacks of pirates, to which cities on this coast were then subject.[6] Moreover, it was the grand depôt and factory of the iron of Elba, which, as at the present day, was not smelted in the island, but brought for that purpose to the neighbouring continent.[7]

The antiquity of Populonia is undoubted. Virgil represents it sending forces to the assistance of Æneas, and bears testimony to its importance in early times.[8] Yet we find no historical mention of this city till the end of the Second Punic War. When Scipio made a demand on the resources of the province of Etruria to supply his fleet, each of the principal cities furnished that in which it abounded—Cære sent corn and other provisions; Tarquinii, sailcloth; Volaterræ, ship-tackle and corn; Arretium, corn, weapons, and sundry implements; Perusia, Clusium, and Rusellæ, corn and fir for ship-building; and Populonia, iron.[9]

Like Volaterræ, Populonia sustained a siege from the forces of

[4] Liv. XXVIII. 45. Livy can only mean that Populonia at the time referred to was among the first cities of the Roman province of Etruria. It is not improbable, however, as Niebuhr (I. p. 118, Eng. trans.) suggests, that Populonia, though not one of the original Twelve Cities, may in after times have taken the place of some one already extinct—perhaps Vetulonia, "if the topography be correct which places Vetulonia near it."

[5] Serv. ad Virg. Æn. X. 172. Millingen (Numis. Anc. Ital. p. 163), from the character of certain coins of Populonia, attributes the foundation of the town to the Phocæans, during their settlement in Corsica, and thinks it possible that they may have long held possession of it.

[6] Strabo (V. p. 223), and Pliny (III. 8) tell us it was the only one of the ancient Etruscan cities which was situated, properly speaking, on the sea. Whence it is evident that Telamon, Graviscæ, Pyrgi, and the other places on this coast were not cities; probably mere landing-places—ports to the great cities in their vicinity. Even Cosa, though similarly situated to Populonia, was not, from its small size, entitled to rank as a city. See Müller's remarks, Etrusk. I. p. 348.

[7] Strabo, loc. cit.; Varro, ap. Serv. ad Æn. X. 174; Pseudo-Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. c. 95.

[8] Virg. Æn. X. 172. While the whole island of Elba sent only 300 warriors, Populonia sent 600—

Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
Expertos belli juvenes; ast Ilva trecentos.

[9] Liv. XXVIII. 45.

Sylla, and was almost destroyed by the victor; for Strabo, who visited it nearly a century afterwards, says the place would have been an utter desert, were it not that the temples and a few of the houses were still standing;[1] even the port at the foot of the hill was better inhabited. It seems never to have recovered from this blow, though we find it subsequently mentioned among the coast-towns of Etruria.[2] At the beginning of the fifth century of our era it was in utter ruin, and the description Rutilius gives of it, is quite applicable to its present condition.[3] Micali ascribes its final destruction to the Saracens in A.D. 826 and 828;[4] but Repetti makes it more than two centuries earlier, referring it to the Lombards in the time of Gregory the Great.[5]

Within the walls of Populonia are to be seen a line of six parallel vaults, *concamerationes*, sometimes erroneously called an amphitheatre; a curious piece of mosaic, with a variety of fishes;[6] and some reservoirs of water—all of Roman times. Nothing is Etruscan within the walls. On the highest ground is a tower, where the French established a telegraph. Strabo tells us that in his time there was a look-out tower on this promontory, to watch the arrival of the tunny-fish;[7] just as is the practice at the present day along the coasts of Italy. It may have stood on this height, which commands a wide view of the Mediterranean, though Repetti thinks it probably occupied the eastern cliff, which is still known by the name of Punto della Tonnarella. From this "specular mount" you perceive that Populonia is situated, as Strabo describes it, "on a lofty promontory, sinking abruptly to the sea, and forming a peninsula." The Castle hides the view of the bay; but on the north the coast is seen trending away in a long low line towards the mountains around Leghorn;

[1] Juno had a temple at Populonia. Macrob. Sat. III. 11. And there was a very ancient and curious statue of Jupiter here, hewn from the trunk of an enormous vine. Pliny (XIV. 2) speaks of it as extant in his day, though of great antiquity —tot ævis incorruptum.

[2] Mela. II. 4. Plin. III. 8. Ptolemy (p. 68, ed. Bert.) even calls it a city.

[3] Rutil. Itin. I. 401–412. See the heading to this Chapter.

[4] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 150.

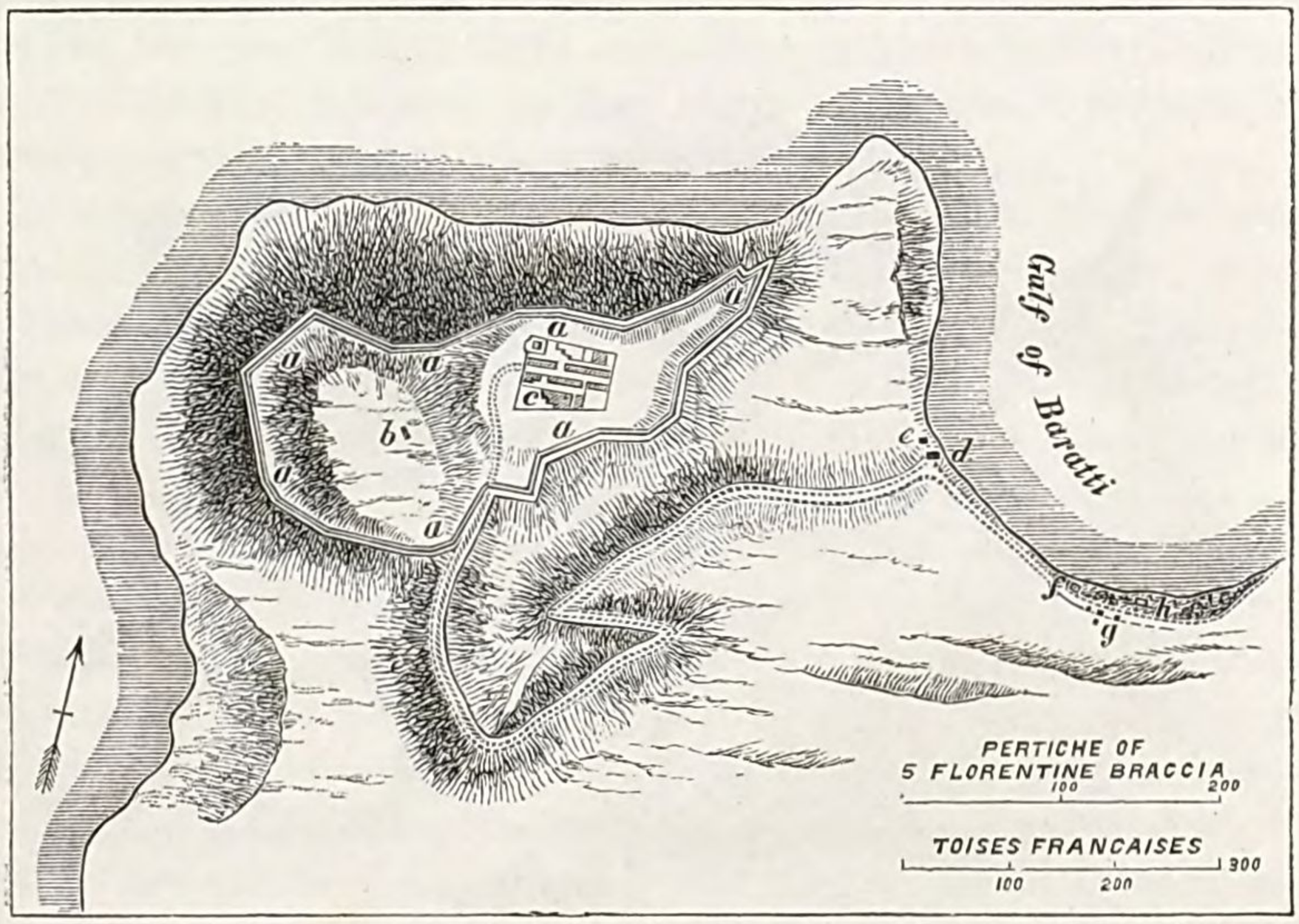
[5] Repetti, IV. p. 580.

[6] See Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 150, for an account of this mosaic from the pen of Inghirami, who mentions the various fish under their technical names.

[7] Strabo, loc. cit.—*θυννοσκοπεῖον*. Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluv. p. 29) interprets this word as *piscatio thunnorum;* and does not think there was any tower. But he stands alone in this opinion. It was probably this same tower which was standing in the time of Rutilius, four centuries later, who speaks of a beacon-tower on the fortifications, instead of a Pharos built as usual on the mole; so that a double purpose was served (I. 403–8)—

Castellum geminos hominum fundavit in usus,
Præsidium terris, indiciumque fretis.

and even the snowy Apennines above the Gulf of Spezia may be descried in clear weather. As the eye sweeps round the horizon of waters, it meets the steep rock of Gorgona, then the larger and nearer island of Capraja, and, if the weather be very clear,



From Micali.

PLAN OF POPULONIA.

a. Line of the Etruscan walls.
b. Concamerationes with six vaults.
c. Modern village.
d. Torre di Baratti.
e. Mosaic pavement.
f. Church of S. Cerbone.
g. Ancient remains, marking the site of the dockyard.
h. Perennial fountain.

the mountain-crests of Corsica beyond. But those of Sardinia are not visible, though Strabo has recorded his experience to the contrary, and Macaulay, on his authority, has sung of

"sea-girt Populonia,
Whose sentinels descry
Sardinia's snowy mountain-tops
Fringing the southern sky."

Even were the distance not too great, the broad mass of Elba which fills the south-western horizon, would effectually conceal them from the view. That island rises in a long line of dark peaks, the loftiest of which on the right is Monte Campana; and the highest at the other end of the range, is crowned by the town of Rio. Midway lies the Bay of Portoferrajo, so called from its

shipments of iron ore; and the town itself, the court of the exiled Emperor, is visible on a rock jutting into the bay.[8]

The finest portions of the Etruscan walls lie on this western side of Populonia, and from the magnitude of the masonry are appropriately termed "I Massi." They are represented in the annexed woodcut. They are formed of blocks, less rectangular,



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF POPULONIA.

perhaps, than those of Volterra, but laid horizontally, though with little regularity. More care seems to have been bestowed on smoothing the surface of the masonry than on its arrangement; and it is often vain to attempt to count the number of

[8] Portoferrajo is 20 miles from Populonia, but the nearest point of Elba is not more than 15 miles. He who would cross to that island must do so from Follonica or Piombino—better from the latter, from which it is only 8 miles distant, and whence there is a regular communication. As the island belonged to the Etruscans, remains of that people may be expected to exist there, but I have never heard of such being discovered; and I have had no opportunity of visiting it for personal research. Sir Richard C. Hoare describes some ancient remains at Le Grotte, opposite Portoferrajo, and on Capo Castello, where they are called the "Palazzo della Regina dell' Elba,"—he considers both to be of the same date, and his description seems to indicate them as Roman.—Classical Tour, I. pp. 23, 26. Elba, however, has more interest for the naturalist than for the antiquary. It is, as Repetti observes, "the best stored mineralogical cabinet in Tuscany." Its iron mines have been renowned from the days of the Romans (*ut supra*, page 215), and Virgil (Æn. X. 174) truly calls Elba,

> Insula inexhaustis chalybum generosa metallis.

For an account of this beautiful island and its productions see Repetti, II. *v.* Isola dell' Elba.

courses, as blocks of very different heights lie side by side. None of them are of the vast dimensions of some at Fiesole and Volterra.[9] But the frequent splitting of the rock often renders it difficult to determine their original size and form; and in parts gives them a very irregular character.[1] In other parts, more to the south, the walls are composed of long and very shallow courses, the rock having there a tendency to split in thin *laminæ*. As in all other Etruscan walling, there is an entire absence of cement and cramping.

In every part of the circuit, the walls of Populonia are embankments only, never rising above the level of the city, as is sometimes the case at Volterra and at Cosa. In no part are they now to be seen more than ten or twelve feet in height.

The other Etruscan remains of Populonia are a few tombs in the surrounding slopes. About a quarter of a mile below the walls to the south, are some sepulchres, called, like the vaults in the theatre of Fiesole, Le Buche delle Fate—"the Fairies' Dens." They are hollowed in low cliffs of yellow sandstone, and have passages cut down to them, as in the southern part of Etruria, but have no monumental façade. They seem to have been circular, but the rock is so friable that the original form is nearly destroyed. How long they have been opened I could not learn. They are not to be found without a guide, as the path to them lies through a dense wood of tall lentiscus.

On the hill to the east of Populonia, and about one mile from the castle, are other tombs, opened in 1840 by Signor François; and known by the name of Le Grotte. They are within a tumulus; and other similar mounds, probably containing tombs, rise on this spot.[2] The tombs were constructed of slabs put

[9] The block marked *a* in the woodcut is 6 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 6 in.—that marked *b* is 5 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 2 in. The largest I could find was 7 feet in length; few are more than 2 feet in height, and many much less than one. It may be observed here, as at Volterra and other sites in northern Etruria, that the smallest and shallowest blocks are generally at the bottom, as if to make a good foundation for the larger masses.

[1] The walls of Populonia have been styled polygonal (Gerhard, Memor. Inst. I. p. 79); but I could perceive nothing to warrant such a nomenclature. It is true that small pieces are often inserted to fill the interstices, and few blocks are strictly rectangular; but if carefully examined it will be generally found that the most irregular are mere splittings from larger blocks; for the rock, a schistose sand-stone, has split, perhaps from the superincumbent weight, and often diagonally, so as to convert a quadrangular mass into two or more of triangular form; an example of which is shown in the woodcut at p. 218. In truth, it is singular to observe how closely this masonry in some parts resembles the natural rock, when split by time or the elements. The most irregular masses, however, are trapezoidal or triangular; and horizontality is throughout the distinctive character of the masonry.

[2] Inghirami, Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 148.

together without cement. They had already been rifled of their most precious contents in former ages, so that little was learnt of the sepulchral furniture of Populonia.[3] Some painted vases, however, with both black and red figures, have been found in the slopes near the sea.

Not a vestige now remains of the docks or slips which Strabo tells us anciently existed at Populonia.[4]

We learn from coins that the Etruscan name of this city was "PUPLUNA,"[5]—a name which seems to be derived from the Etruscan Bacchus—"PHUPHLUNS;"[6] as Mantua was from the Etruscan Pluto—Mantus; if it be not rather a compound word; for "Luna" being found in the names of three Etruscan towns, all on this coast—Luna, Pup-luna, Vet-luna—seems significant of a maritime character.[7]

Populonia is one of the few Etruscan cities of which coins, unquestionably genuine, have been found. They are of gold and silver, as well as of bronze, and generally have one or two small crosses, which mark their value. The emblems are often significant of the commerce of the town. The head of Vulcan; a hammer and tongs, on the reverse—in allusion to its iron-foundries. The head of Mercury; a *caduceus* and trident—indicative of its commerce and maritime importance. The head of Minerva; an owl, with a crescent moon and two stars.[8] But

[3] The excavations made here in 1850 by Noël des Vergers in conjunction with François, were profitless from the same cause. The last excavations on this site were made by Dr. Schliemann, of Trojan celebrity, but so far as I can learn they proved fruitless. His selection of an Etruscan site for his enterprise was not felicitous.

[4] Strabo, V. p. 223.

[5] It is sometimes written "PUPLANA," or contracted into "PUP." The town was called Populonia by Virgil, Servius, Mela, and Rutilius—Populonii, by Livy—and Poplonium, or Populonium, by Strabo, the Pseudo-Aristotle, Stephanus, Ptolemy, and the Itineraries.

[6] Bacchus is so designated on several Etruscan mirrors—*e.g.* that which forms the frontispiece to Vol. I. of this work. See Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 83, 84, 90. Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 173) would derive Populonia from this source; and so also Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 193 Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 29). But may it not be, on the contrary, that the god took this name from the town, as Venus did hers of Cypris and Cytherea, from her favourite islands? It is not improbable that the Etruscan name "Pupli," "Puplina" (Publius), had some affinity to "Pupluna."

[7] *Ut supra*, page 67.

[8] Another type of Populonia is a female head, helmeted, with a fish by its side; this Lanzi thinks refers to the tunny fisheries mentioned by Strabo. Other coins have a wild-boar—an apt emblem of the Maremma; or a lion, about to seize his prey, which Millingen thinks is an imitation of an Ionic coin. One mentioned by Eckhel, with a female head covered with a lion's skin, and a club on the reverse, Müller considers significant of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans. Many of the coins of Populonia have the peculiarity of having the reverse quite bare. For descriptions and illustrations of these coins, see Passeri, Paralip. in Dempst. tab. V. 3–5; Lanzi,

the most remarkable type on the coins of Populonia is the *Gorgoneion;* not here "the head of the fair-cheeked Medusa—"[9]

"A woman's countenance with serpent locks,"—

as it is represented by the sculptors of later Greece and of Etruria, and by Leonardo da Vinci, in his celebrated picture; but a monstrous fiend-like visage, just as in the subjoined wood-cut,[1] with snaky hair, gnashing tusks, and tongue lolling out of

"The open mouth, that seeméd to containe
A full good pecke within the utmost brim,
All set with yron teeth in raunges twaine,
That terrifide his foes, and armed him,
Appearing like the mouth of Orcus griesly grim."



ETRUSCAN GORGONEION.

Saggio, II. pp. 27, 81, tav. II. 1–3; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 115; Ital. av. Rom. tav. 59–61; Mon. Ined. p. 348, *et seq.* tav. 54. Müller, Etrusk. I. pp. 323, 330; Mionnet, Med. Ant. I. pp. 101–2; Suppl. I. pp. 199–203; Sestini, Geog. Numis. II. p. 5; Millingen, Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 163 *et seq.*; cf. Capranesi, Ann. Inst. 1840, p. 204; Abeken, Mittelitalien, taf. 11. 1–3.

[9] Pindar, Pyth. XII. 28.

[1] This cut is taken from a vase of Chiusi, but it is characteristic of the Etruscan Gorgoneion.

The Gorgon's head, according to the Orphic doctrines, was a symbol of the lunar disk. Epigenes, ap. Clem. Alexand. Strom. V. p. 676, ed. Potter.

A singular opinion has been broached by Dr. Levezow of Berlin—that the type of the Gorgon of antiquity was nothing but an ape or ourang-outang, seen on the African coast by some early Greek or Phœnician mariner; and that its ferocious air, its horrible tusks, its features and form caricaturing humanity, seized on his imagination, which reproduced the monster in the series of his myths. See a review of Levezow's work by the Duc de Luynes, Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 311–332.



ETRUSCAN WALLS OF RUSELLÆ.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ROSELLE.—*RUSELLÆ.*

Jam silvæ steriles, et putres robore trunci
Assaraci pressêre domos, et templa Deorum,
Jam lassâ radice tenent, ac tota teguntur
Pergama dumetis ; et jam periêre ruinæ.—Lucan.

From Follonica to Grosseto by railroad, there are 42 kilomètres or 25 miles. There is a track along the coast direct to Castiglion della Pescaja, leaving the Torre di Troja, the Trajanus Portus of antiquity,[1] to the right. The rail-road leaves the coast at Follonica, and runs inland for half the way through a long barren valley, between heights covered with brushwood, on which to the right stand the villages of Scarlino, Gavorrano, Caldana and Giuncarico. At the foot of the heights, below Gavorrano, is the station of Potassa, with its Locanda, nine miles from Follonica. Beyond Giuncarico, the scenery begins to improve, and Colonna di Buriano on a wooded height three miles to the right, is a picturesque feature in the landscape. This is supposed to be the Colonia, near which, in the year of Rome 529, took place the great rout of the Gauls, commonly called the battle of Telamon.[2]

[1] Ptol. Geog. p. 68, ed. Bert.

[2] It is Frontinus Strat. I. 2, 7) who mentions Colonia (some readings have it Poplonia) as the site of that battle. Poly-

At Lupo, a wretched *cabaret*—a mere *wolf's* den—you emerge from the valley into a vast, treeless, houseless moor, or rather swamp, called the Lago Castiglione, the Lacus Prelius or Aprilis of antiquity, which realises all your worst conceptions of the Maremma, its putrescent fens, its desolate scenery. The railway makes a wide circuit at the edge of the swamp, crossing the valley of the Bruna, where many villages gleam from the distant hill-slopes, the last of them being Monte Pescali on an olive-clad, triple-towered height, two miles from the station. Here the line forks, one branch turning inland up the valley of the Orcia to Montalcino and Siena. If the morass have its horrors, it is not necessary to linger amid them, for the train soon reaches the gates of Grosseto.

Grosseto, the capital of the Tuscan Maremma, stands on the very level of the plain. It has five thousand inhabitants—a population almost doubled in winter; and in comparison with the towns and villages in its neighbourhood, it seems an oasis of civilisation; for it has an air of neatness and cleanliness, hanging gardens on its ramparts, a small but pretty cathedral, a faint reflection of the glories of Siena, a theatre, and an inn, "La Stella d'Italia," whose praises I cannot express better than by saying it is the best in the Maremma, between Pisa and Rome. The *padrone*, Signore Civinini, is successor to the widow Palandri, formerly known far and wide throughout the Maremma —not only for the excellence of her accommodation, but for her boast of having resided, maid, wife, and widow, more than sixty years at Grosseto, summer as well as winter, and always in robust, uninterrupted health—a living monument of the elasticity of the human frame, and of its power to resist by habituation the most noxious influences of Nature. For Grosseto, though protected from the assaults of man by fortifications, has no safeguard against the insidious attacks of the marsh-fever, which desolates it in summer; and the proverbial saying, "*Grosseto ingrossa*" is no mere play upon words, nor is it to be taken ironically, but refers to the bloating, dropsifying effect of the oft-recurring fever. Grosseto has little interest to the antiquary, beyond its Museum,

bius (II. 27) says it was fought near Telamon, and describes it as to the north of that place. There is no valid ground for placing it at Colonna, which, however, is said to have some remains of Cyclopean walling, with Roman pavement on the summit of the hill; and vases, Roman coins and other antiquarian treasures are stated to have been discovered around the town. Cluver (II. p. 475) takes this Colonna to be the Salebro of the Itineraries. By others it has been supposed to be the site of Vetulonia.

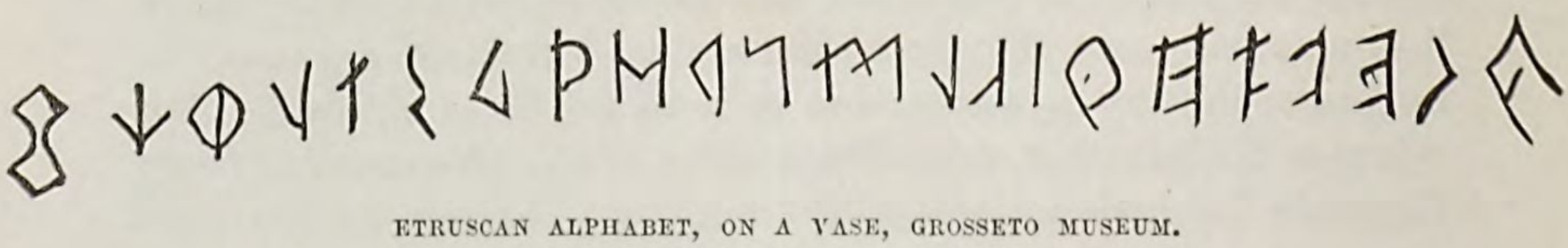
and its vicinity to the ancient Etruscan city of Rusellæ, which lies some five miles to the north, near the high-road to Siena.

The Museum, which is in the Town-hall of Grosseto, is of very recent formation, but from the numerous donations received from the possessors of Etruscan antiquities, it already begins to make a respectable appearance.

On the ground-floor are fourteen urns of alabaster from Volterra and other Etruscan sites. Among the subjects represented are the Death of Œnomaus—Scylla with fishes'-tails—a waggon-scene with the soul reclining within the car, or, it may be, a sarcophagus with the effigy of the deceased, on its way to the sepulchre—the parting of a married pair, the wife inside a doorway, the husband without, the usual Fury with a torch being present—two boys mounted on leopards, *vis-à-vis*, and a woman kneeling between them—Charun striking down a victim with his mallet, while a Fury seizes another wretched being by the hair. The best preserved of these urns is one in which two men are represented slaying two women at an altar, while a Fury, torch in hand, is looking on.

The rest of the antiquities are on the upper floor. The pottery is mostly of plain clay from Rusellæ, but there is also some red ware, like that of Arezzo, from the same site, some cock-crowned vases and other articles in *bucchero* from Chiusi, and a few painted vases of little beauty. The most interesting pottery in this collection is the late ware of Volsinii, of plain unglazed clay, but of elegant forms, decorated with figures, foliage, fruit and flowers in relief, and bearing traces of colour. This ware resembles the silvered vases of Orvieto.

A black bowl of ordinary ware is inscribed with the Etruscan alphabet, in characters rudely scratched on the clay, a copy of



ETRUSCAN ALPHABET, ON A VASE, GROSSETO MUSEUM.

which is given in the woodcut. In Greek letters the alphabet would run thus :—

Α, Γ, Ε, F, (digamma), Ζ, Η, (aspirate), Θ, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Π, Σ, (accented), Ϙ, (koppa), Ρ, Σ, Τ, Υ, Θ, Χ, Φ.

The resemblance between this alphabet and that inscribed on

a cup found at Bomarzo is striking.[3] This, however, should be of later date, as it has the *kappa* and *koppa* in addition. I could not learn where this interesting bowl had been discovered.

There are a gold necklace, and some rings, from Corneto, and sundry bronzes, though none from Rusellæ worthy of the reputation its necropolis has acquired. There is a case of bronze idols, and a second case full of falsifications. So again with the coins. Besides some genuine money of ancient Etruria, there are many specimens of the *Æs grave* of modern manufacture, all presented in good faith as genuine antiques. In fact the fabrication of Etruscan relics, especially of bronzes, is now going forward on an extensive scale in this part of Italy, and travellers should be on their guard when such *roba* is offered to them for purchase. In this Museum the genuine bronzes are exhibited in one case, the false ones in another; thus the amateur has the opportunity of comparing them, and of learning to distinguish them for the future.

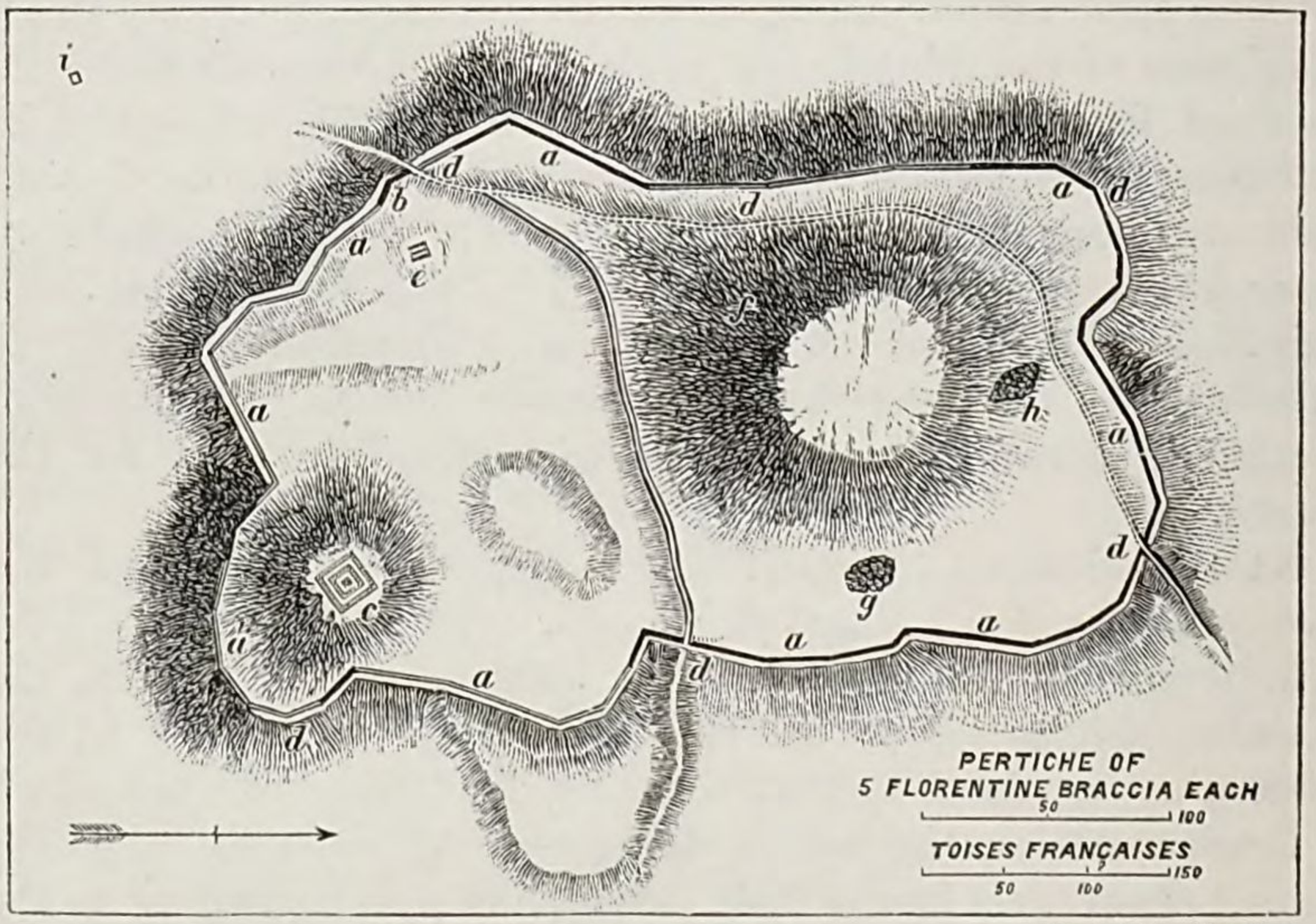
At the distance of about four miles to the north are the hot-springs, called I Bagni di Roselle. Above them rises a lofty hill, Poggio di Moscona, crowned with some ruins, which the traveller will be apt to mistake for those of Rusellæ.[4] At the little wineshop hard by the Baths a guide is generally to be had. I found not one, but half a dozen—young peasants, who had come to hear mass in the little chapel, and were returning to the site of Rusellæ, where their cattle were grazing. There are two ways hence to the ancient city, one on each side of the lofty hill of Moscona. It would not be amiss to go one way and return the other. I took the path to the right, and after traversing a tract of underwood for a couple of miles, ascended the steep slope on which Rusellæ was situated. The hill is one of those truncated cones often chosen by the Etruscans for the site of their cities, as at Orvieto, Saturnia, and Cosa; and the slopes around it are covered with wood, so dense that it effectually conceals the walls from the spectator at a distance. By this road I entered Rusellæ on its south-western side. I then turned to the right and followed the line of walls, which are traceable in detached fragments along the brow of the hill.

At first, the masonry was horizontal—rudely so indeed, like that of Volterra and Populonia, but such was its decided character, though small stones were inserted in the interstices of the

[3] See Vol. I. p. 172.

[4] Sir Richard Colt Hoare made this mistake, and at first passed Rusellæ without seeing it. Classical Tour, I. p. 49.

large masses.[5] But when I had gained the eastern side of the city, I found all rectangularity and horizontality at an end, the walls being composed of enormous masses piled up without regard to form, and differing only from the rudest style of Cyclopean, as described by Pausanias, in having the outer surfaces smoothed. Speaking of Tiryns in Argolis, that writer says,



Adapted from **Micali.**

PLAN OF RUSELLÆ.

a, a. Line of Etruscan walls.
b. Portion of ditto, represented in woodcut at p. 222.
c. Walled inclosure, probably the Arx.
d, d. Sites of gates.
e. Vaulted cisterns.
f. Remains of ancient buildings.
g. Quarry of travertine.
h. Quarry of sandstone.
i. Etruscan tomb.

"The walls, which are the only ruins remaining, are the work of the Cyclops, and are formed of unhewn blocks, each of which is so huge that the smallest of them could not be in the least stirred by a yoke of mules. Small stones were fitted in of old, in such a way that each of them is of great service in uniting the large blocks."[6] In these walls of Rusellæ small blocks are intermixed with the large masses, occupying the interstices, and are often in some measure fitted to the form of the gap. The irregularity and shapelessness of this masonry is partly owing to the traver-

[5] It is this regular portion of the walls which is represented in the woodcut at the head of this chapter. They are here about 15 feet high; the block marked *a* is 7 feet 4 inches long, by 5 feet 4 inches in height.

[6] Pausan. II. 25, 7; cf. II. 16, 4.

tine of which it is composed; that material not so readily splitting into polygonal forms as limestone, but rather having a horizontal cleavage.[7]

This masonry then cannot be correctly described either as "Cyclopean," like that of Tiryns, because the outer surface is hewn, or as "polygonal," for the blocks are not cut into determinate forms.

The masses are in general very large, varying from six to ten feet in length, and from four to eight in height. Some stand vertically seven or eight feet, by four or five in width, and I observed one nearly thirteen feet in length.[8] The difficulty of raising such huge blocks into their places would be immense; but I believe that in nearly all these cases where the walls are formed of the local rock, they have been let down from above—that the top of the insulated height chosen for the site of the city was levelled, and the masses thus quarried off were used in the fortifications. There are still some deep pits in one part of the city, whence stone has been cut. The walls on the eastern side of the city are in several parts fifteen or twenty feet high; but on the north, where they are most perfect, they rise to the height of twenty to thirty feet. Here the largest blocks are to be seen, and the masonry is most Tirynthian in character; here also the walls are not mere embankments, but rise above the level of the city. On the western side there are few fragments extant, and those are of smaller and more regular masonry than in any other part of the circuit. On this side are many traces of an inner wall banking up the higher ground within the city, and composed of small rectangular blocks, corresponding in size with those usually

[7] These walls are cited by Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 40; cf. 1831, p. 410, tav. d'agg. F. 1.) as an example of the rudest and most ancient kind of Cyclopean masonry, similar to those of Tiryns and Mycenæ in Argolis, and of Arpino and Aufidena in Italy; but the smoothing of the outer surface distinguishes them from the Cyclopean walls of Pausanias, as well as from the ancient walls above Monte Fortino, thought to be those of Artena of the Volsci, and from those at Civitella and Olevano, on the opposite range of mountains; all of which are in every respect unhewn. Mr. Bunbury, on the other hand (Class. Mus. V. p. 180), though he does not speak from personal acquaintance with Rusellæ, describes portions of the walls as "decidedly polygonal"—a term by no means applicable; for there is nothing here resembling the ancient masonry of Cosa, or of Segni, Alatri, and other polygonal fortifications of Central Italy. He also states that all the polygonal portions of these walls are of hard limestone, while the regular masonry is of *macigno*, or stratified sandstone. I may be allowed to question this fact, for to me the rock appeared to be travertine throughout. This is confirmed by Repetti, IV. p. 820.

[8] I add the dimensions of a few of these blocks—8 feet 4 inches high, by 3 feet 2 inches wide—12 feet 8 inches long, by 2 feet 10 inches high—7 feet 4 inches, by 4 feet 10 inches—6 feet 4 inches, by 5 feet 4 inches.

forming city-walls in the volcanic district of the land. The space between this outer and inner line of wall reminded me of the *pomœrium,* the sacred space within and without the walls of Etruscan cities, no signs of which have I been able to trace on any other ancient site.[9] It is true that in this part the inner wall embanks the high mound to the north, which there is reason to suppose was the Arx; but the same walling is to be traced round another mound at the south-eastern angle, as well as at several intermediate points; which makes me suspect there was a continuous line of it.

The area enclosed by the walls forms an irregular quadrangle, between ten and eleven thousand feet, or about two miles, in circuit.[1] The city then was much smaller than Volterra, yet larger than Populonia or Fiesole.

I traced the sites of six gates—two on the northern side, one at each angle; two in the eastern wall, and two also in the western. In the southern I could perceive no such traces.

Let no one venture to explore the site of Rusellæ who is not prepared for a desperate undertaking, who is not thorn-proof in the strength or the worthlessness of his raiment. To ladies it is a curiosity more effectually tabooed than a Carthusian convent; they can hardly even approach its walls. The area of the city and the slopes around are densely covered with a thorny shrub,

[9] The *pomœrium* was a space marked out by the founder within, or without, or on both sides of, the walls of an Etruscan city, or of those cities, which, like Rome, were built according to the Etruscan ritual; and it was so called by the Romans, because it was *post murum*, or *pone muros* as A. Gellius says, or *proximum muro* as Festus intimates. Though its name is Roman, its origin was undoubtedly Etruscan; and it was marked out by the plough, according to the rites which the Etruscans observed in founding their cities. It was ever after held sacred from the plough and from habitation, and was used by the augurs in taking the city-auspices, being divided into "regions" for that purpose. But when the city was enlarged the *pomœrium* was also carried further out, as was the case with Rome, where one hill after another was included within it. Its boundaries were marked by *cippi* or *termini.* The space it inclosed was called the *ager effatus.* Liv. I. 44; Dion. Hal. IV. p. 218; Varro, L. L. V. 143; Plutarch. Romul.; Aul. Gell. XIII. 14; Tacit. Ann. XII. 24, 25; Festus, *v.* Prosimurium; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. VI. 197; Cicero, de Divin. I. 17; II. 35; cf. Müller, Etrusk. III. 6, 9. Niebuhr (I. p. 288) thinks the "word *pomœrium* seems properly to denote a suburb taken into the city, and included within the range of its auspices."

If the above-mentioned space in the walls of Rusellæ were the *pomœrium*, of which I am very doubtful, it was the inner portion. But the inner line of masonry may be merely the embankment of the higher ground within the city-walls, or it may be a second line of fortifications.

[1] See Micali's Plan of Rusellæ (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 3), and that of Ximenes (Esame dell' Esame d'un libro sopra la Maremma Sanese) from which it is taken. Müller (Etrusk. I. 3, 3) cites Rusellæ as an instance of the usual quadrangular form of Etruscan cities.

called "*marruca*," which I had often admired elsewhere for its bright yellow blossoms, and delicate foliage; but as an antagonist it is most formidable, particularly in winter, when its fierceness is unmitigated by a leafy covering. Even could one disregard the thorns, the difficulty of forcing one's way through the thickets is so great that some of the finest portions of the walls are unapproachable from below, and in very few spots is it possible to take a sketch.[2] Within the city, the thickets are not so dense. Such at least I found the state of the hill in 1844, and such, I hear, it is still. Let him therefore, who would explore this site, keep in mind the proverb—"*tal carne, tal coltello*"—"as your meat is, so must your knife be"—and take care to arm himself for the struggle.

Within the walls are sundry remains. On the elevated part to the north, which I take to have been the Arx, besides fragments of rectangular masonry, are some vaults of Roman work, which have been supposed, it seems to me on no valid grounds, to have formed part of an amphitheatre.[3] At the south-eastern angle of the city is a mound, crested by a triple, concentric square of masonry, which Micali takes to have been the Arx, though it seems to me more probably the site of a temple or tower.[4]

On the south-western side of the city are three parallel vaults

[2] When writers describe the walls of Rusellæ as "of well hewn parallelopiped blocks" (Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 144), or "of squared blocks of immense size" (Cluver. II. p. 514), it is clear they must have contented themselves with the portions to the south and west,—such as that represented in the woodcut at the head of this chapter—and were stopt by the *marruca* from seeing the finest fragments. The *marruca* seems to have had a long hereditary *locus standi* in this part of Italy; and it is probably to this shrub that Polybius (II. 28) refers, in his description of the battle between the Romans and Gauls in this neighbourhood. The latter were evidently "freshmen" in the Maremma, or they would not have been so ready to denude themselves, lest their clothes should impede them in passing through the thickets.

[3] Ximenes (Esame, &c.), who published in 1775, was the first to give a plan of these ruins as an amphitheatre; Hoare (Class. Tour, I. p. 64), in 1818, could see nothing of such a structure, beyond the form; and that is not at the present day very apparent. Repetti (IV. p. 820), however, speaks of it as an undoubted amphitheatre; and François also so describes it, stating that the remains of the structure are in great part extant. Bull. Inst. 1851, p. 3.

[4] The foundations of the two outer quadrangles are not now very distinct, though the terraces can be traced; but the inner square preserves its foundations unmoved, consisting of the small rectangular blocks already described—the only sort of masonry within the city-walls. The square is 48 feet, and the thickness of the wall 5 feet 6 inches. Within the square the ground sinks in a deep hollow. This would seem to indicate a tower rather than a temple, but its small size precludes to my mind the idea of its being the citadel, which on other Etruscan sites is not a mere castle or keep, as this must have been, but an inclosure of such extent as to contain within its area a triple temple, like that on the Capitoline at Rome.

of Roman *opus incertum*, about a hundred feet long. They are sunk in the high embanked ground already mentioned, in which, not far from them, are traces of a gate through the inner line of wall.[5]

From the height of Rusellæ you look southward over the wide vale of the Ombrone, with the ruined town of Istia on the banks of that river; but Grosseto is not visible, being concealed by the loftier heights of Moscona, which is crowned by the ruins of a circular tower.[6] On the east is a wooded hollow; but on the north lies a wide bare valley, through which runs the road to Siena, and on the opposite heights stands the town of Batignano, of proverbial insalubrity—"*Batignano fa la fossa.*" On the west the valley widens out towards the great lake of Castiglione, the *Lacus Prelius*, or *Aprilis*, of antiquity, which of old must have been as at present a mere morass, into which several rivers discharge themselves; but it had then an island in the midst, which is no longer distinguishable.[7] Castiglion della Pescaja is seen on the shore at the foot of the hills which rise behind the promontory of Troja.

Scarcely a trace of the necropolis had been discovered when I first visited Rusellæ; for no excavations had been made on this

[5] At this spot the masonry of the embankment, each course of which recedes from that below it, as at the Ara Regina of Tarquinii, terminates abruptly, so as to leave an even break all the way up, making it clear that here was a gate, or a roadway, to the high ground within the embankment.

[6] I did not ascend this height, but Sir Richard Hoare, who sought here for the ruins of Rusellæ, describes this tower as built over subterranean vaults, apparently reservoirs. Classical Tour, I. p. 50.

[7] This lake, or rather swamp, is called "Aprilis," by the Itineraries (see page 211). Cicero (pro Milone, 27) calls it "Prelius," and speaks of its island. Pliny (III. 8) must mean the same when he mentions the "amnes Prille," a little to the north of the Umbro. These "amnes" seem to refer to several mouths or emissaries to the lake. The island of which Cicero speaks is by some supposed to have been the hill of Badia al Fango, nearly two miles from the lake, but Repetti (IV. p. 10) considers it rather to have been a little mound now called Badiola, on which are still some remains of ancient buildings, and which he thinks in the time of Cicero may have stood in the midst of the marsh, instead of hard by it, as at present. It is impossible to say of what extent the lake was of old; before the hydraulic operations commenced in 1828 for its "bonification," as the Italians term it, it had a superficial extent of 33 square miles, but it is now reduced by the means taken, and still taking, for filling it up; this is done by letting in the waters of the Ombrone, which bring down abundant deposits from the interior. It would seem, from the forcible possession Clodius took of the island in its waters, as related by Cicero (loc. cit.), that this spot was much more desirable as a habitation in ancient times than at present, when it is "the very centre of the infection of the Tuscan Maremma." Repetti gives good reasons for regarding this lake or swamp as originally the bed of the sea. An interesting account will be found in the same writer (II. *v.* Grosseto) of the attempts made at various periods and by different means to reduce the extent of stagnant water, and lessen the unhealthine of this district.

site within the memory of man. The hardness of the rock and the dense woods which for ages have covered the hill, in great measure accounted for this. It appeared to me probable that here, as on other sites of similar character, the tombs were of masonry, heaped over with earth. Such is the character of one on the ascent to the city from the south, not far from the walls. It is a chamber only seven feet by five, lined with small blocks of unhewn masonry like the Tirynthian in miniature, and covered with large slabs, about eighteen inches thick. The chamber was originally of greater depth, but is now so choked with earth that a man cannot stand upright in it. It can be entered only by a hole in the roof, where one of the cover-slabs has been removed; for the original doorway, which opened in the slope of the hill, and which is covered with a horizontal lintel, is now blocked up. As it is therefore a mere pit, without any indications above the surface, it is not easy to find. From the peculiarity of the masonry, and from the general analogy this tomb bears to those of Saturnia, I do not hesitate to pronounce it of high antiquity. This was the only sepulchre I could perceive, or that I could then hear of, in the vicinity of Rusellæ.[8]

Since the publication of the former edition of this work, this necropolis has been well explored. François, the most enterprising and successful excavator of Etruscan cemeteries in our day, was the first who turned his attention to that of Rusellæ. He discovered numerous tombs in the neighbouring hills, especially in those to the north towards Monte Pescali and Batignano, and many also in the plain three or four miles to the south of Rusellæ. These latter he describes as small chambers, about ten feet long by eight wide, and eight high, constructed of masonry, exactly like those of Cuma. All had been rifled of old, and, like that described by me above, had been entered through the roof, by the removal of one of the cover-stones. The doorways were of the usual Egyptian form, but were generally found closed, or walled-up. Over some of these sepulchres remains of tumuli could be traced. Nothing of value was found within them, but from the fragments of pottery and bronze, he learned that

[8] This tomb has a great resemblance in construction, if not in form, to the Sepolture di Giganti of Sardinia, which are long, passage-like sepulchres of rude stones, and covered in with unhewn slabs. De la Marmora, Voyage en Sardaigne, pl. IV. pp. 21–35; and Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 125 *et seq.*; Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 240, taf. IV. 6a—d.

Cluver (II. p. 514) speaks of sundry marbles, columns, bronze figures, and ancient coins having been dug up before his time.

these tombs were of the latter days of the national independence. In the dense thickets in the plain, as well as on the hill-slopes, he observed traces of large tumuli, imperceptible to the ordinary observer, but easily recognised by a practised eye. Where the hills were of tufo, the tombs were hollowed in it, and on rocky ground they were constructed of rude masonry, covered with mounds of earth. Besides vases with black figures, he found bronzes, inferior in beauty to none yielded by other cemeteries of northern Etruria, of skilful chiselling, and having a patina of a reddish brown tone, probably imparted by the character of the soil in which they had lain for ages.[9] The illustrations opposite represent a beautiful, though archaic, figure of an Etruscan divinity found at Rusellæ in 1875, and now in the possession of Professor S. S. Lewis of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who has kindly allowed me to have woodcuts made from photographs of the original. The figure measures eight and a half inches in height, and from its attributes is recognised as the goddess ELPIS or SPES. These attributes—to quote the Professor's own words—"are the attitude of the right hand, which is stretched out and holds a lotus-flower; the steady energetic forward motion indicated by the stride of the legs; and the pose of the left-hand, which slightly lifts the long robe (Χιτὼν ποδήρης), that hardly embarrasses the lissome figure. The severe, almost stern, expression of the countenance and whole figure well corresponds with the fact that *spes* and *spero* (as ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζω also) are used for the anticipation of *evil* as well as of good." Mr. Lewis assigns to this figure a date somewhat earlier than the finest period of Greek art, or from 500 to 450 B.C.

The walls of Rusellæ, from their stupendous massiveness, and the rude shapelessness of the blocks, are indisputably of very early date, and may rank among the most ancient structures extant in Italy. While those of Cosa and Saturnia, in the neatly joined polygonal style, have been referred to later, even to Roman, times, no one has ever ventured to call in question the venerable antiquity of Rusellæ; which therefore needs no confirmation from historical sources. The limited extent of the city, only two miles in circumference, does not seem to entitle it to rank among the Twelve chief cities of Etruria. Yet this honour is generally accorded to it; principally on the ground of a passage in Dionysius, where it is cited in connection with Clusium, Arretium, Volaterræ,

[9] Bull. Inst. 1851, p. 3, 4. Noël des Vergers, Etrurie, I. p. 59. All the bronzes found in the lake of Monte Falterona have the same peculiar brownish *patina*.

and Vetulonia, all cities of the Confederation, as taking part in the war against Tarquinius Priscus, independently of the rest of



BRONZE DIVINITY, FROM RUSELLÆ.

Etruria; which seems to imply that it was at that time a city of first-rate importance.[1] This is the earliest mention made of Rusellæ in history. We next hear of it in the year 453 of Rome, in the dictatorship of M. Valerius Maximus, who marched his

[1] Dion. Hal. III. c. 51. Yet Livy (X. 7) speaks of it as a town, *oppidum*, and, in the next sentence, of Volsinii, Perusia, and Arretium, as *urbes*, Etruria capita—thus placing Rusellæ in an inferior category.

army into the territory of Rusellæ, and there "broke the might of the Etruscans," and forced them to sue for peace.[2] And again in the year 460, the consul, Postumius Megellus, entered the territory of Rusellæ, and not only laid it waste, but attacked and stormed the city itself, capturing more than 2000 men, and slaying almost as many around the walls.[3] When we next find it mentioned in history, it is among the cities of Etruria, which furnished supplies to Scipio in the Second Punic War. It sent him its quota in corn, and fir for ship-building.[4] It is afterwards mentioned among the Roman colonies in Etruria.[5] It continued to exist after the fall of the Western Empire, and for ages was a bishop's see, till in 1138, its population had sunk so low, and the site was so infested by robbers and outlaws, that its see and inhabitants were transferred to Grosseto, its modern representative.[6] Since that time Rusellæ has remained as it is now seen—a wilderness of rocks and thickets—the haunt of the fox and wild boar, of the serpent and lizard—visited by none but the herdsman or shepherd, who lies the live-long day stretched in vacancy on the sward, or turning a wondering gaze on the stupendous ruins around him, of whose origin and history he cannot form a conception.

[2] Liv. X. 4, 5.

[3] Liv. X. 37. Signor Passerini, an engineer, resident at Grosseto, informs me that in excavations which he made at the foot of Moscona, about 10 years ago, he found numerous skeletons rudely buried and lying side by side, each with a bronze coin at the back of his head. May they not have been the victims of this Roman victory?

[4] Liv. XXVIII. 45.

[5] Plin. III. 8. Ptol. p. 72, ed. Bert.

[6] Repetti, II. pp. 526, 822.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

TELAMONE.—*TELAMON.*

— dives opum Priami dum regna manebant ;
Nunc tantum sinus, et statio malefida carinis.—VIRGIL.

SOUTH of Grosseto, the next place of Etruscan interest is Telamone, or Talamone, eighteen miles distant. For the first half of the way the railroad traverses a wide plain, crossing the Ombrone, the Umbro of antiquity—*non ignobile flumen*—by a bridge. In Pliny's time this stream was navigable ;[1] but for what distance we know not. Passing Alberese and its quarries,[2] the road enters a wooded valley, with a range of hills on the right renowned as the haunt of the wild boar and roebuck—

Ubi cerva silvicultrix, ubi aper nemorivagus.

Hither accordingly the *cacciatori* of Rome and Florence resort in the season, taking up their quarters at Collecchio, a way-side inn, twelve miles from Grosseto. Not far from Collecchio is a ruined tower, called Torre della Bella Marsilia ; and tradition asserts that a fair daughter of the Marsilj family was in bygone ages seized here by Barbary corsairs, and carried to Constantinople, where her beauty raised her to share the throne of the Sultan.[3] Where this range of hills sinks to the sea, a castle on a small headland, a few houses at its foot, and a vessel or two off the shore, mark the port of Telamone.

[1] Plin. III. 8. — Umbro, navigiorum capax, et ab eo tractus Umbriæ. Rutilius (I. 337–340) speaks of the snug port at its mouth. Cluver (II. p. 474) thinks from Pliny's mention of it, that it gave its name to the Umbrians ; but Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 12) on the contrary, considers it to have received its name from that ancient people ; and interprets Pliny as meaning that a district on the river was called Umbria.

[2] The name is evidently derived from the limestone—*alberese*—which is quarried here.

[3] Repetti, I. p. 765. Excavations were made in this neighbourhood in 1861, but though numerous tombs were opened, they yielded few objects of value or interest. Bull. Soc. Colomb. 1861, p. 16.

Telamone lies nearly two miles off the railroad, and to reach it you have to skirt the sandy shores of the little bay, sprinkled with aloes, and fragments of Roman ruin. The place is squalid beyond description, almost in utter ruin, desolated in summer by malaria, and at no time containing more than some hundred and fifty befevered souls—*febbricitanti*, as the Italians say—on whose heads Heaven has rained

"The blistering drops of the Maremma's dew."

Inn there is none; and no traveller, who seeks more than mere shelter and a shake-down, should think of passing the night here, but should go forward to Orbetello, twelve miles to the south. Indeed, I know not why the antiquarian traveller should halt at Telamone, for the castle is only of the middle ages, and nothing within it is of higher antiquity; though the shores of its bay, like those of Baiæ, are covered with wrecks of Roman villas.[4] No vestiges of Etruscan times could I perceive or hear of at Telamone, or in its immediate neighbourhood; yet the place can lay claim to that remote antiquity. There are Roman remains also on the tower-crested headland of Telamonaccio, which forms the eastern horn of the port, and which disputes with Telamone the honour of being the site of the Etruscan town.[5]

Telamone has retained its ancient name, which is said to be derived from Telamon, the Argonaut, who touched here on his return from the celebrated expedition to Colchis, prior to the Trojan war, some thirteen centuries before Christ.[6] But such an origin is clearly fabulous. There is no doubt, however, of the high antiquity of the site; but whether Telamon was founded by the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, who built many towns on this coast,[7] or was simply of Etruscan origin,[8] we have no means of determining.

[4] There are said to be some Roman vaults on the heights above Telamone, but I sought them in vain.

[5] François (Bull. Inst. 1851, p. 5) is of opinion that the present village stands on the ruins of an Etruscan fortress, which protected the mouth of the port, and that on the opposite height of Telamonaccio, stood another similar fortress, whose foundations, he says, are still visible.

[6] Diod. Sic. IV. p. 259, ed. Rhod. Diodorus calls it 800 *stadia* (100 miles) from Rome, which is rather less than the distance by the road. Lanzi (II. p. 83) suggests that this port may have received its name from its form of a girdle—Τελαμών. Telamon is not the only Argonaut mentioned in connection with Etruria. Jason also is said to have landed in Elba, whence Porto Ferrajo received its ancient name of Argous Portus (Strabo, V. p. 224; Diodor. loc. cit.); and to have contended with the Tyrrhenes in a naval combat. Possis of Magnesia ap. Athen. VII. c. 47.

[7] Cluver (II. p. 477) ascribes its origin to the Pelasgi; so also Cramer, I. p. 192.

[8] Mela (II. 4) in mentioning it among the coast-towns of Etruria, says they were all Etruscans both in site and name—Etrusca et loca et nomina; but this must

There is no historical mention of Telamon in the times of Etruscan independence. We hear of it first in the year 529, when the Romans defeated, in this neighbourhood, an army of Cisalpine Gauls, who had made an irruption into Etruria.[9]

It was at the port of Telamon that Marius landed on his return from Africa (87 B.C.), to retrieve his ruined fortunes.[1] This is the last historical notice we have of Telamon in ancient times; and except that it is mentioned in the catalogues of the geographers and in the Itineraries,[2] we have no further record of its existence till the beginning of the fourteenth century.[3]

Though we do not learn from ancient writers that Telamon was used as a port in Etruscan times, it is impossible to believe that the advantages of a harbour, sheltered from every wind save the south, and protected even in that quarter by the natural breakwater of Monte Argentaro and its double isthmus, could have been overlooked or neglected by the most maritime nation of their time, the "sea-kings" of Italy.[4] The recent discovery of an Etruscan city of great size in the neighbourhood, sufficiently establishes the fact,[5] which is further confirmed by the evidence of its coins.[6]

be taken with reservation, as in the same list are Pisæ, Pyrgi, and Castrum Novum, as manifestly Greek and Roman respectively in name, as they are known to have been in origin. Cf. Steph. Byzant. *v.* Τελαμών.

[9] Polybius (II. 27) places the site of this battle near Telamon, and somewhat to the north; Frontinus (Strateg. I. 2, 7) says it was at a place called Colonia, which is supposed, but on no valid grounds, to be Colonna di Buriano, between Grosseto and Follonica (Cramer, Anc. Italy, I. p. 194). Frontinus says that when Æmilius, the Roman Consul, led his army into the plain, he observed a multitude of birds rising from a distant wood, and suspecting an ambush, he sent out scouts, who brought him word that 10,000 Gauls were concealed in the forest.

[1] Plutarch. Marius.

[2] Plin. III. 8. Ptolemy (p. 68) speaks of its "promontory."

[3] Repetti, V. p. 498.

[4] Diodorus (IV. p. 259) indeed calls it a port in the time of the Argonauts, but beside that such a record of fabulous times cannot be received as authentic, the word he uses may signify merely a natural haven, without the addition of a town.

[5] See Chapter LI. on Vetulonia. Müller, when he hesitated whether to regard Telamon as the port of Rusellæ, Saturnia, or Vulci (Etrusk. I. p. 296, cf. 333), was not aware of the existence of a first-rate Etruscan city, only a few miles inland, to which it must undoubtedly have served as a port. Though Stephanus calls Telamon a "city," it can have been but a small town, or a fortified landing-place, such as Graviscæ, Pyrgi, and Alsium, appear to have been.

[6] The coins attributed to Telamon are in general just like the *as* and *semis* of early Rome, having the bearded Janus-head on the obverse, and the prow on the reverse, but with the addition of "TLA" in Etruscan characters. Sometimes, in place of the Janus, there is the head of Jove, or that of a helmed warrior, whom Lanzi takes for Telamon, as it was customary to represent heroes or heroines on coins. And he interprets the prow also as referring to the Argonauts. One coin, a *decussis*, has the legend of "TLATE," in Etruscan characters, which Lanzi proposes to blend in such a way as to read "TLAMNE," or Telamon; but Müller suggests that these coins may belong to the *fœdus Latinum*—Tlate being put

The bay is now so choked with sand and sea-weed, that even small coasting craft, when laden, have much ado to enter;[7] and in summer the stagnant pools along the shore send forth intolerable effluvia, generating deadly fevers, and poisoning the atmosphere for miles around. What little commerce is now carried on, consists in the shipment of corn, timber, and charcoal.

The Barone Vivarelli of Telamone had a choice collection of Etruscan antiquities, which has very recently been secured by the Government for the Etruscan Museum at Florence.

The road to Orbetello runs along the swampy shore, with low bare heights inland, once crowned by one of the proudest cities of Etruria, whose site had been forgotten for ages; and with the lofty headland of Monte Argentaro seaward, and the wooded peaks of the Giglio—*Igilii silvosa cacumina*[8]—by its side; often concealed by the woods of pine, which stretch for miles in a dense black line along this coast. The river Osa, the Ossa of antiquity,[9] is next crossed, where large masses in the stream proclaim the wreck of the Roman bridge, by which the Via Aurelia was carried over it. Four or five miles beyond, is the Albegna, the ancient Albinia,[1] a much wider river, with a little fort on its left bank, marking the frontier of the Presidj, a small district on this coast, which belonged first to Spain, then to Naples, and was annexed to Tuscany at the Congress of Vienna. When I first visited this coast, all these rivers had to be crossed by ferry-boats. There was a saying—"When you meet with a bridge, pay it more respect than you would to a count"—

Quando vedi un ponte,
Fa gli più onor che non ad un conte—

and with good reason, for counts in Italy are plentiful as blackberries—you meet them at every turn; but bridges!—they are

for Tlatium. A *sextans* with the head of a young Hercules, and a trident between two dolphins, with the legend "TEL," is referred by Sestini to Telamon. Lanzi, II. pp. 28, 84, tav. II. 4–6; Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 333; Sestini, Lett. Numis. III. pp. 11–13; Mionnet, Suppl. I. pp. 203–4. Cramer, Anc. Italy, I. p. 192. Millingen (Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 173) doubts if these coins should be referred to Telamon.

[7] François maintains that the port originally stretched three miles inland, for he found in the dense wood at that distance from the sea, remains of columns that had evidently been used for mooring vessels, and also a large ring of metal, half buried in the soil, that must have served the same purpose. Bull. Inst., 1851, p. 5. He imagines that the large Etruscan city, 5 or 6 miles inland, mentioned in the text, was that of Telamone, but of this we will treat in a subsequent chapter.

[8] Rutilius, I. 325. Cæsar, Bell. Civ. I. 34; Mela, II. 7. Called also Ægilium; and by the Greeks, Ægilon. Plin. III. 12.

[9] Ptolem. Geog. p. 68.

[1] Called Albinia by the Peutingerian Table, Almina by the Maritime Itinerary.

deserving of all reverence, albeit patronised by neither saint nor sovereign. Three rivers I crossed in a morning's drive along one of the high roads in Tuscany, and all under the protection of St. Christopher, the first Christian ferryman! The vast improvement in the means of communication already made by the present government must astonish all who have known Italy in her former disjointed condition.

For five or six miles after the Albegna, the road traverses pine-woods, and then branches off to Orbetello, which lies at the extremity of a long tongue of sand, stretching into its wide lagoon, and is over-shadowed by the double-peaked mountain-mass of Argentaro; as described by Rutilius—

Tenditur in medias mons Argentarius undas,
Ancipitique jugo cærula rura premit.

CHAPTER XLIX.

ORBETELLO.

Cyclopum mœnia conspicio.—Virgil.

Orbetello presents a threatening front to the stranger. A strong line of fortifications crosses the sandy isthmus by which he approaches it; principally the work of the Spaniards, who possessed the town for a hundred and fifty years—from 1557 to 1707. On every other side it is fenced in by a stout sea-wall. But its chief strength lies in its position in the midst of the wide lagoon, protected from all attacks by sea by the two necks of sand which unite Monte Argentaro to the mainland; and to be otherwise approached only by the narrow tongue, on whose tip it stands—a position singularly like that of Mexico.[1]

This Stagno, or lagoon, the "sea marsh" of Strabo,[2] is a vast expanse of stagnant salt-water, so shallow that it may be forded in parts, yet never dried up by the hottest summer; the curse of the country around, for the foul and pestilent vapours, and the swarms of musquitoes and other insects it generates at that season, yet compensating the inhabitants with an abundance of fish. The fishery is generally carried on at night, and in the way often practised in Italy and Sicily—by harpooning the fish which are attracted by a light in the prow of the boat. It is a curious sight on calm nights to see hundreds of these little skiffs or canoes wandering about with their lights, and making an ever moving illumination on the surface of the lake.

Orbetello has further interest for the antiquary. The foundations of the sea-wall which surround it on three sides, are of vast polygonal blocks, just such as are seen on many ancient sites of Central Italy—Norba, Segni, Palestrina, to wit—and such as

[1] I have here described its original position. The causeway which now connects it with Monte Argentaro, is of modern construction.

[2] Strabo, V. p. 225—λιμνοθάλαττα.

compose the walls of the neighbouring Cosa. That these blocks are of ancient shaping no one acquainted with the so-called Pelasgic remains of Italy can for a moment doubt; and that they are also in great measure of ancient arrangement, is equally manifest; but that they have been in some parts rebuilt, especially in the upper courses, is also obvious from the wide interstices between them, here and there, now stopped with mortar and bricks. The masonry tells its tale as clearly as stones can speak—that the ancient fortifications, having fallen into decay, were rebuilt with the old materials, but by much less skilful hands, the defects in the reconstruction being stopped up with mortar and rubble—that the blocks, even where they retain their original positions, have suffered so much from the action of the elements, especially from the salt waves of the lake, which often violently lash the walls, as to have lost much of that smoothness of surface, and that close, neat fitting of joints, which characterise this sort of masonry; and that the hollows and interstices thus formed have been in many parts plastered over with mortar.[3] Ancient masonry of this description never had, and never needed cement; holding together by the enormous weight of its masses.

It seems highly probable from the character of this masonry, and the position of the town on the level of the shore, that Orbetello, like Pisa, Pyrgi, and Alsium, was originally founded by the Pelasgi; to whom I would attribute the construction of these walls. But that it was also occupied by the Etruscans is abundantly proved by the tombs of that people, which have been discovered in the close vicinity of the city, on the isthmus of sand which connects it with the mainland. Most of them have been found in the grounds of Signor Raffael de Witt, an inhabitant of the town, who has made a collection of their contents.[4] No tombs now remain open; in truth, the soil is so loose that they are found

[3] Hoare (Class. Tour, I. p. 61) came to the conclusion that the blocks in these fortifications must have been brought, either from some Roman road, or from the neighbouring ruins of Cosa. But they are of larger size, and of much greater depth than Roman paving-stones; nor are they of basalt, the usual material in roads. Still less likely is it that they have been brought from Cosa, for the walls of that city on this side, and towards the sea generally, are too perfect to have supplied so great a mass of material; and again the masonry of Cosa is wholly of limestone; that of Orbetello is principally of crag, or marine conglomerate, as though it had been quarried near the shore.

[4] In Signor De Witt's garden there is the capital of a column, taken from an Etruscan tomb, which resembles that in Campanari's Garden at Toscanella (Vol. I. p. 481), in having human heads between the volutes.

with their roofs fallen in, and their contents buried in the earth. Some of the sepulchres are hollowed in the sandstone rock, and contain two or three chambers, which show traces of architectural features akin to the Egyptian. But in most instances, owing to the fragility of the rock, the roof has fallen in, and to this circumstance is ascribed the abundance of jewellery found in these tombs, which has thus escaped the researches of the riflers of former ages. The dead were sometimes laid uncoffined on a slab of rock, and covered with tiles, or in little tombs built up of stones, and covered with slabs. But more generally they were interred in sarcophagi of *nenfro*, or in wooden coffins, which have long since decayed, but have left their mark in the nails which fastened them together. When the corpse was a male these nails were of iron; when a female, they were of bronze, with their heads gilt. At the angles of the coffins there seem to have been ornaments of variegated glass. The articles brought to light are black or red ware, painted vases but seldom, and then of inferior art, although in a few instances some with red figures in the finest style have been discovered; numerous objects in bronze—armour and weapons, tripods and candelabra, vases, figured mirrors with most interesting designs, and sundry other articles pertaining to the toilet—together with gold ornaments of great beauty. Among these are specified garlands of oak, laurel, or myrtle-leaves, and a pair of earrings in the form of bunches of grapes, so often depicted in the painted tombs. In one instance the skeleton of a woman was found with the skull encircled with a wreath of the finest gold, representing myrtle-leaves elaborately wrought; a pair of earrings lay in their place by the side of the head, and a necklace of gold on the bosom, which seems to have been attached to a robe of exquisite beauty, decorated with human heads, fish, birds, butterflies, and ivy leaves, all of gold.[5] In many instances the remains of females were found with only one earring—a singular fact, which has been noticed also in the tombs of Chiusi and Populonia, as well as at Cumæ. In another tomb was found a *sistrum* with a little cow at the top, representing Isis, in whose worship these instruments were used.[6] Tombs have recently been found in Orbetello itself, that is, within the circuit of the ancient walls.

[5] For notices of excavations on this site see the Bulletini of the Archæological Institute, 1829, p. 7; 1830, p. 254; 1849, p. 66; 1851, pp. 37, 147; 1858, p. 103; 1867, p. 145.

[6] Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 109, tav. XVII. 10.

Orbetello, then, by these remains is clearly proved an Etruscan site. What was its name? Some take it to have been the Succosa of the Peutingerian Table;[7] but I hesitate to subscribe to that opinion, and am rather inclined to regard it as an Etruscan town, the name of which has not come down to us. That it was also inhabited in Roman times is proved by columns, altars, *cippi*, and other remains which have been found here. Its ancient name cannot be traced in its modern appellation, which is apparently a mere corruption of *urbicula*,[8] unless it be significant of its antiquity—*urbs vetus*. It must suffice for us at present to know that here has stood an ancient town, originally, it may be, Pelasgic, certainly Etruscan, and afterwards Roman.[9]

Orbetello is a place of some size, having nearly 3000 inhabitants, and among Maremma towns, is second only to Grosseto. It is a proof how much population tends to salubrity in the Maremma, that Orbetello, though in the midst of a stagnant lagoon, ten square miles in extent, is comparatively healthy, and has almost doubled its population in 24 years; while Telamone, and other small places along this coast, are almost deserted in summer, and the few people that remain become bloated like wine-skins, or yellow as lizards.[1] Instead of one good inn, Ortebello has two indifferent ones, called from the names of their landlords, Locanda Saccocione and Locanda Cassini. There is little difference, I believe, in their merits or demerits.

[7] Gerhard, Bull. Inst. 1830, pp. 251, 254; Memor. Inst. III. p. 83; Repetti, III. p. 665. The Peutingerian Table, which alone makes mention of Succosa (see Vol. I. p. 490), places it two miles to the east of Cosa, while Orbetello is five or six miles to the west. The correctness of these Itineraries may indeed often be questioned, especially that of the Peutingerian Table, in which even Canina admits the existence of numerous errors. Etr. Mar. II. p. 98. But I think it more probable that Succosa, or Subcosa, was a station at the foot of the hill on which Cosa stands, only called into existence after the ruin of that Etruscan city. See Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 34. Some have even taken Orbetello to be the site of Cosa itself, in spite of Strabo's description, that Cosa stood on a lofty height.

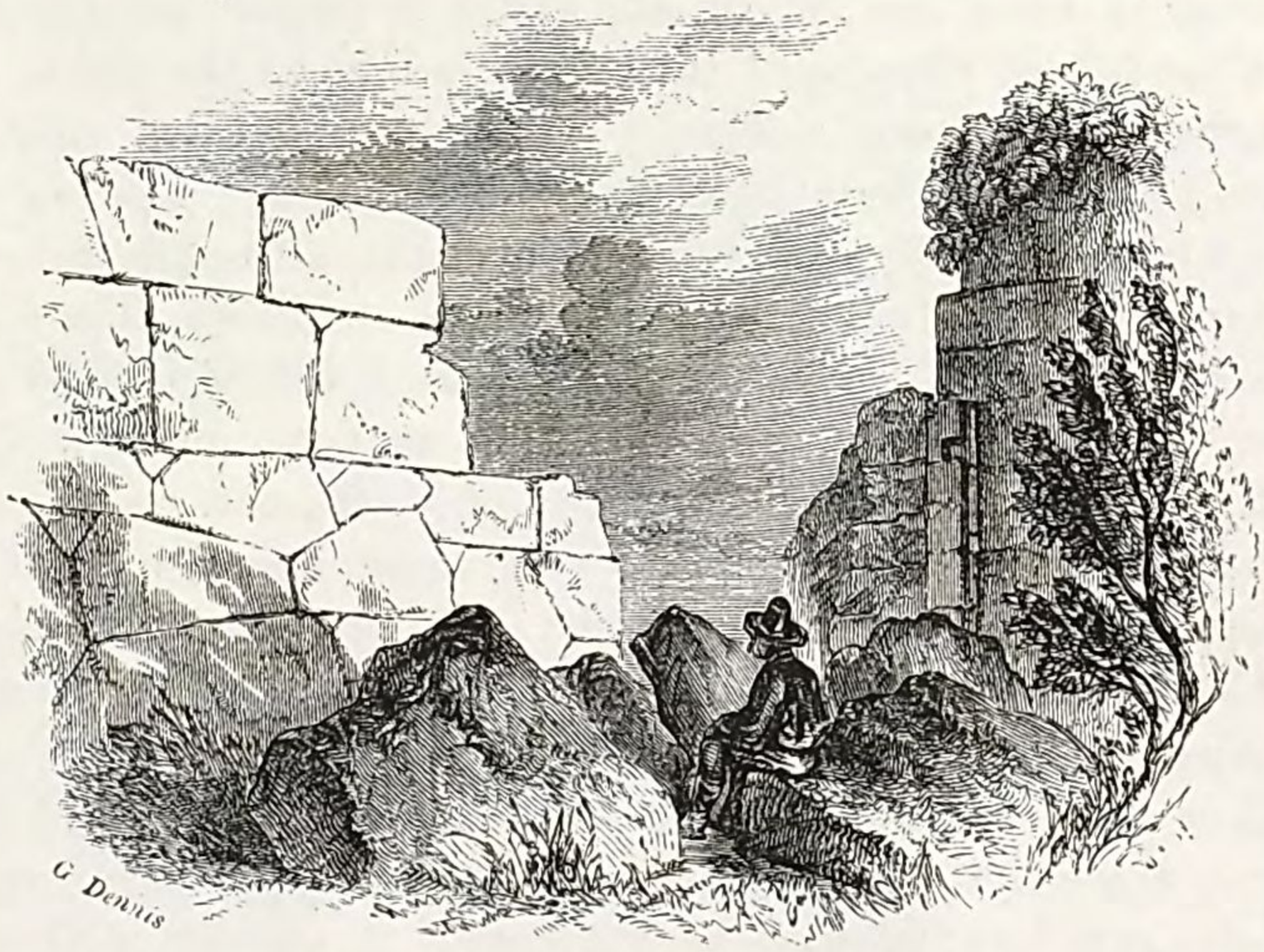
[8] So called, it may be, to distinguish it from the larger city of Cosa on the neighbouring heights. Certainly the name cannot be derived, as has been suggested, "from the rotundity of its walls, which form a perfect circle," seeing that the said walls form a truncated cone in outline, without any curve whatever. There is nothing *round* about Orbetello. That the name was derived from *urbicula*, or *urbicella*, seems confirmed by the fact of its being called Orbicellum in a papal bull of the thirteenth century. Dempster, II. p. 432.

[9] That such a town is not mentioned by Strabo or Mela, by Pliny or Ptolemy, in their lists of places along this coast, is explained by its distance from the sea, from which it could not be approached. It must have been regarded as an inland town, and may be mentioned under some one of those many names of Etruscan towns, whose sites have not yet been determined.

[1] Repetti, III. p. 680.

At the supper-table I met the arch-priest of Telamone, a sprightly, courteous young pastor, whom I had seen in the morning among his flock, and a motley group of proprietors, or country gentlemen, wild-boar hunters, commercial travellers, monks, bumpkins, and *vetturini;* among whom the priest, on account of his cloth, and I as a foreigner, received the most attention. Travelling in this primitive land levels all distinctions of rank. The landlord's niece, who waited on us, presuming on her good looks, chatted familiarly with her guests, and directed her smartest banter against the young priest, ridiculing his vows of celibacy, and often in such terms as would have driven an English woman from the room. Yet Rosinetta was scarcely sixteen!

Hîc nullus verbis pudor, aut reverentia mensæ.



ANCIENT GATE AND WALLS OF COSA.

CHAPTER L.

ANSEDONIA.—*COSA.*

Cernimus antiquas nullo custode ruinas,
Et desolatæ mœnia fœda Cosæ.—RUTILIUS.

Go round about her, and tell the towers thereof.
Mark well her bulwarks; that ye may tell them that come after.—PSALM.

As Cosa was in the time of the Emperor Honorius, such is it still—a deserted waste of ruins, inclosed by dilapidated walls; fourteen centuries have wrought no change in its condition. Yet it is one of the most remarkable of Etruscan sites, and should not fail to be visited by every one interested in ancient fortifications.

It occupies the flat summit of a truncated conical hill, about six hundred feet high, which from its isolation, and proximity to the sea, forms a conspicuous object in the scenery of this coast. It stands just outside the Feniglia, the southernmost of the two necks of sand which connect Monte Argentaro with the main-land; and is about five or six miles to the south-east of Orbetello.[1] It

[1] The site of Cosa has been much disputed. Some have placed it at Orbetello, others at Santa Liberata, near Santo Stefano on Monte Argentaro; yet Strabo (V. p. 225) has described its position so as to leave no reasonable doubt of its whereabouts. "Cossa, a city a little above the sea. The lofty height on which the town is situated lies in a bay. Below, lies the Portus Herculis, and hard by, the sea-

were best to leave the high-road, where it begins to rise at the foot of the hill of Cosa, and turn down a lane to the right. You will presently perceive a lonely house in a garden, called La Selciatella, the only habitation hereabouts. Here you can leave your vehicle and will probably find a guide, although the city is so conspicuous and the path to the ruins so direct, that a guide is hardly necessary. If you prefer to follow the high-road to the further side of the city, you can take as your guide a soldier from the Torre della Tagliata. Any one who can point out the lions, will answer the purpose; you must exercise your own judgment as to their origin, antiquity, and purpose. Inquire not for "Cosa," or you will be answered by a stare of surprise, but for "Ansedonia," the modern appellation of the site.

It is a steep ascent of a mile or more to the walls of Cosa. You may trace the ancient road all the way to the gate, running in a straight line up the rocky slope; it is but a skeleton, marked by the kerb-stones, for the inner blocks are in few places remaining. On the way it passes some Roman ruins of brick, among them a *columbarium*.

He who has not seen the so-called Cyclopean cities of Latium and Sabina, of Greece and of Asia Minor, those marvels of early art, which overpower the mind with their grandeur, bewilder it with amazement, or excite it to active speculations as to their antiquity, the race which erected them, and the state of society which demanded fortifications so stupendous on sites so inaccessible as they in general occupy;—he who has not beheld those wonderful trophies of early Italian civilization—the bastion and round tower of Norba—the gates of Segni and Arpino—the citadel of Alatri—the many terraces of Cora—the covered way of Præneste, and the colossal works of the same masonry in the mountains of Latium, Sabina, and Samnium, will be astonished at the first view of the walls of Cosa. Nay, he who is no stranger to this style of masonry, will be surprised to see it on this spot, so remote from the district which seems its peculiar locality. He will behold in these walls immense blocks of stone, irregular polygons in form, not bound together with cement, yet fitted with such admirable nicety, that the joints are mere lines, into which he may often in vain attempt to insert a penknife: the surface

marsh; and on the headland which overhangs the bay is a tower for watching the tunny-fish." He also states that Cossa is 300 *stadia* (37½ miles) from Graviscæ; and from Populonium nearly 800 *stadia* (100 miles), though some say 600 *stadia* (75 miles). Cf. Rutil. Itin. I. 285 *et seq.*

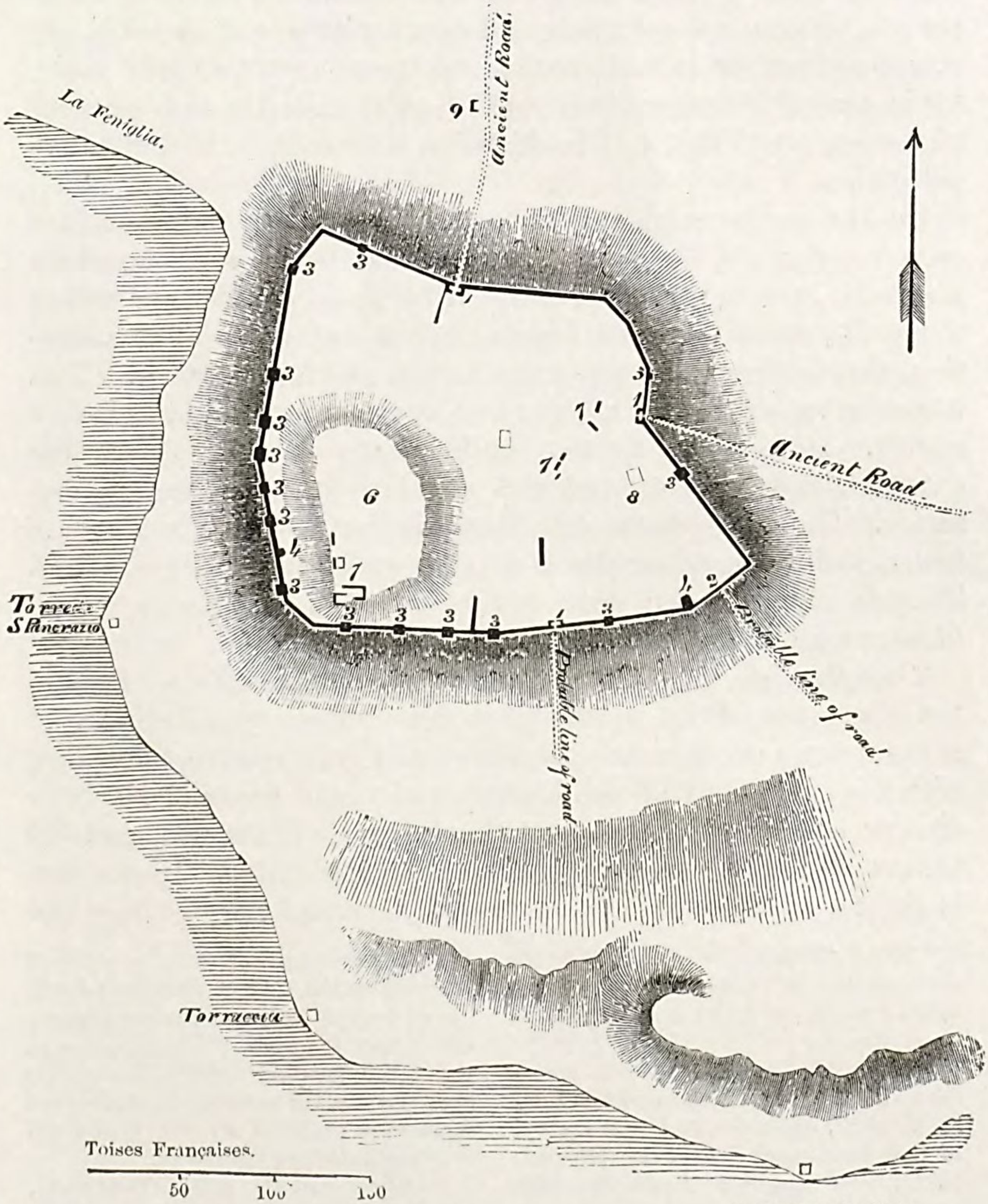
PLAN

OF

COSA,

ADAPTED FROM MICALI.

1. Ancient gates.
2. Probable site of a gate.
3, 3. Square towers, external and internal.
4, 4. Circular towers, internal.
5. Round tower of Roman work.
6. The Acropolis.
7. Ruins,—Etruscan, Roman, and mediæval.
8. Deep pit, perhaps a quarry.
9. Roman columbarium.



smooth as a billiard-table; and the whole resembling, at a little distance, a freshly plastered wall, scratched over with strange diagrams.

The form of the ancient city is a rude quadrangle, scarcely a mile in circuit.[2] The walls vary from twelve to thirty feet in height, and are relieved, at intervals, by square towers, projecting from eleven to fifteen feet, and of more horizontal masonry than the rest of the fortifications. Fourteen of these towers, square and external, and two internal and circular, are now standing, or to be traced; but there were probably more, for in several places are immense heaps of ruins, though whether of towers, or of the wall itself fallen outwards, it is difficult to determine.

On the northern side there is but one tower and that in a ruined state; but on the western, or that facing the sea, which was most open to attack, I counted, besides a circular one within the walls, seven external towers, in various states of preservation, the southernmost being the largest and most perfect. This tower is twenty-two feet wide, and about twenty high, as it now stands. In the wall to the south are five towers square and external, and one, internal and circular, forty-two feet in diameter. On the eastern side there is but one ancient square tower, and one semicircular of smaller and more recent masonry. Though I have called these towers external, they also project a little inward, from the line of walls.[3]

Though Cosa resembles many other ancient sites in Italy in the character of its masonry, it has certain peculiarities. I remember no other instances of towers in polygonal fortifications, with the exceptions of the bastion and round tower of Norba, a similar bastion at Alatri, near the Porta S. Francesco, and the towers at Fondi, apparently of no high antiquity.[4] In no case is there a continuous chain of towers, as round the southern and

[2] Micali's Plan of the city, from which that annexed is adapted, makes it about 2,640 *braccia*, or 5,060 feet English, in circumference.

[3] In Micali's Plan many of these towers are omitted. It will be observed that here, as at Falerii, the external towers are not of that form recommended by Vitruvius (I. 5), who says they should be either round or many-sided, for the square ones are easily knocked to pieces by the battering-ram, whereas on the circular it can make no impression. The weakness of square towers, however, had been ascertained long before the time of Vitruvius; for in one of the very early and curious Assyrian reliefs from the ruins of Nineveh, now in the British Museum, which represents the siege of a city, the battering-ram is directed against the angles of a tower, from which it is fast dislodging the blocks.

[4] Memor. Inst. III. p. 90. Even Pyrgi, which was fortified with similar masonry, though its name signified "towers," retains no trace of such in its walls. See Vol. I. p. 293.

western walls of Cosa. Another peculiarity of these fortifications is, that in many parts they rise generally five or six feet above the level of the area they inclose, as is also the case at Volterra and Rusellæ; whereas the walls of the Latin and Sabine towns are generally mere embankments.[5] The eastern wall of Cosa rises above the level of the city, in parts as high as twelve or fifteen feet, and externally the wall is at least double that height. The outer half of the wall also is raised three or four feet above the inner, to serve as a rampart: this I have seen on no other site. The total thickness of the wall in this superficial part is between five and six feet. The inner surface is not always smoothed like the outer, but left in its natural state, untouched by hammer or chisel; showing in the same piece of walling the rudest and the most finished styles of Cyclopean masonry, and making it appear probable that the outer surface was hewn to its perfection of smoothness after the blocks were raised. A fourth peculiarity is, that while the lower portions of the walls are of decidedly polygonal masonry, the upper parts are often composed of horizontal courses, with a strong tendency to rectangularity, and the blocks are generally of smaller dimensions than the polygonal masses below them. The line between these different styles is sometimes very decidedly marked, which seems confirmatory of the idea suggested by the first sight of this masonry, that it is of two different epochs; the rectangular marking the repairs—a notion further strengthened by the fact, that the material is the same throughout—a close grey limestone. For if the peculiar cleavage of the rock had led to the adoption of the polygonal style in the first instance, it would have continued to do so throughout; and any deviation from that style would seem to mark the work of another race, or subsequent age. On the other hand it may be said, that this rectangular masonry is but the natural finishing off of the polygonal, just as the latter generally runs into the horizontal at angles, as may be observed in the gates and towers of this same city.[6]

[5] I have visited most of those ancient cities in the mountains of Latium, and in the land of the Æqui, Volsci, and Hernici, and remember no other instance of the walls rising above the level of the city they inclose than the round tower at Norba.

[6] These features are shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter, which represents the eastern gate of Cosa. The masonry, though decidedly polygonal, appears in the door-post of the gate to be rectangular. In the fragment of walling to the left, the blocks are polygonal below, and regular above, or at least laid in horizontal courses. The manner in which small pieces were fitted into the interstices is also shown. But the peculiarities of the masonry are not so striking in this, as in many other portions of the fortifications.

From the ramparts you may perceive that the walls batter, or fall back in some degree, though never so much as in a modern *revêtement*, but the towers are perpendicular on every side, save in a few cases where the masonry is dislocated, and they topple over.[7]

Of gates there is the orthodox number of three; one in the centre of the northern, southern, and eastern walls of the city respectively.[8] They are well worthy of attention, all of them being double, like the two celebrated gateways of Volterra, though without even the vestige of an arch. The most perfect is that in the eastern wall, which is represented in the woodcut at the head of this chapter.[9] It is evident that it was never arched, for the door-post still standing rises to the height of nearly twenty feet in a perfectly upright surface; and as in the Porta di Diana of Volterra, it seems to have been spanned by a lintel of wood, for at the height of twelve or fifteen feet is a square hole, as if for its insertion.[1] Gateways on a similar plan are found in the Cyclopean cities of Latium—the Porta di S. Francesco at Alatri, and the Porta Cassamara at Ferentino for instance; the latter however may be of Roman construction. The arch indeed is never found, in Italy at least, in connection with this style of masonry; but the gateways of Cyclopean cities were either spanned by flat slabs of stone, or when of too great a width, by lintels of wood, or else by stones overlapping each other, and gradually converging till they met and formed a rude sort of Gothic arch.[2]

On this side of the city the masonry is smaller than on the others. The largest of the blocks in the woodcut is not more than 4 feet square, and the height of the wall is only 15 or 16 feet.

[7] The bastion and round tower of Norba, on the contrary, narrow upwards considerably.

[8] There may have been a postern in the south-eastern angle of the walls, at the spot marked 2 in the Plan. Sir R. C. Hoare also thought he could perceive four gates; and he speaks of four ancient roads. Classical Tour, I. p. 58.

[9] Its entrance is about 12 feet wide, but the passage within is double that in width and 28 feet long; the inner gate is no longer standing, though indications of it are traceable. The depth of the outer doorposts, or in other words the thickness of the wall, is 7 feet 8 inches.

[1] It is shown in the woodcut, together with the upright groove for the *saracinesca*, or portcullis, like that in the Porta all' Arco of Volterra.

[2] In Greece, however, regularly arched gateways have been found in connection with this polygonal masonry. At Œniadæ, in Acarnania, is a postern of a perfect arch in the polygonal walls of the city. Leake, Northern Greece, III. pp. 560 *et seq.*; Mure, Tour in Greece, I. p. 109; and Ann. Inst. 1838, p. 134. Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 57. And at Xerokampo, in the neighbourhood of Sparta, is a bridge on the true arch-principle, in the midst of masonry of irregular polygons, though of unusually small size. It was discovered by Dr. Ross of Athens, but first made known to the world by Colonel Mure, in the Ann. Inst. 1838, p. 140; Mon. Ined. Inst. loc. cit.; and afterwards in his interesting Tour in

The other two gateways, though more dilapidated, show that they have been formed on the same plan as this in the eastern wall. In the one to the south is a block, nine feet by four, the largest I observed in the walls of Cosa. In this gate also is a large round hole in the inner doorpost for the insertion of a wooden lintel.

The gates of Cosa, unlike those of Volterra, do not exemplify the precepts of Vitruvius, that the road to a gateway should be so arranged, that the approaching foe should have his right side, or that unprotected by his shield, open to the attacks of the besieged.[3]

I observed no instances of sewers opening in these walls, as usual in Etruscan fortifications, and as are found also in certain other Cyclopean cities of Italy.[4] Yet such may exist, for I found it impossible fully to inspect the walls on the southern and western sides, the slopes beneath them being covered with a wood so dense as to be often impenetrable, though the difficulties are not aggravated, as at Rusellæ, by any thickets more formidable than myrtle, lentiscus, and laurestinus.

Within the city, all is ruin—a chaos of crumbling walls, overturned masonry, scattered masses of bare rock, and subterranean vaults, "where the owl peeps deeming it midnight,"—all overrun with shrubs and creepers, and acanthus in great profusion. The popular superstition may be pardoned for regarding this as the haunt of demons; for ages it was the den of bandits and outlaws, and tradition, kept alive by the natural gloominess of the spot, has thus preserved, it may be, the remembrance of their atrocities. At the south-western corner of the area was the Arx, for the ground here rises considerably above the ordinary level, and is banked up with masonry in parts polygonal, but in general

Greece, II. p. 248. Several archæologists of eminence, however, who have seen it, have declared to me their full conviction that this bridge is of late date and of Roman construction. Cf. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 77. In the polygonal walls of Œnoanda in the Cibyratis, north of Lycia, there is a gateway regularly arched, with Greek inscriptions on tablets in the masonry by its side; as I learn from the portfolio of Mr. Edward Falkener.

[3] Vitruv. I. 5.

[4] Besides the instances of such openings in the walls of Norba, Segni, and Alatri, referred to in Chapter XLI. (see page 119), I may mention a sewer in the walls of the latter city, close to the bastion by the Porta di San Francesco, which is of very peculiar form—a truncated cone inverted, apparently 2 feet wide above, tapering to 1 foot below, and about 3 feet in height. The better known opening in the walls of the citadel of Alatri, I do not believe to be a sewer, but a postern. In the Cyclopean walls of Verulæ, now Veroli, in the rudest and most ancient parts of the masonry, are several sewers—tall upright openings, like that in the walls of Norba, or yet more similar in form and dimensions to those so common in the cities of southern Etruria.

regular, like that in similar situations at Rusellæ. On this platform are several ruins, bare walls rising to the height of twenty feet, apparently of the low Empire, or still later, of the middle ages; and numerous foundations, some of the same small cemented masonry, others of larger rectangular blocks, decidedly Roman, and some even polygonal, like the city-walls. It is probable that the latter, as the earliest masonry—for in many parts the Roman work rests on it—marks the substructions of the three temples which the Etruscans were wont to raise in every city to the divine trio, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.[5]

Within the gate to the east, are many remains of buildings, some with upper stories and windows; and not far from this is a deep hollow with precipitous walls of rock, which seems to have been a quarry.

Joyfully will the traveller hail the view from the ramparts of Cosa; and in truth it were hard to find one on this coast more singular, varied, and grand. Inland, rise lofty walls of rock—rugged, stern, and forbidding—blocking up all view in that direction. At his feet spreads the sun-bright bay, with Porto Ercole and its rocky islet on the further shore,[6] but not a skiff to break the blue calm of its waters; the wide lagoon is mapped out by its side; and the vast double-peaked mass of Monte Argentaro, the natural Gibraltar of Tuscany, overshadows all, lying like a majestic vessel along the shore, moored by its three ropes of sand[7]—the castellated Orbetello being but a knot in the centre of the middle one. To the north he looks along the pine-fringed coast to the twin headlands of the Bay of Telamone, and then far away over the level Maremma, to the distant heights of Troja and the grey peaks of Elba. The Giglio, the so-called "Lily" island, is lost behind the Argentaro; but the eye, as it travels southwards, rests on the islet of the Giannutri;[8] and,

[5] Servius, ad Virg. Æn. I. 422.

[6] The Portus Herculis of Rutilius (I. 293), and the Itineraries. It was also called Portus Cosanus. Liv. XXII. 11; XXX. 39. I have not visited it; but Sir R. C. Hoare says it is a singular town, and "resembles a flight of steps, each street bearing the appearance of a landing-place." Classical Tour, I. p. 56. There are said to be no antiquities remaining. Viag. Ant. per la Via Aurelia, p. 54.

[7] It is highly probable that the Monte Argentaro was once an island; but it is difficult to account for the formation of the two isthmi. The Tombolo, or that to the north, may have been deposited by the Albegna, which opens hard by; but for the Feniglia—there is no river discharging itself hereabouts. The circuit of 36 miles, which Rutilius (I. 318) ascribes to this promontory, seems much exaggerated. For the physical features and productions of this singular district, see Brocchi, Osservazioni naturali sul promontorio Argentaro, Bibliot. Ital. XI., and Repetti, *s. v.* Orbetello.

[8] The Dianium, or Artemisia of the ancients. Mela, II. 7; Plin. III. 12.

after scanning the wide horizon of waters, meets land again in the dim hills above Civita Vecchia. The intervening coast is low, flat, desert,—here a broad strip of sand,—there a long, sea-shore lagoon, or a deadly fen or swamp,—now a tract dark with underwood,—now a wide, barren moor, treeless, houseless—

Arsiccia, nuda, sterile, e deserta.

Yet in this region, all desolate as it now appears, stood Vulci, that mine of sepulchral treasures, and Tarquinii, the queen of Etruscan cities, with her port of Graviscæ; and Corneto, her modern representative, may be descried, thirty miles off, lifting her diadem of towers above the nearer turrets of Montalto.

Around the walls of Cosa there are few relics of antiquity. It is said that in the plain below are "very extensive remains of a wall of much ruder construction" than those of the city;[9] but I did not perceive them. Near the Torre della Tagliata are several ruins of Roman date, of which those commonly called Bagni della Regina are the most remarkable. You enter a long cleft in the rock, sixty or seventy feet deep, and on one side perceive a huge cave, within which is a second, still larger, apparently formed for baths; for there are seats cut out of the living rock—*vivo sedilia saxo*—but all now in utter ruin. The place, it has been remarked, recalls the grotto of the Nymphs, described by Virgil;[1] but popular tradition has peopled it with demons, as says Faccio degli Uberti—

Ivi è ancor ove fue la Sendonia,
Ivi è la cava, ove andarno a torme,
Si crede il tristo, overo le demonia.

Among the ruins on the shore at this spot is some mosaic pavement. The site has been taken, with considerable probability, for that of Subcosa.[2]

No tombs are to be seen on the slopes around Cosa. It is probable, that, like those of Rusellæ, Cortona, and Saturnia, they were constructed of rude masonry, and covered over with earth. Such seems to have been the plan adopted on sites where the rock was too hard to admit of easy excavation. At Volterra and

[9] Classical Museum, V. p. 180.

[1] Æn. I. 167; Repetti, III. p. 679.

[2] Mannert, Geog. p. 366. According to this writer, it is this spot which is called Ansedonia, and not the ruined city above. Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluver. p. 30) made the same distinction; but both seem to have been led to this conclusion by the lines of Faccio degli Uberti, quoted above; for the city itself is certainly now called Ansedonia.

Populonia it was not necessary, for there were soft strata in the neighbourhood. Excavations, however, have been made in the neighbourhood of Cosa, especially in the high ground of the plain to the north-east of the city.[3] A tomb with archaic paintings on its walls, very like those of the Grotta Campana, at Veii, was opened in 1870, by Signor Marcelliani, who sent sketches of the paintings to the Archæological Institute at Rome.[4]

The walls of Cosa, so unlike those of most cities of Etruria, to what people, and to what age shall we refer them? Can it be that they were raised by the Etruscans themselves—induced to depart from their general style of masonry by the local rock having a natural cleavage into polygons? Or are the peculiarities of these and similar walls in Etruria characteristic of the race which constructed them, rather than of the materials of which they are formed? Are they to be attributed to the earliest occupants of the land, the Umbri or the Pelasgi?—or to much later times, and to the Roman conquerors? The latter view seems now in favour. It was first broached by Micali, the great advocate of the indigenous origin of the Etruscans, and who sought, by invalidating the antiquity of this polygonal style, to enhance that of the regular masonry, which is more peculiarly Etruscan. He maintains that the walls of Cosa, and of Saturnia, which resemble them, are among the least ancient in the land; and he suggests that they may have been raised by the Roman Colony, established here at the close of the fifth century of the City, seeing that the Romans are known to have employed this masonry in certain of their public works. "A mere glance," says he, "at the walls of Cosa, so smooth and well preserved, proves their construction to be of small antiquity in comparison with those of Fiesole and Volterra, of quadrilateral blocks, and of genuine Etruscan workmanship." The superior sharpness and freshness in these walls of Cosa, however, are no proof whatever of a less remote antiquity. Micali's argument, to have any weight, should show that the material of which these walls are respectively composed, is either the same, or one equally affected by atmospheric influences. The fact is that the fortifications of Volterra and Fiesole, and those also of Populonia and Cortona, are either of *macigno*, stratified sandstone, or of other rock equally friable, while those

[3] Bull. Inst. 1851, p. 7. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 328) states that what was found here in 1837 was presented by himself to Pope Gregory XVI.; and speaks of a flat vessel of bronze, containing an odoriferous gum, which, when burnt, gave forth a most agreeable perfume.

[4] Bull. Inst., 1870, p. 36.

of Cosa and Saturnia are respectively of hard limestone and travertine.[5]

It would demand more room than the limits of this work will allow, to discuss this subject to its full extent. But I must make a few remarks.

This polygonal masonry is of high antiquity, long prior to Roman times, though every instance of it cannot claim to be of so remote a date. It must, however, be of later origin than that composed of unhewn masses, rudely piled up, with no further adjustment than the insertion of small blocks in the interstices—that style which, from the description of Pausanias, is sometimes designated "Cyclopean;"[6] for this polygonal masonry is the perfecting of that ruder mode of construction.[7] Yet that this smooth-surfaced, closely-joined style, as seen in the walls of Cosa, is also of early origin, is proved, not only by numerous instances of it on very ancient sites in Greece and Italy—some referred to as marvels of antiquity by the ancients themselves—but also by the primitive style of its gateways, and the absence of the arch in connection with it.[8] The fact of the Romans adopting this style of masonry, as they seem to have done in the substructions of

[5] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. II. pp. 144, 196; III. p. 6. I cite Micali in this instance, not as the writer who has treated the subject in the most able manner, but as the originator of the opinion of the Roman origin of Cosa, and as one who has been referred to as authority on the point.

[6] Pausan. II. 16, 4; 25, 7; VII. 25. Pausanias, however, applies the same term to the walls of Mycenæ, which are of hewn polygonal blocks, and even to the celebrated Gate of the Lions, which is of regular, squared masonry. The term is also repeatedly used by Euripides in reference to the walls of Mycenæ, or of Argos (Elect. 1158; Iphig. Aul. 152, 534, 1501; Orest. 963; Troad. 1083; Herc. Fur. 944; compare Seneca, Herc. Fur. 997; Statius, Theb. I. 252). It is therefore clear that the term "Cyclopean" cannot with propriety be confined, as it has been by Dodwell, Gell, and others, to masonry of the rudest unhewn description, in contradistinction to the neater polygonal, or to the horizontal style. The term was employed in reference to the traditions of the Greeks, rather than to the character of the masonry; or if used in this way it was generic, not specific; applicable to any walling of great massiveness, which had the appearance, or the reputation, of high antiquity. "Arces Cyclopum autem, aut quas Cyclopes fecerunt, aut magni ac miri operis; nam quicquid magnitudine suâ nobile est Cyclopum manu dicitur fabricatum." Lactant. ad Stat. Theb. I. 252; cf. I. 630. Though rejected altogether by Bunsen (Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 145), the term is convenient—*se non è vero, è ben trovato*—and in default of a better, has some claim to be retained. On this ground I have made use of it in the course of this work in its generic sense, applying it alike to all early massive irregular masonry.

[7] Gell held the contrary opinion—that the polygonal was more ancient by some centuries. Topog. Rome, II. p. 165.

[8] Gerhard (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 40), remarking on this fact, says it seems certain that even the least ancient remains of this description preceded the invention of the arch. But this is refuted by the recent discovery of arches in connection with this masonry in Greece and Asia Minor. *Ut supra*, pp. 250, 251. In none of these cases, however, have the structures an appearance of very remote antiquity.

some of their great Ways, and perhaps in a few cities of Latium,[9] in no way militates against the high antiquity of the type. The Romans of early times were a servile race of imitators, who had little original beyond their *bellipotentia*, and were ever borrowing of their neighbours, not only civil and religious institutions, and whatever ministered to luxury and enjoyment, but even the sterner arts of war. Thus in their architecture and fortifications: in Sabina they seem to have copied the style of the Sabines, in Latium of the Latins, in Etruria of the Etruscans. In what degree they may have been led to this by the local materials, is a question for separate consideration.

Conceding that the style of masonry must to a considerable extent have been affected by the character of the materials employed, I cannot hold, with some, that it was the natural and unavoidable result—I cannot believe in a constructive necessity—that with certain given materials every people in every age would have produced the same or a similar description of masonry. There are conventionalities and fashions in this as in other arts. It were easy, indeed, to admit the proposition in regard to the ruder Cyclopean style, which is a mere random piling of masses as detached from the quarry; a style which may suggest itself to any people, and which is adopted, though on a much smaller scale, in the formation of fences or of embankments by the modern Italians and Tyrolese, and even by the peasantry of England and Scotland, on spots where stone is cheaper than wood. But the polygonal masonry of which we are treating is of a totally different character; and it seems unreasonable to suppose that the marvellous neatness, the artistic perfection displayed in polygonal structures like the walls of Cosa, could have been produced by any people indifferently who happened to fix on the site. For it is not the mere cleavage of the rock into polygonal masses that will produce this masonry. There is also the accurate and laborious adjustment, the careful adaptation of parts, and the subsequent smoothing of the whole into an uniform, level surface. If ever masonry had the stamp of peculiarity it is this. Not the

[9] In the Via Salaria, near Rieti, and in several places between Antrodoco and Civita Ducale; in the Via Valeria, below Roviano, and elsewhere between Tivoli and Tagliacozzo; and in the Via Appia, between Terracina and Fondi. The cities, whose polygonal fortifications have been ascribed to the Romans, are Norba and Signia. Gerhard, Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 55, *et seq.* 83 *et seq.*; Bunsen, Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 144; Bunbury, Classical Museum, V. p. 167 *et seq.* Strabo (V. p. 237) states that most of the cities on the Via Latina, in the lands of the Hernici, Æqui, and Volsci, were built by the Romans.

regular *isodomon* of the Greeks, nor the *opus reticulatum* of the Romans has it more strongly marked. I could as readily believe that the Corinthian capital was invented by every nation by which it has been adopted, as that this style of masonry had an independent origin in every country where it has been found.[1]

The question next arises, to what particular race is this peculiar masonry to be ascribed. No doubt when once introduced, the fashion might be adopted by other tribes than that which originated it,[2] but the type, whose source alone we are considering, would still be proper to one race. Now at the risk of being thought to entertain old-fashioned opinions, I must confess that I can refer it to no other than the Pelasgi. Not that, with Sir W. Gell, I would cite the myth of Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, and founder of Lycosura, as *proof* that this masonry was of Pelasgic origin[3]—I might even admit that "there is no *conclusive evidence* in any one instance of the Pelasgian origin of the monuments under consideration"[4]—yet there is, in most cases, the same kind and degree of evidence as lead us to ascribe the walls of Fiesole and Volterra to the Etruscans, those of Pæstum to the Greeks, or Stonehenge to the Druids. We find it recorded that in very early times the lands or sites were occupied by certain races; and finding local remains, which analogy marks as of high

[1] The adoption of this style by the Romans in the pavements of their highways, in no way affects the question. The earliest of these roads, the Via Appia, was constructed only in the year 442 (B.C. 312)—ages later even than those polygonal cities which are sometimes ascribed to the Romans; and it may be that they but imitated the roads of their predecessors. Still less can the use of polygonal pavement by the modern Florentines, be admitted as an argument against the peculiarity of the type, as Micali would fain have it. Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 197. They have but adhered to the style which was handed down to them from antiquity, while the modern Romans have preferred the *opus reticulatum* as the model for their pavements. And though Micali contends for a constructive necessity, it is completely set aside by the fact, which he mentions, that the stone for the pavement of Florence is brought from the heights of Fiesole; for the horizontal cleavage of that rock is manifest and notorious.

Nor can the existence of polygonal masonry in the fortresses and other structures of the aboriginal Peruvians, be regarded as opposed to the peculiarity of the type. Too great a mystery hangs over the origin of that singular race, and of its civilization, for us to admit them as evidence in this question. The style seems to have differed from that of the polygonal masonry of the old world, resembling it in little more than the close-fitting of the masses. If anything is to be learned from these structures, it is that they contradict the doctrine of a constructive necessity; being of granite or porphyry, which have no polygonal cleavage; and are rather suggestive of a traditional custom. See Prescott's Conquest of Peru, I. pp. 16, 143.

[2] Chevalier Bunsen maintains that many of the polygonal fortifications of Italy were raised by the Volsci, Æqui, and Hernici. Ann. Inst. 1834, p. 142. But if this be admitted, it does not prove that the type originated with them.

[3] Gell, Rome, II. *v.* Pelasgi.

[4] Bunbury, Clas. Mus. V. p. 186.

antiquity, and not of Roman construction, we feel authorised in ascribing them to the respective peoples. The wide-spread existence of this masonry through the countries of the ancient world, the equally wide diffusion of the Pelasgic race,[5] and the remarkable correspondence of the lands it occupied or inhabited with those where these monuments most abound; to say nothing of the impossibility of ascribing them with a shadow of reason to any other particular people mentioned in history—afford satisfactory evidence to my mind of the Pelasgic origin of the polygonal masonry. And here it is not necessary to determine the much *vexata quæstio*, what and whence was that Pelasgic race, which was so widely diffused throughout the ancient world; it is enough to know that in almost every land which it is said to have occupied, we find remains of this description.[6] In Thessaly, Epirus, and the Peloponnesus, the peculiar homes of this people, such monuments are most abundant; they are found also in the Isles of the Ægæan Sea, and on the coasts of Asia Minor, which were at some period occupied or colonised by the Pelasgi. We know also, that they built the ancient wall round the Acropolis of Athens; and the way in which this fact is mentioned[7] in connection with their wandering habits, favours the opinion held by some, that these Pelasgi were the great fort-builders of antiquity, a migratory race of warlike masons, who went about from land to land, sword in one hand, hammer and chisel in the other, fortifying themselves wherever they conquered. In Italy also, those regions which abound most in such monuments were all once in possession of the Pelasgi, though it must be acknowledged on the other hand, that we have historic mention of that race in certain other districts—at the head of the Adriatic, and in Œnotria—where no such remains have been discovered;[8] nor indeed do

[5] "It is not a mere hypothesis," says Niebuhr, "but with a full historical conviction, that I assert, there was a time when the Pelasgians, then perhaps more widely spread than any other people in Europe, extended from the Po and the Arno almost to the Bosphorus." I. p. 52, Eng. trans.

[6] Gerhard (Memor. Inst. III. p. 72) takes these structures of irregular polygons to be Pelasgic. Müller (Archäologie der Kunst, p. 27) thinks that most of the so-called Cyclopean walls of Epirus and the Peloponnesus were erected by the Pelasgi.

[7] Myrsilus, ap. Dion. Hal. I. c. 28; Hecatæus, ap. Herod. VI. 137.

[8] It is asserted that no polygonal structures are to be found in Basilicata or Calabria; nor, indeed, north of the Ombrone, nor south of the Vulturnus—some say the Silarus. Memor. Inst. I. p. 72; Ann. Inst., 1834, p. 143. But, as regards the south of Italy, the assertion is premature. Have sufficient researches been made among the Calabrian Apennines? Petit-Radel, who maintains the Pelasgic construction of this masonry, asserts that there are remains of it far south, in Apulia and Lucania. Memor. Instit. III. pp. 55–66. I have heard that some singular dis-

we find walls of this character in all the ancient cities of central Italy—even of Etruria—which are said to have had a Pelasgic origin.[9] These discrepancies, whether real or apparent, whether occasioned by the character of the local rock, or by the entire destruction of the earliest monuments of the land, are but exceptions to the rule, and do not invalidate the evidence for the Pelasgic origin of this peculiar masonry.

It is very probable that the local rock in some cases, though not in all, determined the style of the masonry. Where it naturally split into rectangular forms, as is the case with the *macigno* of Cortona, and the volcanic tufo of southern Etruria, there the horizontal may have been preferred, even by those who were wont to employ a different description of masonry. This seems to have been the case at Agylla, where the rock is of tufo; there are no traces of polygonal construction; even in the most ancient tombs the masonry is rectangular.[1] Yet, in spite of these natural inducements to the contrary, the favourite style was sometimes carried out, as is proved by the *tholus* of polygonal construction at Volterra, formed of travertine;[2] and by the polygonal walls of Saturnia of the same material—a stone of decidedly horizontal cleavage, and used abundantly in regular masonry in all ages, from the Etruscan walls of Clusium and Perusia, and the Greek temples of Pæstum, to the Coliseum, St. Peter's, and the palaces of modern Rome. This is also proved by the travertine and crag in the polygonal walls of Pyrgi,[3] and by the crag in the similar fortifications of Orbetello;[4] and even these walls of Cosa afford abundant proof that the builders were not the slaves of their materials, but exerted a free choice in the adoption of style; for the same stone which was hewn into horizontal masonry in the towers, gateways, and upper courses, could have been thrown into the same forms throughout, had not the builders been influenced by some other motive than the natural cleavage. A singular instance of disregard of cleavage is exhibited in the walls of Empulum, now Ampiglione, near Tivoli, where the

coveries of very extensive polygonal remains have recently been made in that part of Italy. That no such walls are to be found on the ancient sites at the head of the Adriatic, where the Pelasgi first landed in Italy, may be explained by the nature of the low swampy coast, which did not furnish the necessary materials.

[9] At Falerii, Agylla, and Cortona, which were Pelasgic, we find regular, parallelopiped masonry; at Pyrgi and Saturnia, on the contrary, whose Pelasgic origin is equally well attested, we have remains of purely polygonal construction.

[1] Vol. I. p. 237.

[2] *Ut supra*, p. 154.

[3] Vol. I. p. 291.

[4] *Ut supra*, p. 241.

masonry, though of tufo, is decidedly polygonal; this is the only instance known of that volcanic rock being thrown into any other than the rectangular forms it naturally assumes.[5] These facts will suffice to overthrow the doctrine of a constructive *necessity*, often applied to this polygonal masonry.

With respect to Cosa, there is no reason whatever for regarding its walls as of Roman construction. There is nothing which marks them as more recent than any other ancient fortifications in Italy of similar masonry. The resemblance of the gateways to those of Volterra, and the absence of the arch, point to a much earlier date than the establishment of the Roman colony, only two hundred and seventy-three years before Christ; but whether they were erected by the Pelasgi, or by the Etruscans copying the masonry of their predecessors, is open to doubt. As the walls of Pyrgi and Saturnia, known Pelasgic sites, were of the same polygonal construction, it is no unfair inference that these of Cosa, which has relation to the one by proximity, to the other by situation on the coast, are of a like origin. The high antiquity of Cosa is indeed attested by Virgil, when he represents it, with other very ancient towns of Etruria, sending assistance to Æneas.[6] Some, however, have inferred from Pliny's expression—*Cossa Volcientium*—that it was a mere colony of Vulci, and one of the latest of Etruscan cities;[7] but Niebuhr with more probability

[5] See Gell's Rome, *v.* Empulum.

[6] Virg. Æn. X. 168; Serv. in loc. Müller (Etrusk. I. 3, 1) remarks that the walls of Cosa are by no means to be regarded as not Etruscan, because they are polygonal, and considers them as evidence of its antiquity (II. 1, 2). Orioli (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 161) also thinks the walls of Cosa confirm the antiquity assigned to it by Virgil. Abeken (Mittelital. p. 21) takes Cosa to be Pelasgic; and Gerhard inclines to the same opinion (Ann. Inst., 1831, p. 205), and reminds us that there was a city of the same name in Thrace. He thinks the name may have an affinity to the Doric *κόττα*, *κοδδά*, a head. It is written Cossæ by Strabo and Ptolemy, but Cluver (II. p. 479) thinks this was merely owing to the habit of the Greeks of doubling the *s* in the middle of a word. It is not written so by any Roman author but Pliny, though Virgil gives it a plural termination. If the Etruscan name were analogous it must have been spelt with an *u*—CUSA. We find in Etruscan inscriptions the proper names of "Cusis" or "Cusim," "Cusinei," "Cusithia,"—Lanzi, II. pp. 371, 402, 416; Vermigl. Iscriz. Perug. I. p. 324. "Cusiach" also at Cervetri, which would mean "from Cosa" (Vol. I., page 234), and "Cusu" at Cortona. See Chap. LX. p. 408.

[7] Plin. III. 8. Cluver (II. p. 515), Lanzi (II. p. 56), Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 147), and Cramer (I. p. 195), interpret Pliny as saying that Cosa was a colony of Vulci. But the expression he uses is shown by Gerhard to have indicated merely the territory in which a town stood, without reference to its origin; as "Alba Marsorum" signified the Latin colony of Alba in the land of the Marsi. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 200. Mr. Bunbury (Classical Museum, V. p. 180) argues that as Vulci itself did not begin to flourish till after the decline of Tarquinii, for which he cites Gerhard's authority (Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 101), Cosa, its colony or offset, must needs belong to a late period. But—the question of the colony apart—that Vulci was of so recent a date is wholly unsupported by

considered that the original inhabitants of Cosa were not Etruscans, but an earlier race who had maintained their ground against that people.[8] The connection indeed between Vulci or Volci, and Volsci, is obvious, and from the fact that at one time the Etruscans possessed the land of the Volsci, it would seem that this connection was not one of name merely.[9] But the Volsci were of Opican or Oscan race, and what affinity existed between them and the Pelasgi is doubtful; whether an affinity of origin, or one arising merely from the occupation of the same territory at different epochs. Confusion of names and races on such grounds is common enough in the records of early Italy. As the Etruscans were frequently confounded with their predecessors the Tyrrhenes, so the Volsci may have been with the Pelasgi.[1] It is well known that walls precisely similar to these of Cosa abound in the territory of the Volsci, but whether erected by the Pelasgi, by the Volsci themselves, or by their Roman conquerors, is still matter of dispute; yet by none are they assigned to a later date than the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, two centuries and a half before the Roman colonization of Cosa, which was in the year 481.[2] I repeat that there is no solid ground whatever for ascribing these polygonal walls of Cosa to so recent a period. With just as much propriety might the massive fortifications of

historic evidence, nay, is refuted by the very archaic character of much of the furniture of its sepulchres. And Müller (Etrusk. II. 1, 2) justly observes that Pliny's mention of Cosa does not prove that before it was colonised by the Romans the town had no existence.

[8] Niebuhr, I. p. 120; cf. p. 70. He founds this opinion on the mention by Livy (XXVII. 15) of a people called Volcentes, in connection with the Hirpini and Lucani, whom he takes to be of the same race as the Volsci.

[9] Cato, ap. Serv. ad Æn. XI. 567. The connection between the Etruscans and the Cistiberine people, especially the Oscan races, is very apparent from the names of places. Velathri (Volterra) has its counterpart in Velitræ (Velletri)—Fregenæ in Fregellæ—Perusia in Frusinum—Sutrium in Satricum. A Ferentinum and an Artena existed in both lands; so also a river Clanis. There was a Compsa in Samnium, and a Cossa in Lucania, as well as a river Cosa in the land of the Hernici; and Cora also seems connected with Cosa, the *s* and *r* being frequently interchangeable. That the Vulturnus on which Capua stood had an Etruscan name needs no proof. Capua itself is analogous to Capena (Vol. I. p. 126); so is Falerii to Falernus, whose last syllable is merely the ancient adjectival termination. Alatrium seems identical with Velathri, by the dropping of the digamma; so also Æsula with Fæsulæ. Further instances of such analogies might be cited.

[1] The names, indeed, bear a strong affinity. Niebuhr (I. p. 72) points out the analogy between the names Volsci and Falisci; the latter people, he thinks, were Æqui, but they are called in history Pelasgi; and the similarity of the words Falisci and Pelasgi is also striking. Vol. I. p. 107.

[2] Val. Paterc. I. 14; Liv. Epit. XIV.; Cicero (in Verr. VI. 61) speaks of Cosa as a *municipium*. Gerhard suggests that she may have been colonised with the remains of the population of Vulci. Ann. Inst. 1831, p. 104.

Pæstum, which was colonised in the same year, be referred to the Romans.[3]

Beyond the mention made by Virgil, which can only be received as evidence of her high antiquity, we have no record of Cosa in the days of Etruscan independence. She probably fell under the Roman yoke at the same time as Vulci—on or soon after the year 474 (B.C. 280).[4] Her fidelity during the Second Punic War, when with seventeen other colonies she came forward and saved the Republic, at a time when Sutrium, Nepete, and other colonies refused their aid, is highly commended by Livy.[5] At what period the city was deserted, and fell into the utter ruin which was witnessed by Rutilius at the commencement of the fifth century after Christ, we know not;[6] we only learn from the same poet the traditional cause of such desolation, with needless apologies for its absurdity. The mountain laboured and brought forth, not one "ridiculous mouse," but so many as to drive the citizens from their fire-sides—

Ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam
Promere, sed risum dissimulare piget.
Dicuntur cives quondam migrare coacti
Muribus infestos deseruisse lares.
Credere maluerim pygmeæ damna cohortis,
Et conjuratas in sua bella grues.

[3] If the Romans had any hand in the construction of these walls, it must have been in the upper courses alone, which differ widely from the lower, though the material is the same throughout. It is possible they may have thus repaired the walls. But if Virgil's testimony as to the antiquity of Cosa be admitted—and who can reject it?—the Romans cannot have built them entirely, or what has become of the prior fortifications? It is hardly credible that at so early a period they could have been rased to the foundations, so as not to leave a vestige.

[4] Vol. I. p. 445.

[5] Liv. XXVII. 9, 10. She is subsequently mentioned in Roman history. Liv. XXXII. 2; XXXIII. 24; Cæsar, Bell. Civ. I. 34; Cicero, ad Attic. IX. 11. Tacitus (Annal. II. 39) speaks of Cosa as "a promontory of Etruria." The Emperor Vespasian was brought up in its neighbourhood (Sueton. Vespas. c. 2); though Repetti (I. p. 829) thinks the Cossa of the Hirpini is here referred to.

Rutil. I. 285, *et seq.* Inscriptions, however, prove the city to have been in existence in the middle of the third century of our era. Repetti, I. p. 828; Reines. III. 37, cited by Müller, I. p. 348.

There are certain coins—with the head of Mars on the obverse, and a horse's head bridled, and the legend COSANO or COZA on the reverse—which have been attributed to Cosa. Lanzi, II. pp. 24, 58; Mionnet, Med. Ant. I. p. 97; Suppl. I. p. 197. Lanzi infers from the type an analogy with Consus, an equestrian name of Neptune, whence the public games of the Consualia (Tertul. de Spect. c. 5), and thinks Cosa to a Roman must have been equivalent to Posidonia to a Greek. Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 340), who does not ascribe these coins to Cosa, shows that they cannot in any case belong to the times of the Etruscans, because that people had no O in their language. Cramer (I. p. 195) refers them to Compsa in Samnium; and so also Millingen (Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 170); but Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 4) to Cossea, a city of Thrace.

CHAPTER LI.

VETULONIA.

The deep foundations that we lay
Time ploughs them up, and not a trace remains.
We build with what we deem eternal rock—
A distant age asks where the fabric stood.—Cowper.

Mæoniæque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis.—Sil. Italicus.

In former chapters I have spoken of the ancient city of Vetulonia, and of various sites that have been assigned to it; and have shown that all of them are far from satisfactory.[1] In the course of my wanderings through the Tuscan Maremma in the spring of 1844, I had the fortune to fall in with a site, which, in my opinion, has stronger claims to be considered that of Vetulonia than any of those to which that city has hitherto been referred.

Vague rumours had reached my ear of Etruscan antiquities having been discovered near Magliano, a village between the Osa and the Albegna, and about eight miles inland; but I imagined it was nothing beyond the excavation of tombs, so commonly made at this season throughout Etruria. I resolved, however, to visit this place on my way from Orbetello to Saturnia. For a few miles I retraced my steps towards Telamone, then, turning to the right, crossed the Albegna some miles higher up, at a ferry called Barca del Grassi; from this spot there was no carriage-road to Magliano, and my vehicle toiled the intervening five miles through tracks sodden with the rain.

[1] It may be well to restate the various sites where Vetulonia has been supposed to have stood. At or near Viterbo (Vol. I. p. 151)—on the site of Vulci (Vol. I. p. 446)—on the hill of Castiglione Bernardi, near Monte Rotondo (*ut supra*, p. 196)—at Massa Marittima, or five miles westward from that town (p. 198)—below Monte Calvi, three miles from the sea, buried in a dense wood (p. 206)—at Castagneto (p. 202)—and at Colonna di Buriano (p. 223). Ermolao Barbaro, the earliest writer on the subject, places it at Orbetello (see Dempster, II. p. 56). I should state that when Mannert (Geog. p. 358) asserts that the village of Badiola on an eminence by the river Cornia, and a geographical mile-and-a-half (about six miles English) from the coast, preserves the memory of the ancient city, he evidently refers to the site five miles west of Massa.

Magliano is a squalid, innless village, of three hundred souls, at the foot of a mediæval castle in picturesque ruin.[2] On making inquiries here I was referred to an engineer, Signor Tommaso Pasquinelli, then forming a road from Magliano to the Saline at the mouth of the Albegna. I found this gentleman at a convent in the village, amid a circle of venerable monks, whose beards far outshone the refectory table-cloth, in whiteness. I was delighted to learn that it was he who had made the rumoured discovery in this neighbourhood, and that it was not of tombs merely, but of a city of great size. The mode in which this was brought to light was singular enough. Nothing was visible above ground—not a fragment of ruin to indicate prior habitation; so that it was only by extraordinary means he was made aware that here a city had stood. The ground through which his road had to run being for the most part low and swampy, and the higher land being a soft friable tufo, he was at a loss for the materials he wanted, till he chanced to uncover some large blocks, buried beneath the surface, which he recognized as the foundations of an ancient wall. These he found to continue in an unbroken line, which he followed out, breaking up the blocks as he unearthed them, till he had traced out the periphery of a city.[3]

With the genuine politeness of Tuscany, that "rare land of courtesy," as Coleridge terms it, he proposed at once to accompany me to the site. It was the first opportunity he had had of doing the honours of his city, for though the discovery had been made in May, 1842, and he had communicated the fact to his friends, the intelligence had not spread, save in vague distorted rumours, and no antiquary had visited the spot. News always travels on foot in Italy, and generally falls dead lame on the road. I had heard from the antiquaries of Florence, that something, no one knew what, had been found hereabouts. One thought it was tombs; another had heard it was gold *roba*: another was in utter

[2] Magliano does not appear to be an ancient site; yet like all other places of this name in Italy it probably derives its name from the *gens Manlia*, and must have been anciently called Manlianum.

[3] Signor Alessandro François lays claim to the discovery of this ancient city in 1824, when the walls were in parts visible above the surface, and he took it for the site of Telamon. His description of it, as lying between 3 and 4 miles inland, and as being about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles in circuit, would make it appear that he was speaking of some other site. Bull. Inst. 1851, p. 6. Yet his mention of it as situated on the spot called La Doganella, between the rivers Osa and Albegna, leaves not a doubt as to its identity with the city whose walls were unearthed by Pasquinelli in 1842.

ignorance of this site, but had heard of a city having been discovered on Monte Catini, to the west of Volterra.

The city lay between Magliano and the sea, about six and a quarter miles from the shore, on a low table-land, just where the ground begins to rise above the marshy plains of the coast. In length, according to Signor Pasquinelli, it was somewhat less than a mile and a half, and scarcely a mile in breadth; but taking into account its quadrilateral form, it must have had a circuit of at least four miles and a half.[4] On the south-east it was bounded by the streamlet Patrignone, whose banks rise in cliffs of no great height; but on every other side the table-land sinks in a gentle slope to the plain. At the south-western extremity, near a house called La Doganella, the only habitation on the site, was found a smaller and inner circuit of wall; and this, being also the highest part of the table-land, was thus marked out as the site of the Arx.

Though scarcely a vestige remained of the walls, and no ruins rose above the surface, I had not much difficulty in recognising the site as Etruscan. The soil was thickly strewn with broken pottery, that infallible and ineffaceable indicator of bygone habitation; and here it was of that character found on purely Etruscan sites, without any admixture of marbles, or fragments of verd-antique, porphyry, and other valuable stones, which mark the former seats of Roman luxury. Though the walls, or rather their foundations, had been almost entirely destroyed since the first discovery, a few blocks remained yet entire, and established the Etruscan character of the city. From these little or nothing could be ascertained as to the style of masonry; but the blocks themselves were indicative of an Etruscan origin—some being of *macigno*, resembling those of Populonia in their size and rude shaping; others of tufo, or of the soft local rock, like that of Corneto, agreeing in size and form with the usual blocks of this material found on Etruscan sites. Some of the former had been

[4] This account differs from that I heard on the spot, and which I have elsewhere given to the world:—viz., that the circuit was not less than six miles. I have since received more accurate details from Signor Pasquinelli, who says that the city was 2400 English yards in length, by 1600 in width. He also states that a certain spot in the city was about 11,000 English yards from the sea, 5,800 from Magliano, 3,200 from the river Albegna, and 5,000 from the Osa. "A distanza di circa 5,500 tese Inglesi dal mare, 1,600 dal fiume Albegna, 2,500 dal torrente Osa, e 2,900 dal paese di Magliano, sotto la superfice della campagna, senza nessun vestigio apparente, esistevano da secoli sepolti gli avanzi di numerose fabbriche, alcune delle quali ella potè vedere in detta circostanza, circoscritte entro un recinto quadrilatero di mura rovinate, lungo circa 1,200 tese, largo 800."

found nine or ten feet in length. But the blocks were not generally of large dimensions, though always without cement. On one spot, where a portion of the walls had been uncovered, at the verge of a hollow, a sewer opening in them was disclosed.

Within the walls a road or street had been traced by the foundations of the houses on either hand. Many things had been dug up, but no statues, or marble columns, as on Roman sites—chiefly articles of bronze or pottery.[5] I myself saw a piece of bronze drawn from the soil, many feet below the surface, which proved to be a packing-needle, ten inches in length, with eye and point uninjured! It must have served some worthy Etruscan, either in preparing for his travels, perhaps to the Fanum Voltumnæ, the parliament of Lucumones, perhaps for the *grand tour*, such as Herodotus made, which is pretty nearly the *grand tour* still; or, it may be, in shipping his goods to foreign lands from the neighbouring port of Telamon. This venerable needle is now in my possession.

While it is to be lamented that to future travellers scarcely a trace of this city will be visible, it must be remembered, that but for the peculiar exigencies of the engineer, which led to the destruction of its walls, we should have remained in ignorance of its existence. Other accidents might have led to the uncovering of a portion of the wall; but it is difficult to conceive that any other cause could have brought about the excavation of the entire circuit, and the consequent determination of the precise limits of the city. So that in spite of the wholesale macadamisation, the world is greatly indebted to the gentleman who made the discovery.[6]

Outside the walls to the north were many tumuli, originally encircled with masonry, which had been broken up for the road. Some were twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. On this side also, *i. e.*, towards Magliano, I saw some Roman remains—the

[5] Among the latter was a huge pot, one *mètre* in diaméter, and not much less in height, of rough red ware, with its rim covered with lead, clamped into it with spikes; the lead alone weighed 27 lbs. This pot was found full of burnt matter. The bronzes consisted of *fibulæ*, lances, javelins, nails, and little figures of deities or *lares;* some of decidedly Etruscan character.

[6] I am the more desirous of referring the merit of this discovery to its rightful owner, because Signor Pasquinelli complains of not having received justice from a person, named Salvagnoli, to whom he committed for publication a plan he had made of the city and its environs, drawings of the paintings in the tombs, and many other particulars, and who has since publicly claimed the honour of the discovery for himself. Nor does Repetti (Suppl. p. 133), who mentions the fact of the discovery on the occasion of forming the road, record the name of the engineer.

bases of small Doric columns; and the site of Baths, where mosaic pavement and many coins of the Empire, silver and copper, had been found, was also pointed out to me. On the high grounds to the south-east, I heard that many tombs had been opened, undoubtedly Etruscan in character and contents. They were not excavated in cliffs, but sunk beneath the surface, as at Volterra and Vulci, and were generally surrounded by rock-hewn benches, hollowed for the reception of bodies. Others were mere holes in the earth, large enough to contain a single corpse, and lined with rude masonry. Interment, indeed, from what I could learn, appears to have been general in this necropolis. They had all been rifled of old of their most valuable furniture, though some still contained pottery of *bucchero*, others a few painted vases; and the bronzes were mostly in good archaic style.[7] At Magliano I saw many articles found in these tombs—a lion of *peperino*, about a foot long—a small sphinx—Egyptian-like figures—a little bronze idol, with sickle in his hand—and sundry other articles in sculpture, pottery, and bronze, which my experience enabled me to pronounce indubitably Etruscan, and chiefly of archaic character. I saw no figured pottery, but much of the common black ware; and I was told that the tall black vases with relieved decorations, so abundant at Chiusi and its neighbourhood, had been discovered here. Scarabei of cornelian had also been brought to light.

I learned, moreover, that several painted tombs had been opened in this neighbourhood, on the heights between Magliano and the Albegna. I could not see them, as they had been reclosed with earth; but of one I received a description from Signor Pasquinelli, who had copied its paintings. It was a square chamber, divided into two by a wall hewn from the rock, on each face of which figures were painted. One was an archer on horseback, drawing his bow; another was a centaur with a long black beard, wings open and raised, and a tail terminating in a serpent's head; beside which there were dolphins, and flowers, and "serpents with hawks' heads;" as they were described to me—probably dragons.[8] The existence of Etruscan

[7] Such was the result of the excavations made here by François (Bull. Inst. 1851, p. 6), and by Don Luigi Dei of Chiusi, some years later.

[8] It must be this tomb which was opened by Don Luigi Dei, of Chiusi, in 1835 or 6, and is described as having two chambers with chimerical figures in monochroms, red, green, and sky-blue (Bull. Instit. 1840, p. 147). The same is also described by an eye-witness (Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 22), with more minuteness as to the chamber,

tombs in this neighbourhood has, indeed, been known for many years, and excavators have even come hither from Chiusi on speculation; but tombs are of such frequent occurrence in this land, that the existence of an Etruscan town or city near at hand, though necessarily inferred, was not ascertained, and no researches were made for its site.[9] To those, however, who know Italy, it will be no matter of surprise that the existence of this city should have been so long forgotten. Had there even been ruins of walls or temples on the site, such things are too abundant in that land to attract particular attention; and generation after generation of peasants might fold their flocks or stall their cattle amid the crumbling ruins, and the world at large remain in ignorance of their existence. Thus it was with Pæstum; though its ruins are so stupendous and prominent, it was unknown to the antiquary till the last century. Can we wonder, then, that in the Tuscan Maremma, not better populated or more frequented, because not more healthy, than the Campanian shore, a city should have been lost sight of, which had no walls or ruins above ground, and no vestige but broken pottery, which tells no tale to the simple peasant?—a city

> "Of which there now remaines no memorie,
> Nor anie little moniment to see,
> By which the travailer, that fares that way,
> *This once was she*, may warned be to say."

As I stood on this ancient site, and perceived the sea so near at hand, and the Bay of Telamone but a few miles off, I exclaimed, "This must have been a maritime city, and Telamon was its port!" The connection between them was obvious. The distance is scarcely more than between Tarquinii and her port of Graviscæ, and between Cære and the sea. There is even reason to believe that the distance was much less, for Signor François found proof that the port of Telamon had originally

but no further details of the paintings. He says this tomb is about one mile only from Magliano.

[9] Before Pasquinelli's discovery it had been suggested that the Etruscan city of Caletra stood somewhere in the neighbourhood of Magliano. Repetti thought either at Montemerano, or more probably on the heights of Colle di Lupo, three miles north-east of Magliano, where sundry relics of ancient times had been discovered (V. p. 207). He adds that many sepulchral urns, fragments of Roman inscriptions, bas-reliefs, and other works of sculptural adornment in the local travertine, had been at various times brought to light in the district of Magliano, and especially on a lofty hill between Colle di Lupo and Pereta, which, from the sepulchral remains found there, was called the Tombara (III. p. 18). On a hill, a mile from Magliano, stands the ruined church of S. Brizio, of the low Empire, with other remains of higher antiquity.

extended three miles inland.[1] When I looked also over the low marshy ground which intervened, I could understand why the city was situated so far inland; it was for strength of position, for elevation above the unhealthy swamps of the coast, and for room to extend its dimensions *ad libitum*, which it could not have done on the rocky heights above Telamone, or on the small conical headland of Telamonaccio. The peculiarity of its position on the first heights which rise from the level of the swamp, seemed to me a sure index to the character of the city. It was a compromise between security and convenience. Had it not been for maritime purposes, and proximity to the port of Telamon, the founders of this city could not have chosen a site so objectionable as this, but would have preferred one still further inland which would have combined the advantages of more natural strength and greater elevation above the heavy atmosphere of the Maremma, in every age more or less insalubrious.[2]

Another fact which forced itself on my observation, was the analogy of position with that of the earliest settlements on this coast—with the Pelasgic towns of Pisæ, Tarquinii, Pyrgi, Alsium, Agylla—a fact greatly in favour of the high antiquity of the site.

Here then was a city genuinely Etruscan in character, of first-rate magnitude, inferior only to Veii, equal at least to Volaterræ, probably of high antiquity, certainly of great importance, second to none in naval and commercial advantages; a city, in short, which must have been one of the Twelve. Is it possible it could have been passed over in silence by ancient writers? But what was its name? Which of the still missing cities of Etruria can this have been? I called to mind the names of these outcasts—Caletra, Statonia, Sudertum, Salpinum, &c.—and reviewed their claims to a site of such magnitude and importance; but all were found wanting, all, save the most celebrated—Vetulonia; which, after much consideration, I am convinced must have stood on this spot.

Let us consider what has been said of that city by the ancients. It is first mentioned by Dionysius as one of the five Etruscan cities which engaged to assist the Latins against Tarquinius

[1] Bull. Inst. 1851, pp. 5–7. See Chap. XLVIII. p. 238.

[2] At the present day the swamps of Telamone render Magliano very unhealthy in summer. Repetti, III. p. 14; V. p. 497. Yet the soil is wonderfully fertile, and presents every encouragement for cultivation. A proof of this exists in a venerable olive-tree, hard by Magliano, which has a circumference of thirty feet.

Priscus. He states, that not all the cities of Etruria agreed to afford assistance, but these five only—Clusium, Arretium, Volterræ, Rusellæ, and also Vetulonia.[3] This, as already shown, is a strong argument for regarding each of these cities as of the Twelve, for second-rate, or dependent towns, could not have acted in opposition to the rest of the Confederation.[4] Silius Italicus bears testimony to the antiquity and former glory of Vetulonia, and even asserts that it was from her that the twelve *fasces* with their hatchets, and the other symbols of power, the curule-chairs of ivory, and the robes of Tyrian purple, as well as the use of the brazen trumpet in war, were all first derived.

> Mæoniæque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis.
> Bissenos hæc prima dedit præcedere fasces,
> Et junxit totidem tacito terrore secures ;
> Hæc altas eboris decoravit honore curules,
> Et princeps Tyrio vestem prætexuit ostro ;
> Hæc eadem pugnas accendere protulit ære.[5]

Beyond this we find no mention of Vetulonia except in the catalogues of Pliny and Ptolemy ;[6] both place it among the "inland colonies" of Etruria ; the one adds its latitude and longitude, and the other elsewhere states, that there were hot waters at Vetulonii, in Etruria, not far from the sea, and that fish lived in those waters.[7]

Inghirami laid great stress on the latitude and longitude assigned to Vetulonia by Ptolemy, and even made them the basis of his researches for the site of the city. By a comparison of the latitudes and longitudes of certain other towns with those of Vetulonia, he arrived at the conclusion that Ptolemy meant to assign to this city a site between Populonia, Volterra, and Siena, which he thought might correspond with his hill of Castiglion

[3] Dion. Hal. III. c. 51.

[4] This is the opinion of Cluver (II. p. 473), and of Müller (Etrus. (II. 1, 2). Mannert (Geog. p. 358) also took Vetulonia for one of the Twelve. Vetulonia has even been supposed the metropolis of Etruria (Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 190), but on no valid grounds.

[5] Sil. Ital. VIII. 485.

[6] Plin. III. 8. Ptol. p. 72, ed. Bert. Ptolemy calls the city Vetulonium—Οὐετουλώνιον.

[7] Plin. II. 106.—(aquis calidis) ad Vetulonios in Etruriâ, non procul a mari, pisces (innascuntur). It is true that Cluver (II. p. 473) and others have supposed the "Velinis" of the Peutingerian Table to be a corruption of "Vetulonis ;" but there is no solid ground for this opinion.

Dionysius (II. c. 37) speaks of an Etruscan city called Solonium, whence a Lucumo, probably Cæles Vibenna, came to the assistance of Romulus. Cluver (II. pp. 454, 473) took this to be a corruption of Vetulonium. Casaubon thought it meant Populonium. But Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 116), by comparing Propertius (IV. 2, 4), comes to the opinion that it was Volsinii that was here intended. (*Ut supra*, p. 95.)

Bernardi.[8] But a glance at the map will prove that no dependence can be placed on the positions indicated by Ptolemy, who is more often wrong than right; and if the towns of Etruria were arranged according to his tables, we should have an entirely new map of that land. In fact Ptolemy is so full of errors and inconsistencies, that, by assuming certain of his data to be correct to the exclusion of the rest, he may be forced to favour almost any opinion. Any argument, therefore, drawn from such a source can be of little weight.[9]

The sum total then of what we learn from the ancients on this point, may be comprised in a few words. Vetulonia was a city of great antiquity, importance, and magnificence, with strong claims to rank among the Twelve chief cities of the land; having hot springs in its neighbourhood, and though not situated exactly on the shore, it must have stood at a short distance from the sea.[1]

Such are the requisites of the long-lost Etruria. Every one of them is fulfilled by this newly-found city. On its antiquity and importance it is not necessary to enlarge. Its size alone, without the possession of such a port as Telamon, would give this city a right to rank among the Twelve. In situation it also corresponds, being near enough to the sea to agree with Pliny's "*non procul a mari*," and far enough inland to come within the category of "*intus coloniæ*," being scarcely further from the shore than

[8] Ricerche di Vetulonia, p. 93.

[9] In an article from my pen in the Classical Museum, No. V., I have shown that the arguments Inghirami adduces, from the latitudes and longitudes of Ptolemy, in favour of Vetulonia occupying the hill of Castiglione Bernardi, may be applied with superior force to this ancient site near Magliano; though at the same time I disclaim all evidence drawn from this source as utterly untrustworthy.

[1] Dr. Ambrosch, in order to reconcile the insignificant hill of Castiglione Bernardi (*ut supra*, p. 214) with the site of Vetulonia, endeavours to invalidate the testimony of Silius Italicus as to the importance and magnificence of that ancient city. He founds his views on the mention Dionysius makes of it, and the place he assigns it at the end of the sentence, after the other four cities, its confederates; but chiefly on the silence of Livy and other historians, of Strabo and Virgil; for he considers it impossible, if Vetulonia had been of the importance Silius Italicus ascribes to it, that no mention should have been made of it by the principal writers of Rome. Ricerche di Vetulonia, pp. 65–92; Memor. Inst. IV. pp. 137–155. The limits of this work will not allow me here to reply to these arguments further than by stating that Cluver and Muller put a totally different interpretation on the words of Dionysius—that other cities of Etruria, some of no less importance than Vetulonia, are also passed by in silence by the said writers—and that the authority of Silius Italicus is gratuitously impugned in this matter, as that author had the reputation among his contemporaries for care and accuracy, not for a lively imagination. Plin. Epist. III. 7. For a detailed reply to Dr. Ambrosch, I must refer the reader to my article on Vetulonia in the Classical Museum.

Tarquinii and Cære, kindred cities similarly classed. As to the springs, where the fish in Pliny's time had got, in a double sense, into hot water, I had the satisfaction of learning that near Telamonaccio, two or three hundred yards only from the sea, were hot springs; but I had not the opportunity of returning to the coast to ascertain if the advantages the ancients possessed, in fishing out parboiled mackerel and mullet, have descended to the modern Tuscans. For any traces of the ancient name existing in the neighbourhood, I inquired in vain; but that in no way affects my opinion, as no traditional memory exists of Veii, Fidenæ, Cosa, and many other ancient cities whose sites have been fixed beyond a doubt.

One important feature of Vetulonia, which is nowhere indeed expressly mentioned by the ancients, but may be inferred from their statements, and is strongly corroborated by coins[1] and other monumental evidence, is its maritime character. This feature has been little regarded by Inghirami and Ambrosch, who would place the site of this ancient city at Castiglione Bernardi, fourteen or fifteen miles from the sea.[2] But it is one which tends most strongly to establish the identity of Vetulonia with this newly-discovered city near Magliano.

An analysis of the passage in Silius Italicus will lead us to the conclusion that Vetulonia must have been a sea-port, or at least so situated as to be able to carry on a foreign commerce. The city which first introduced the use of ivory chairs and Tyrian purple into Etruria must surely have had direct intercourse with the East, such as could not have been maintained had she been far removed from the coast. We are told that the purple robes

[1] There are certain coins with a head and the legend "VATL" in Etruscan characters on the obverse, and on the reverse a trident, whose two outer prongs rise from the bodies of dolphins. One *as* has a wheel and an anchor, with the legend "VETL . A," for "VETLUNA," in Etruscan letters. Lanzi describes some as having a crescent, though a wheel and an axe are the most frequent types, the one indicating the lictors, the other the curule chair; the origin of both being ascribed by Silius Italicus to Vetulonia. Micali sees in the anchor a proof of the proximity of this city to the sea, and of her maritime commerce. Passeri, Paralip. in Dempst. p. 183, tab. VI. 1; Guarnacci, Orig. Ital. II. tav. XIX. 6–16; Lanzi, Sagg. II. pp. 31, 110, tav. III. 4–6; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 144; III. p. 191, tav. CXV. 8. It is asserted indeed by Millingen (Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 174) that these coins are not found in any known collection, and therefore they ought to be considered imaginary. But Lanzi (II. p. 30) and Passeri speak of one as in the Museo Olivieri; nor is their existence questioned by Mionnet (Suppl. I. pp. 205–7, 214), Sestini (Geog. Numis. II. p. 5), or Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 336), who, however, ascribe them to Vettuna, now Bettona, in Umbria. They are also stated to have been found in the urns of Volterra. Bava, ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 87.

[2] *Ut supra*, p. 196 *et seq.*

which the Etruscan cities sent to Tarquin, among the other *insignia* of royalty, in token of submission to his authority, were such as were worn by the Lydian and Persian monarchs, differing only in form.[3] Now whatever may have been the origin of the Etruscan race, it is manifest that a city which first introduced a foreign custom like this, must, if that custom were brought directly from the East by its founders, have been on, or near the coast; or if subsequently, owing to commercial relations with those lands, must either have been, or have had, a port.

The maritime character of Vetulonia is indeed established by a monument discovered at Cervetri in 1840, and now in the Lateran Museum. It is a bas-relief, bearing the devices of three Etruscan cities—Tarquinii, Vulci, and Vetulonia. The latter, which is indicated by the inscription VETVLONENSES, is symbolised by a naked man with an oar on his shoulder, and holding a pine-cone, which he seems to have just plucked from a tree over his head. Dr. Braun, the late secretary of the Archæological Institute of Rome, remarks on this monument:—"that this figure represents Neptune, seems to me beyond a doubt; it is shown not only by the attribute in his hand, but also by the tree, sacred to that deity, which stands at his side. However it be, no one can presume to deny that the figure bearing an oar indicates a maritime city, such as Pliny in truth implies Vetulonia to have been."[4] Canina, however, who agrees with me as to this being the site of Vetulonia, takes the figure with an oar to represent Telamon, the Argonaut. Braun suggests, from a consideration of this monument, that there was probably a pine-wood in the neighbourhood of Vetulonia. It so happens that there is such a wood extending for miles along the shore between Telamone and Orbetello, which may be the remains of a forest yet more extensive in ancient times.

We are quite in the dark as to the period and causes of Vetulonia's destruction or abandonment. It may have been

[3] Dion. Hal. III. c. 61.

[4] Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 38, tav. d'Agg. C. Braun is of opinion, in which he is joined by the architect Canina (Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 93), that this bas-relief formed one of the sides of a square pedestal, whose other three sides bore emblems of other cities—the Twelve of the Etruscan Confederation; and they think that as the relief was found near a statue of Claudius, the pedestal originally supported that statue, and that the Twelve Cities of Etruria were symbolised thereon in compliment to that emperor having written a history of Etruria. To me, however, the relief appears rather to have formed part of a throne, for at one end it is decorated on both sides. In any case this monument may be accepted as presumptive evidence of the power and magnificence of Vetulonia.

malaria; it may have been the sword which desolated it.[5] In truth, the little mention made of it by ancient writers, seems to mark it as having ceased to exist at or before the time of Roman domination.[6] The total silence of Livy and Strabo is also thus best explained. The absence of Roman remains on the site of this city is in accordance with this view. Yet that Vetulonia existed, or rather re-existed, in Imperial times, is proved by the mention made of it by Pliny and Ptolemy, and by several Latin inscriptions.[7] The many Roman remains in the immediate vicinity of this site, and further inland, probably belonged to that colony; and it is not unlikely that the ancient city, like Veii, had previously lain desolate for centuries, and that when a colony was to be established, a neighbouring spot was chosen in preference to the original site, which was abandoned as too near the unhealthy swamps of the coast.

I have the satisfaction of learning that my opinion as to this city being the long-lost Vetulonia, is concurred in by the leading antiquaries of Rome—Germans as well as Italians, as well as by the latest writers on the subject.[8] But be it Vetulonia or not, it is manifest that it must have been of great importance in the early days of Etruria; as it is surpassed but by one city of that land in size, and by none in the advantages of situation for naval and commercial purposes.

[5] Signor Pasquinelli remarks that from the confusion in which the blocks of masonry were found, overturned in the foundations of the buildings, mingled with fragments of pottery, with burnt matter and fused metal, this city seems to have been destroyed by violence.

[6] This was given out by Dempster (Etrur. Reg. II. p. 56) as a mere conjecture; but has been assumed as a fact by a recent writer, who even specifies the period of the city's destruction.

[7] One found at Arezzo. Gruter, p. 1029, 7; Muratori, p. 1094, 2. Another, found at Pesaro. Orelli, III., No. 7415. A third, now at Florence, is of the time of Septimius Severus, A.D. 120, Muratori, p. 1095. A fourth, preserved in the Convent of S. Gregorio at Rome, is as late as A.D. 173. For these inscriptions, see Étrurie et les Étrusques, I. pp. 28–30.

[8] Noël des Vergers, Étrurie et les Étrusques, 1. p. 67. Deecke's Müller, p. 195.



ANCIENT TOMB, SATURNIA.

CHAPTER LII.

SATURNIA.—*SATURNIA.*

A few rude monuments of mountain stone
Survive ; all else is swept away.—WORDSWORTH.

Ed io : maestro, quai son quelle genti,
Che seppellite dentro da quell' arche
Si fan sentire ? DANTE.

ONE of the most ancient of Etruscan sites is Saturnia, which lies in the valley of the Albegna, twenty miles from the sea. It may be reached either from Orbetello or from Grosseto.[1]

The road from Orbetello runs on the left bank of the Albegna, passing through Marsiliana and Monte Merano, and is carriageable to this latter place, which is but three miles from Saturnia. Those who would take the more direct track must leave their vehicles at Marsiliana, and on horseback follow the banks of the Albegna. But this will not do after heavy rains, as the river has to be forded no less than fourteen times!

From Magliano I took the route of Scansano, a town some nine or ten miles to the north. Half way is Pereta, a small village,

[1] Saturnia is about 28 miles from Cosa, 23 from Orbetello, 13 from Scansano, nearly 30 from Grosseto, 11 or 12 from Pitigliano by the direct track through Sovana, but 16 or 17 by the high road through Manciano.

with a ruined castle on a height, overhanging a deep valley ; and a steep ascent of some miles leads hence to Scansano. This is a town of some size, near the summit of a mountain, but with no interest beyond being the only halting-place between Grosseto and Saturnia. Inquire for the house of Domenico Bianchi—the lack of comfort will as far as possible be atoned for by civility and attention. Grosseto is sixteen or seventeen miles distant, and the road is excellent, but terminates at Scansano. For the first four miles from Grosseto it crosses the plain to Istia, a ruined village on the right bank of the Ombrone, with a double circuit of crumbling walls, telling of vanished greatness. Here the river is crossed by a ferry, but when swollen by heavy rains, it is difficult of transit. I had much ado to cross it on my way from Scansano, but on my return a few hours afterwards, it had so overstept the modesty of its nature as to rival the Tiber, nine times its volume, as the saying goes—

"Tre Ombroni fanno un Arno,
Tre Arni fanno un Tevere,
Tre Teveri fanno un Po;
E tre Po di Lombardia
Fanno un Danubio di Turchia"—

and as to oblige me to leave my vehicle behind, and do the rest of the way on foot. For the thirteen miles hence to Scansano it is a continual ascent, through woods of oak, chestnut, and Maremma shrubs. The laurestinus, then in full bloom, and numerous flowers of varied hue and odour, gave the country the appearance of a vast shrubbery, or untrimmed garden—

"A wilderness of sweets—
Flowers of all hue and weeds of glorious feature."

But never did shrubbery or lawn command a view so magnficent as that from these heights. From the headland of Troja to those of Telamone and Argentaro,

"That lovely shore of solitude and light"

lay unrolled beneath, with its bounding belt of the blue Mediterranean, studded with many a silvery islet.

I had expected to accomplish on horseback in three hours the thirteen miles from Scansano to Saturnia, yet six elapsed ere I reached my destination. The track is a mere bridle-path, utterly impracticable to vehicles; here, running through dense woods ;

there, crossing moors which the rains had converted into quagmires; and often disappearing altogether; and my guide did his best to enhance its delights by assuring me the Albegna would be too swollen to be fordable, and we must certainly retrace our steps to Scansano. However—*al fin si canta la gloria*—we reached the left bank of the stream, and ascended the long slope to Saturnia.

The situation of this city is most imposing. Like Cosa and Rusellæ, it occupies the summit of a truncated cone; but, still more like Orvieto, it also rises in the midst of an amphitheatre of lofty mountains; and as the circuit of its walls is complete, it appears at a distance to be well inhabited. It is only on entering its gates that the desolation of the site is apparent.

The modern Saturnia is the representative of the ancient merely in name. It occupies but a fractional part of the original area, and is a miserable "*luoghettaccio*," with a church and some score of hovels, and only one decent house—that of the Marchese Panciatichi Ximenes, a noble of Aragonese blood, whose family has possessed this manor for the last two hundred and fifty years. It were folly to expect an inn in such a hamlet. There is indeed what is called an *osteria*, but a peep within it confirmed all I had heard of its horrors, and determined me to effect a lodgment in the palace. This was no difficult matter. The *fattore*, or agent of the Marchese, readily agreed to accommodate me; and furnished me, moreover, with a guide to the antiquities of the site.

The form of the ancient city is an irregular rhomboid, the angles facing the cardinal points. It may be rather more than two miles in circuit,[2] its extent being determined by the character of the ground, which breaks into cliffs round the top of the cone. In this respect also Saturnia resembles Orvieto, and differs from Cosa and Rusellæ, which have no cliffs. The existing fortifications were erected on the ruins of the ancient in the fifteenth century, and are evidently prior to the use of artillery.[3]

In three spots only could I perceive remains of the original walls. The finest portion is on the south, beneath the ruined

[2] Sir R. C. Hoare calls the circuit three miles (Classical Tour, I. p. 52), but that is certainly an overstatement. It can scarcely be the two miles and a half which Santi ascribes to it. Viaggio, p. 88, cited by Müller, I. 3, 3. I have never seen a plan of Saturnia, and regret that I did not measure it myself.

[3] In a few parts are remains of Roman work—*opus incertum* and *reticulatum*—the repairs of the still earlier fortifications.

castle and hard by the village. Here is a gateway, called Porta Romana, whether from the direction in which it opens, or from its evident antiquity, matters not. On both sides of it is polygonal masonry, precisely like that of Cosa in its smooth surface and the close "kissing" of its joints; but whether topped originally in the same way with horizontal courses cannot be determined, as the loftiest fragment does not now rise above twelve feet.[4] The gateway, though now arched over with the work of the middle ages, is manifestly coeval with these walls, for the masonry here running into horizontal forms as usual at angles, terminates abruptly in doorposts;[5] and there are no traces of an ancient arch, the gate having been spanned, like those at Cosa and kindred sites, by a horizontal lintel of stone or wood. The pavement of the old Roman road still runs through the gate into the city.

In the eastern wall, at a spot called Il Marrucatone, just above the Campo Santo, is another fragment of polygonal masonry. Only two courses are now standing, and there may be about twenty blocks in all; and these show more tendency to regularity and horizontality than the portion at the Porta Romana.

On the opposite side of the city is a third fragment, in the foundations of the modern walls, and, like the other two portions, of travertine. Beyond this I could not perceive, nor could I learn, that there were any remains of the ancient fortifications; but it is almost impossible to make the entire tour of the walls externally, on account of the dense thickets and scattered rocks, which in parts forbid a near approach. Unlike Cosa, Saturnia has but these few *disjecta membra* left of her former might, but these suffice to attest it—*ex pede Herculem*.

The wide area within the walls is in summer a cornfield—*seges ubi Troja fuit*; in winter a sheep-walk. Here are but few relics of the olden time. Near the Marrucatone is a singular square inclosure of artificial concrete, called Bagno Secco; but

[4] The blocks here are not of great size. Two of the largest I found to be respectively —5 ft. 7 in. in length, by 4 ft. 7 in. high; and 4 ft. 7 in. long, by 3 ft. 2 in. high. A view of this fragment of the walls of Saturnia is given in Ann. Inst. 1831, tav. d' Agg. E.

[5] It must have been the horizontality in the doorposts that led Repetti to speak of this masonry as composed "of great blocks of squared *macigno*." If he had not given the date of his visit I should have doubted that he had ever been at Saturnia. It is surprising that the peculiar character of this masonry, so decidedly polygonal, could have escaped his eye. His inaccuracy in describing it as *macigno* must also be attributed to careless observation; and his opinion that it is "rather Roman than Etruscan," is therefore of little weight. See Repetti, V. p. 206.

that it was anciently a Bath is very doubtful. It must be of Roman times.[6]

The few other antiquities are within the village. The most remarkable is a tall massive pilaster, square in front, but rounded at the back, and having a fluted half-column, engaged at one corner, and hewn out of the blocks of travertine which compose the structure. If not of more ancient date, it probably formed part of a Roman temple, rather than of an arch or gate-way, as has been supposed.[7]

There are also sundry scattered relics—tablets—altars—*cippi*—statues—cornices—all of Roman times. Nothing did I perceive that could be pronounced Etruscan.[8]

Few ancient sites in Etruria have more natural beauties than Saturnia. Deep valleys and towering heights all around, yet variety in every quarter. Here the cliff-bound, olive-spread hill of Monte Merano; there the elm-tufted ridge of Scansano; and there the snowy crests of Monte Labbro and Santa Fiora. From the northern ramparts you command the whole valley of the Albegna. You see the stream bursting from a dark gorge in its escape from the regions of mountain frost; and where it is not lost behind the rock-mingled foliage on the slope, snaking its shining way joyously down the valley; and its murmurs come up with the fainter sheep-bell from the echoing hollow. Whatever Saturnia be within, it has a paradise around it. If you be an artist, forget not your portfolio when you stroll around the walls. These ruins of art and nature—these crumbling walls, half-draped with ivy, clematis, and wild vines—these rugged cliffs beneath them—this chaos of crags and trees on the slope—you will revel among them, and will declare that never have you found more captivating studies of rock, wood, and ruin!

Here is food for the antiquary also. Some few hundred yards west of the Porta Romana he will observe among the crags of travertine which strew the slope, one upright mass about fifteen feet high, whose squared faces bear marks of the hand of man. What may have been its purpose, he is at a loss to conjecture. High at one end he will espy the remains of a flight of steps

[6] It has only two courses, each 2 feet high, but the blocks of concrete are 20 feet in length. It forms a square of 49 feet.

[7] Hoare, Class. Tour. I. p. 52.

[8] In front of the Marchese's house stand two large altars of travertine, with very long inscriptions, so defaced as to be scarcely legible, but I could perceive them to be of the time of Marcus Aurelius. On the opposite side of the Piazza is a Roman sepulchral monument. There are other inscriptions built into the wall of the church.

hewn in the rock, and formerly leading to the summit. Let him scramble up, and he will behold three sarcophagi or graves sunk in the level summit of the mass, each about the size of a body, having a ledge for the lid, which may have been of tiles, or more probably was a slab of rock carved into the effigy of the dead. Strange this trio must have appeared, half rising as it were from the tomb. This is a singular position for interment—unique, as far as is yet known, in Etruria.[9] The natural rock is used abundantly for sepulture, but the tomb is either beneath, or within, the monumental façade;—here alone it is above it. For the rock itself has been carved with architectural decorations, probably on each face, though the southern one alone retains such traces. The extreme simplicity of the details seems to mark this monument as Etruscan.[1]

No other monument could I perceive near the walls; but on the slope beneath the city to the south, and on the way to the Bagni, are several ancient tombs, similar in character but of smaller size and more ruined than those in the Pian di Palma, which I am about to describe. This spot is called La Pestiera. The necropolis of Saturnia does not lie so much on the slopes around, as at Volterra, or on the opposite heights, as at Tarquinii; but in the low grounds on the other bank of the Albegna, two miles or more from the city. This may in great measure be owing to the rocky nature of these slopes, which would not readily admit of excavation; for the early Italians always sought the easiest materials for their chisels, and never attempted the marvels in granite, porphyry, or basalt, achieved by the children of Ham.

On these slopes are traces of several Roman roads—all of the usual polygonal pavement.[2]

[9] In the island of Thera in the Greek archipelago, there are several such isolated rocks with sarcophagi sunk in them. Professor Ross calls them *θῆκαι λατόμηται*. Ann. Inst. 1841, pp. 16, 19. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. 26. I have observed them also in the necropoles of Syracuse and of Cyrene.

[1] Here are two pilasters with square *abaci*, of most simple character, supporting an architrave, which is divided in the middle by a sort of chimney—the whole in very low relief, forming indeed but a panelling to the smooth face of the rock. No traces of figures or of inscriptions are visible, and from the hardness of the travertine, which would preserve any such works of the chisel committed to it far better than the tufo or sandstone of which most Etruscan monuments are hewn, it seems probable that there were none.

[2] Sir R. C. Hoare traced five of these roads — running from Saturnia towards Rome, Monte Argentaro, Rusellæ, Siena, and Chiusi, respectively. The first, which issues from the Porta Romana, is almost perfect for some distance down the slope. This must be the Via Clodia. See Vol. I. p. 490. The second, which led down the Valley of the Albegna, I traced by its

As an excursion to the necropolis in the Pian di Palma demands half a day, I deferred it to the morrow. On returning to my quarters I found the *fattore* and his people about to sit down to their evening meal. Whether something extraordinary had been prepared on my account, I cannot say, but I am certain no English peasant sits down nightly to such a supper as this, which needed no apologies from Signor Gaspare. There were soup, beef, kid, poultry, game, and a dessert of dried fruits and cheese, all the produce of the estate—cooked in the spacious hall in which it was served, and by the labouring men, who on bringing a dish to table sat down and partook of it. It was a patriarchal and excellent meal—

Prorsus jucundè cœnam produximus illam !

I was no less satisfied with the accommodation upstairs, where everything did credit to the *fattore* and his men; for, be it known, to all this crew of shepherds and swains there was not one

"Phyllis, Charyllis, or sweet Amaryllis"—

not "one fair spirit for a minister."

Let future visitors to Saturnia follow my example, and exchange the hostelry for the palace. No one of course can receive accommodation in this way gratis; and if the traveller pay double what he would in the *osteria*, he is no loser, seeing he gains comfort, preserves his skin and his temper, and retains a pleasing remembrance of the place. Happy he who in his by-road wanderings in Italy meets no worse welcome than from the sun-ruddied face and jovial smile of Signor Gaspare !

Let the traveller eschew the summer months for a visit to Saturnia. In spite of its elevation the *ariaccia* is then most pestilent; whether arising from the sulphureous springs in its neighbourhood, or wafted from the swamps on the coast, it well-nigh desolates the spot; and when the harvest is cut scarcely a soul remains within the walls.

Ere the sun had risen, I was on my way to the Piano di Palma. The track down the slope followed the line of a Roman road, probably that leading to Rusellæ. The Albegna was still swollen but fordable, and about a mile beyond it I reached some ploughed

kerb-stones on the ascent from Scansano. That to Rusellæ is also very traceable; and I observed some vestiges of that running eastward; but of that to the north, which probably led from the Porta di Montagna, I could perceive no traces.

fields strewn with fragments of pottery, mingled with large stones and slabs. Here lay the tombs of the ancient dwellers of Saturnia.

It may be remarked that the name attached to ancient sepulchres differs in various parts of Italy, and it is well to know the local appellation. In some places they are *sepolcri*—in others, *tombe*—in some, though rarely, *ipogei*—in a few, *camere*, or *celle*—in many, *grotte*—here they were none of these, but *depositi*. In truth they required a peculiar name, as they differed from anything to be seen elsewhere in Etruria. They were very numerous; piles of blocks and slabs being scattered over the plain, each bearing traces of regular arrangement, yet this was so often disturbed or almost destroyed that the original character of the monuments could only be learned from a few which remain entire, and serve as keys to the rest. They are quadrangular chambers sunk a few feet below the surface, lined with rough slabs of rock, set upright, one on each side, and roofed over with two huge slabs resting against each other so as to form a rude penthouse; or else with a single one of enormous size covering the whole, and laid at a slight inclination, apparently for the same purpose of carrying off the rain. Not a chisel has touched these rugged masses, which are just as broken off from their native rock, with their edges all shapeless and irregular; and, if their faces are somewhat smooth, it is owing to the tendency of the travertine to split in laminar forms. These are the most rude and primitive structures conceivable; such as the savage would make on inhaling his first breath of civilisation, on emerging from his cave or den in the rock. Their dimensions vary from about sixteen feet square to half that size, though few are strictly of that form.[6] As each side of the tomb is composed generally of a single slab, so the dimensions of the tombs indicate those also of the slabs, except as regards the coverstones, which lap over about a foot each way and are therefore so much larger. When single, these cover-stones are of great size—one I measured was 16 feet by 12—another 16 feet by $10\frac{1}{2}$—and a third $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $9\frac{1}{2}$. The tomb represented in the woodcut at the head of this chapter has a single cover-stone, 16 or 18 feet each way, and about one foot in thickness. In some few instances where the tomb is very large there are two slabs on one side, and the interstices between them, as they are

[6] I add the dimensions of some that I measured:—16 feet long by somewhat less in width—14 feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$—14 feet by $7\frac{1}{2}$—11 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$—$9\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 6—9 feet by 8—8 feet by $6\frac{1}{2}$. All the tombs were about 5 or 6 feet high within.

not cut to fit, are filled with small stones and fragments of rock. One tomb indeed was lined entirely with small stones rudely put together, very like the solitary sepulchre I have described as existing at Rusellæ, but of ruder construction. Many of these tombs are divided into two chambers or compartments for bodies, by an upright slab, on which the cover-stones rest.[7] In most of them there is a passage, about three feet wide, and ten or twelve feet long, leading to the sepulchral chamber, and lined with slabs of inferior size and thickness.

These tombs are sunk but little below the surface, because each was inclosed in a tumulus; the earth being piled around so as to conceal all but the cover-stones, which were probably also originally buried. These tumuli, so far as it is possible to measure them, were about 25 or 30 feet in diameter. Mr. Ainsley remarked one which appeared to have been quadrangular. In many instances the earth has been removed or washed away, so as to leave the structure standing above the surface. Here the eye is startled by the striking resemblance to the cromlechs of our own country. Not that one such monument is actually standing above ground in an entire state; but remove the earth from any one of those with a single cover-stone, and in the three upright slabs, with their shelving, overlapping lid, you have the exact counterpart of Kit's Cotty House, and other like familiar antiquities of Britain; and the resemblance is not only in the form, and in the unhewn masses, but even in the dimensions of the structures. We know also that many of the cromlechs or kistvaens of the British Isles have been found inclosed in barrows, sometimes with a circle of small upright slabs around them; and from analogy we may infer that all were originally so buried. Here is a further point of resemblance to these tombs of Saturnia.[8] In some of the cromlechs, moreover, which are inclosed in tumuli, long passages, lined with upright slabs, and roofed in with others laid horizontally, have been found; whether the similar passages in these tombs of Saturnia were also covered in, cannot now be determined.

[7] This is shown in the woodcut at the head of this Chapter. It is in general about two-thirds of the tomb in length, *i.e.*, when placed longitudinally, for it is sometimes, though rarely, set transversely, in which case it is shaped above into a gable to support the cover-stones. This partition-slab is generally set rather obliquely. Some tombs are even divided into three compartments, one at the end and one on each side, with a passage between them, just as in so many of the rock-hewn sepulchres of Etruria. But these are rare.

[8] I observed only one instance of a tumulus encircled by small slabs; but it is probable that the custom was general; the small size of these slabs offering a temptation to the peasantry to remove them.

The shelving or dip of the cover-stone in the cairns or cromlechs has induced antiquaries to regard them as Druidical altars, formed with this inclination in order that the blood of the victims might more easily run off. But it is now generally agreed from the remains found within them, that they are sepulchral monuments; and there can be little doubt that these structures of Saturnia are of that character, though nothing beyond analogy and tradition now remains to attest it. Here the slope of the cover-stone is evidently to carry off the rain.

These tombs have stood for so many ages open and dismantled —the haunts of the fox, the porcupine, and unclean reptiles— that no traces of the ancient dead are now visible, beyond the broken pottery which strews the plain. At a spot called Il Puntone, west of the Pian di Palma, and nearer the banks of the Albegna, are more of these singular sepulchres. Those at La Pestiera on the south of Saturnia have already been mentioned; and it is possible that more exist on other sides of the city, but I could not ascertain the fact.

These monuments of Saturnia are particularly worthy of notice, as nothing like them is to be seen on any other site in Etruria. Similar tombs, however, have in ages past been discovered at Cortona,[9] and of late years at Santa Marinella;[1] but no traces of them now remain on either site. I have never seen any description of these tombs in the Pian di Palma; nor am I aware that any English traveller has visited them, since Mr. Ainsley and myself.[2]

To what era, and to what race, are we to attribute these tombs? Prior to the Roman conquest they must be, for that people never constructed such rude burial-places for their dead. Can we assign them to the Etruscans—to that race of whose care in decorating their tombs with architectural façades, and internally with painting and sculpture, we have so many proofs? If we are to regard the Regulini-Galassi tomb of Cære, with its

[9] Baldelli, MS. quoted by Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. pp. 75–6, and Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 72.

[1] Vol. I. p. 295.

[2] Sir R. C. Hoare merely states that "several subterraneous grottos are still open in the neighbouring fields, but there is great reason to suppose that many more exist undiscovered, for in various spots the water suddenly disappears after hard rains." Classical Tour, I. p. 52. But he does not appear to have seen them, or he must have been struck by their peculiar character. Repetti (V. p. 207) only mentions those on the slope beneath Saturnia, towards the Bagni, and describes them simply as "fosse coperte da lastroni di travertino," containing human bones and nothing else.

regular, squared masonry, as of Pelasgic antiquity, surely such savagely rude structures as these cannot be of later date. Be it remembered that the masses are wholly unwrought—not even hammer-dressed, but simply split off from the laminous rock; the principal difficulty lying in the transport of them to their present sites. If not of Etruscan construction, to whom can they be attributed? The prior occupants of the land, as we learn from ancient writers, were first the Umbrians or Siculi, and then the Pelasgi. As the antiquity of these monuments is connected with that of the city-walls, we will consider both in reviewing the few notices we find of Saturnia in ancient writers.

Dionysius mentions Saturnia together with Agylla, Pisa, and Alsium, as one of the many towns either built by the united Pelasgi and Aborigines, or taken by them from the Siculi, the original inhabitants.[3] Beyond this there is little mention of it. We learn that it was one of the Roman colonies in Etruria, that it had originally borne the name of Aurinia;[4] that it was in the territory of Caletra, and that it was colonised in the year of Rome 571 (B.C. 183).[5]

Though we may not be able to accord Dionysius unreserved credit in his accounts of such remote periods, we may safely admit his testimony as to the great antiquity of Saturnia. The very name, the earliest appellation of Italy itself, is corroborative of this fact. We are therefore prepared for relics of very ancient times on this spot. Yet Micali would fain have it that its polygonal walls do not indicate a high antiquity, and probably date only from the time of the Roman colony.[6] It is unnecessary to repeat what has been said in a previous chapter in refutation of his views; but what was there said in support of the antiquity

[3] Dion. Hal. I. c. 20. It may be thought by some that Dionysius referred to the original town on the site of Rome—"Saturnia, ubi nunc Roma est" (Plin. III. 9)—but it is evident that this town of Etruria was intended, as all the other places mentioned are in this land, and are said by him to have been afterwards conquered by the Etruscans.

[4] Plin. III. 8.—"Saturnini qui ante Aurinini vocabantur." It is also mentioned as a colony by Ptolemy (p. 72, ed Bert.), and a *præfectura* by Festus (*v.* Præfecturæ). The Etruscan family-name of "Sauturine," or "Sauturini" (Vermigl. Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 267, 313), seems to bear some relation to Saturnia.

[5] Liv. XXXIX. 55.

[6] Ant. Pop. Ital. I. pp. 144, 196. Micali's objection is mere supposition—"*forse*"—"*si può credere*"—"*potrebb' essere*"—or assertion; the only *argument* he uses is the high finish of the masonry, an argument which, if it have any force, will apply to all similar masonry wherever found—in Italy, Greece, or Asia Minor; though we are well assured that in many instances walls of this description were raised in very remote times, prior to the invention of the arch.

and Pelasgic origin of this style of masonry,[7] applies with more than usual force to Saturnia, which has the addition of historical testimony in its favour. It is enough to entertain doubts in those cases where we have no record of a definite Pelasgic origin. Where such record exists, we may take it to be authenticated by the walls, if of accordant structure, and the walls to be characterised by the tradition. Either alone may be open to suspicion, but together they substantiate each other into genuineness. In the case of Saturnia, moreover, we are particularly entitled to ascribe these walls to that people, with whom polygonal masonry was the rule, rectangular the exception, rather than to any subsequent race. For the doctrine of the material having alone determined the character of the masonry, is here utterly at fault. It is not limestone, which is said to split so readily into polygonal forms; it is travertine, which all the world knows has a horizontal cleavage. The natural superfluities of the blocks were not squared down as the Romans always treated this material, but cut into those angular forms which best pleased the builders.[8] So much for the doctrine of constructive necessity as applied to Saturnia.

But if the walls of Saturnia be Pelasgic, can the tombs have the same origin? Their primitive rudeness would accord better with walls of unhewn Cyclopean masonry, like those above Monte Fortino, or at Civitella and Olevano, in Sabina, and seems hardly consistent with the highly-wrought character of the polygonal style,—it is difficult to believe that the same hands constructed both tombs and walls. Yet it may be urged in favour of a Pelasgic origin for the former, that they are very similar to ancient tombs found at Santa Marinella, on that coast which is studded with Pelasgic settlements; and the resemblance the least rude among them (those with gabled roofs) bear to the sepulchres of Pæstum and of Magna Græcia generally, favours a Greek origin. They are, however, more like the structures of a ruder people, such as we may conceive the Umbri or Siculi, the earliest possessors of the land, to have been. We learn from Dionysius, that the Aborigines who joined the Pelasgi in expelling the Siculi from Etruria, had cemeteries of tumuli like this, but of the internal structure of their tombs we know nothing.[9] Unfortunately we have here no furniture remaining to assist our

[7] *Ut supra*, pp. 257 *et seq.*

[8] It has been asserted that polygonal masonry was never formed of travertine (Memor. Inst. III. p. 90), but this is contradicted by these walls of Saturnia.

[9] Dion. Hal. I. c. 14.

inquiries.[1] But it may be objected—if these be the sepulchres of the earlier occupants of the site, where are those of the Etruscans? It is a question which may be asked at Fiesole, Cosa, Pyrgi, and many other sites, where no excavations have yet been made. Future research, either by finding some of these rude tombs intact, or by discovering others of a different character, may be expected to throw light on the subject.[2]

Yet this form of sepulchre can hardly be indicative of any one race in particular. The structure is so rude and simple, that it might have suggested itself to any people, and be naturally adopted in an early state of civilization. It is the very arrangement the child makes use of in building his house of cards. This simplicity accounts for the wide diffusion of such monuments over the Old World; for they are found in different climates and widely distant countries, from the mountains of Wales and Ireland to the deserts of Barbary, and from the western shores of the Iberian Peninsula to the steppes of Tartary, and the eastern coasts of Hindostan. They are found on mountains and in plains, on continents and in islands, on the sea-coast and far inland, by the river and in the desert, solitary and grouped in multitudes.[3] That in certain instances they may

[1] The articles found in a similar tomb at Cortona, so far as can be gathered from the description of Baldelli (*ut supra*, p. 284), seem to mark it as Etruscan.

[2] The quantity of coarse broken pottery strewn over the plain hints the character of their contents; but Repetti (V. p. 207) says that in the similar tombs on the other side of Saturnia, already mentioned, were found human bones alone, without any articles of sculpture, or urns, fictile vases, and the usual furniture of Etruscan tombs. If the peasantry may be credited, the bones found here were of gigantic proportions. The very similar tombs near Santa Marinella contained articles like those found in the earliest sepulchres of Etruria, of very archaic character — some even purely Egyptian.

[3] How numerous these monuments are in the British Isles is well known. They are found also on the continent of Europe, particularly in the north of France; and also in the Spanish Peninsula, though to what extent they exist there is unknown, as the antiquities of that land have been little investigated. (See Borrow's Bible in Spain, Chapter VII.) On the shores of the Mediterranean they are particularly abundant. Besides the other two sites in Etruria, they are found in Sardinia and the Balearics; and they exist in abundance in the Regency of Tunis, in the ancient territory of Carthage, as I learn from the notes and sketches of the late Mr. Catherwood, who penetrated far into that unexplored region, and possessed artistic records of its monuments of great value and interest. From these sources I learn that the tombs of the African desert exactly accord in construction and measurements with the better-known monuments of this character. The three sites on which Catherwood found them were, Sidi Boosi, to the north-east of Hydrah, Welled Ayar, and Lheys. At the first place they were particularly numerous. I am not aware that any have been discovered in Greece, but in Asia they are not wanting. Captains Irby and Mangles describe a group of them on the banks of the Jordan. Holy Land, p. 99. They are said also to have been found among the mountains of the Caucasus, and on the steppes of Tartary; and recent researches

be the work of the same people in different countries is not to be gainsaid,[4] but there is no necessity to seek for one particular race as the constructors of these monuments, or even as the originators of the type.

I trust that this notice of the tombs of Saturnia will excite interest in this unfrequented spot, and lead to further investigation. This district of Italy is a new field to the antiquary. No excavations have been made, nor even researches for monuments above ground.[5]

From Saturnia you may proceed to Pitigliano, Sovana, and Sorano. There is a carriage-road to those places from Monte Merano, only three miles from Saturnia. On the way to it you pass the Bagni, a spring of sulphureous water, like the Bulicame near Viterbo, which falls in a cascade, encrusting the cliffs with a many-hued deposit. The table-land on which Monte Merano stands is strewn with pottery, which may possibly mark the Etruscan necropolis of Saturnia. Three miles beyond is Manciano, on a height commanding one of those glorious and varied panoramas which give such a charm to Italy. Here you are on the frontier between the former Tuscan and Roman States. The Maremma, its well-known headlands, the isle-studded deep, Saturnia in the vale of the Albegna, at the foot of Monte Amiata —are all in the Grand Duchy; while the Patrimony of St. Peter greets you in the vast Etruscan plain, with the Ponte della Badia, the towers of Montalto and Corneto, the Monti di Canino, and many other familiar objects on its wide surface, which is bounded by the dark-crested Ciminian, and the distant Apennines, a range of icy peaks, at sunset all burnished with gold—sublime as the Alps beheld from the Jura.

have brought them to light in the Presidency of Madras. In a letter read at the Asiatic Society, January 17th, 1846, Captain Newbold stated that near Chittoor in North Arcot, he had seen a square mile of ground covered with such monuments, mostly opened and destroyed by the natives for the sake of the blocks which composed them, yet a few remained entire to testify to the character of the rest. In them were found sarcophagi, with the bones of the dead, and pottery of red and black ware. They were here paved with a large slab, and entered by a circular hole in one of the upright slabs which formed the walls. For the fullest information on this subject see Fergusson's "Old Stone Monuments."

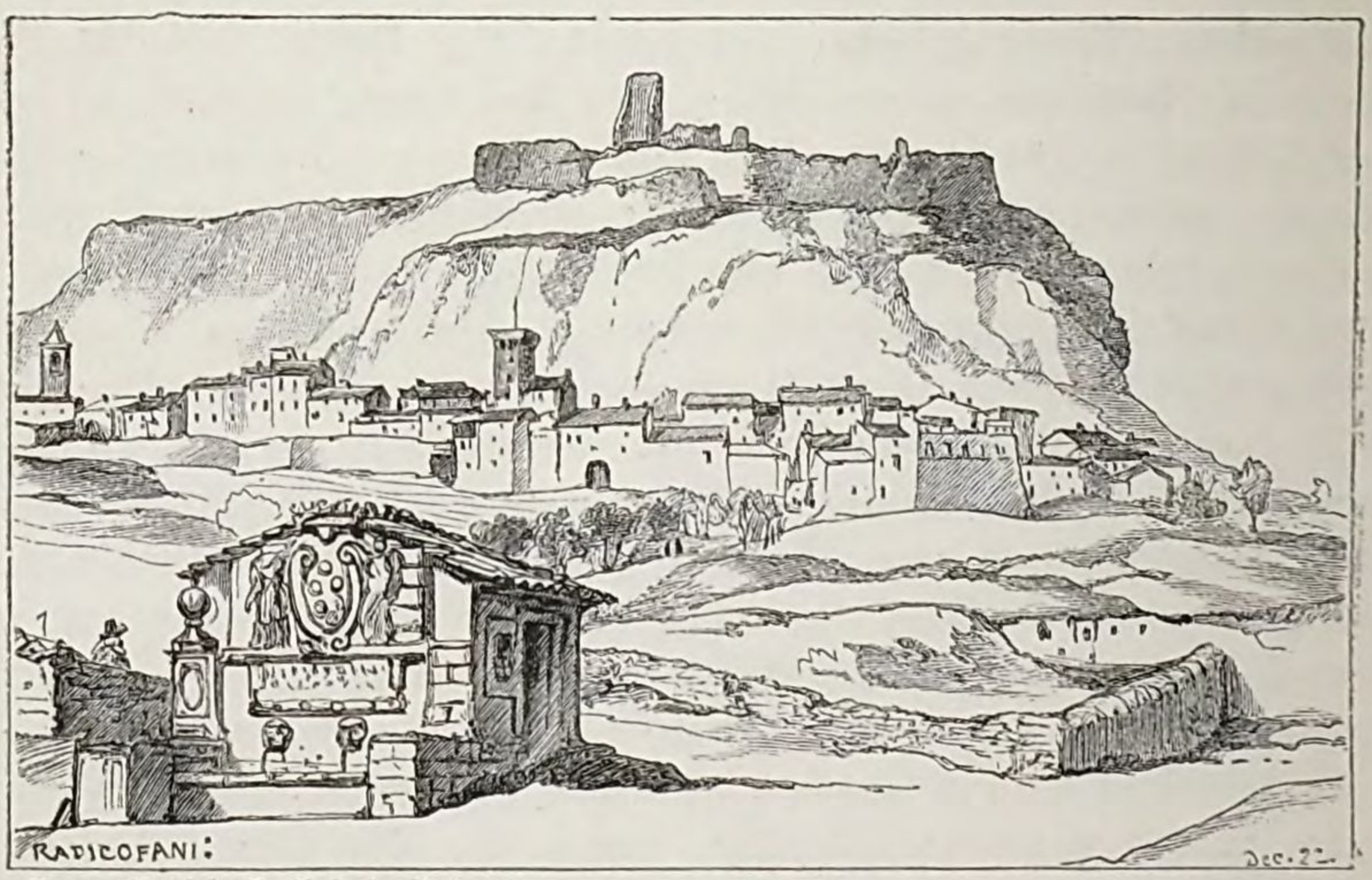
[4] In the British Isles and in France they are probably of Celtic construction. In the Peninsula and the isles of the Mediterranean they may be of Punic origin, like those in the territory of Carthage; though those of Sardinia and Etruria are more probably the work of the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi.

[5] On a hill three miles to the E.S.E. of Saturnia are some ruins, called Le Murelle. I had no opportunity of visiting them, but from the description I received I gathered that they are Roman *concamerationes*, probably the remains of a villa. On other spots in the neighbourhood there are said to be ruins.

From Manciano a road leads southward to Montalto and Corneto. There is also a track to the Ponte della Badia. Beyond Manciano, on the descent to the Fiora, some tombs and sepulchral niches in the cliffs, and fragments of pottery on the slopes, proclaim the site of an Etruscan town.[6] I could make no researches here, as the sun was on the horizon as I passed, and I had no opportunity of returning to the spot; but it seemed to me that the town must have stood on the cliff-bound height, now crested with a castle in ruins. What its name was, we have no means of determining. It may be remembered, however, that Caletra stood somewhere in this district, for Saturnia was in its territory.[7] The Fiora has here the same character as at Vulci—a rapid stream overhung by lofty cliffs, half draped with wood. The rocks are of the same formation—dark red or brown tufo, overlaid with a stratum of white travertine, like a wedding cake with its top-crust of sugar; but as the plums are not visible till the sugar has been removed, so you can see the soft volcanic rock only where the hard aqueous deposit which covers it has been broken away.

[6] It has been already stated that Campanari made slight excavations in this neighbourhood. Vol. I. p. 498.

[7] Liv. XXXIX. 55. It will be observed that Livy does not speak of a town of this name, merely of an *ager*—"Saturnia colonia civium Romanorum in agrum Caletranum est deducta;" and from this, and more clearly from Pliny's notice (III. 8)—"oppidorum veterum nomina retinent agri Crustuminus, Caletranus"—we may infer that the Etruscan town had ceased to exist before Imperial times—a fact which may assist researches for its site. It has been already observed (*ut supra*, p. 268), that Repetti suggests for Caletra a site in the neighbourhood of Magliano, and some would identify it with the newly found city between that village and the sea; but there is no reason to suppose from the only two notices we have of Caletra, that it was ever of such importance as that site would indicate, which corresponds with far more probability to the ancient Vetulonia.



From a Sketch by E. W. Cooke, R.A.

RADICOFANI.

CHAPTER LIII.

CHIUSI.—*CLUSIUM.*

The City.

I pray you let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and the things of fame,
That do renown this city.—Shakspeare.

Musæum ante omn*ia*.—Virgil.

I left my reader at the close of the last chapter on the banks of the Fiora, on the road from Saturnia to Pitigliano. I would now convey him to Chiusi, which commands the entrance to the wide valley through which

"sweet Clanis wanders
Through corn, and vines, and flowers."

The road from Pitigliano is hardly carriageable throughout. It runs through Sorano, and meets the high road from Rome to Florence either at Acquapendente, or at Ponte Centino, crossing it at the latter place and continuing through San Casciano dei Bagni, skirting the base of the wild mountain of Radicofani, to Cetona and Chiusi. The Baths of San Casciano are proved by

remains to be of ancient date.[1] Radicofani, also, which lies sixteen miles to the north of Acquapendente, though not yet recognised as an Etruscan site, has much the appearance of one. It lies in a natural pass between the two mountains of Amiata and Cetona, and the cliff-girt rock which rises to the north of the town, and is crested with the ruins of the castle where Ghino di Tacco, the robber-chief, held the Abbot of Cligny in durance, till he had cured him of his ailments by a spare diet of bread and wine, so humorously narrated by Boccaccio,[2] has so much the character of an Etruscan site that I would recommend it strongly to the attention of antiquaries.

Chiusi, is proudly situated, as becomes the capital of Porsena, on the crest of an olive-clad eminence, which rises at the southern extremity of the great Vale of the Chiana. In the opposite direction it is separated by a deep and fertile valley from a long range of wooded heights studded with towns—Cetona, with its impending castle, nearest the eye; Castiglione del Trinoro more to the north; Sarteano on the hill-brow beyond—all nestling beneath the majestic forest-clad mass of Monte Cetona. Still further to the north-west, rise, on isolated heights, Chianciano and Montepulciano, apparently blended into one. All these and others beyond the range of vision, are representatives of Etruscan towns, without name or fame, but whose antiquity is attested by the abounding cemeteries in their neighbourhood.[3]

Chiusi is the representative of Clusium, the city of the magnanimous Porsena, one of the most ancient in Italy, among the Twelve of the Etruscan Confederation;[4] indeed it would

[1] Repetti (I. p. 225; V. p. 25) takes them for the Fontes Clusini mentioned by Horace, Epist. I. 15, 9.

[2] Decam. X. nov. 2. See the woodcut at the head of this chapter, taken from a sketch by my friend Mr. E. W. Cooke, R.A.

[3] Chiusi is 5 miles from Cetona, as many from Sarteano, 8 or 9 from Chianciano, 12 from Montepulciano, 20 from Radicofani, 23 from Acquapendente, 20 from Pienza, 48 from Siena, 88 from Florence, 22 from Cortona, about 35 from Orvieto, and 40 from Arezzo.

Polybius (II. 25) says Clusium was three days' journey from Rome; Strabo (V. p. 226) calls it 800 *stadia*, or 100 miles, which is less than the distance by the modern road, and than that by the ancient Via Cassia, according to the Antonine Itinerary. See the Appendix to this Chapter.

[4] That Clusium was one of the Twelve may be inferred from her being one of the five cities which assisted the Latins against the first Tarquin (Dion. Hal. III. c. 51). It is further manifest from the prominent part she took in the war which Etruria, under her chieftain Porsena, waged against Rome. The very name of Clusium struck terror into the Senate—"non unquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit; adeo valida res tum Clusina erat, magnumque Porsenæ nomen." Liv. II. 9. So also Silius Italicus (VIII. 479),—

Antiquus Romanis mœnibus horror,
Clusinum vulgus, cum, Porsena magne, jubebas
Nequidquam pulsos Romæ imperitare Superbos.

appear that for a time, during the earliest days of the Roman Republic,

"The banner of proud Clusium
Was highest of them all."

Its original name was Camars,[5] or Camers, whence it has been inferred that it was founded by the Umbri, the earliest inhabitants of Etruria.[6] Whatever its origin, it is certain that from a very remote age it was a city of great might and importance, and that it maintained this condition throughout the period

A city, whose ruler headed the forces of the whole Etruscan State, cannot have been of second-rate importance. See Florus, I. 10; Dion. Hal. V. cap. 28, 34. Plutarch (Publicola) also says Lars Porsena had the greatest power among the princes of Italy. There is no reason, however, to believe, that though Clusium on this occasion took a prominent part among the cities of the Confederation, she was, as Dempster (II. p. 71) infers, the metropolis of Etruria.

[5] Liv. X. 25; cf. Polyb. II. 19, 5. Niebuhr (III. p. 377) thinks that Polybius here refers to Camerinum in Umbria, and says Livy remembers at an improper time that Clusium was called Camars in Etruscan.

There are certain coins with the type of a wild boar, on both sides, and the legend KA or KAM, which are ascribed to Camars, or Clusium. Yet the legend is peculiar in running from left to right, and if the letters are Etruscan, the word would be KAS. One of those illustrated by Lanzi, to the legend KA on one side, adds that of RAET, in Etruscan letters, on the other. Müller (Etrusk. I. p. 332) hints that the KAS may possibly have reference to Cisra, the native name of Cære (cf. Einl. 2. n. 40) —which city, as he remarks, had certainly as much necessity for coins as Clusium— and that "Karaet" may find its equivalent in Cærete. Certain coins, however, with this same type have the legend KAM in Etruscan characters, and running from right to left. Lanzi thinks the wild boar was an appropriate type for Clusium, characteristic of the country. Saggio, II. pp. 24, 56; tav. I. l. 2; Guarnacci, Orig. Ital. II. p. 206, tav. 8; Mionnet, Med. Ant. p. 97; Suppl. I. p. 196. Millingen, however, has pronounced all these coins to be counterfeits. Numis. Anc. Italie, p. 170. There are two other series of coins which have been assigned respectively to Clusium Vetus and Clusium Novum. On the obverse is a wheel, on the reverse an anchor, with the mark of value and the legend CH or CHA in Etruscan characters. Marchi and Tessieri, Æs. Grave, cl. III. tav. 7—9; cf. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 124. But Lepsius thinks the attribution of these coins to Camars cannot be justified on any ground. Verbreitung des Italischen Münzsystems, p. 68; Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 108.

[6] Cluver. II. p. 567; Cramer, I. p. 219. Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 12) considers the ancient name of the city, Camars, to be a proof that the Camertes of Umbria had once occupied it. Cluver thinks that these Camertes, the original inhabitants of Camars, were driven across the Tiber by the Tyrrhene-Pelasgi, and retained their ancient name in their new settlement; and that the Pelasgi gave the city the name of Clusium, from Clusius, son of Tyrrhenus the Lydian, as Servius states (ad Æn. X. 167), who however leaves its origin doubtful between Clusius and Telemachus. That Camars or Camers was an Umbrian rather than a Pelasgic name is the more probable, as it is evidently not derived from the Greek.

Mention is made of these Camertes of Umbria by Livy, IX. 36; Pliny, III. 19; Cicero, pro Balbo, 20; Strabo, V. p. 227; Sil. Italic. VIII. 463; Frontin. Strat. I. 2, 2. Pliny (loc. cit.) also mentions a Clusiolum above Interamna in Umbria. The Camers of Umbria is supposed by Cramer (I. pp. 262, 274) to have occupied the site of Camerata, a town between Todi and Amelia, but Cluver (II. p. 613) thinks it identical with Camerinum, now Camerino, on the borders of Picenum.

of Etruscan independence. Though Virgil represents it as assisting Æneas against Turnus,[7] the earliest notice of it that can be regarded as historical is that together with Arretium, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, and Vetulonia, it sent aid to the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus.[8] We hear no more of it till the Tarquins, on their expulsion from Rome, induced Porsena, its king or chief Lucumo, to espouse their cause. That war, its stirring events, its deeds of heroism, are among the cherished memories of our boyhood, and need no record here. Yet modern criticism snatches from us

"Those old credulities to nature dear,"

and would have us regard the deeds of Horatius, Scævola, Clœlia, and Publicola, as mere fictions of the old Roman minstrels, sung in the heroic "Lay of the Tarquins."[9]

When Clusium next appears in history it is as the occasion of the destruction of Rome by the Gauls. It was in the year 363 (B.C. 391), just after the capture of Veii, that one Aruns, a native of Clusium, having been dishonoured by a youthful Lucumo, his pupil, who had debauched his wife, and not being able to obtain justice from the law, owing to the young noble's rank and influence in the state, determined to have his revenge, even at the sacrifice of his country. The prototype of Count Julian, who for vengeance sold Spain to the Moslem, he induced the Senonian Gauls to take up his cause, tempting them by the figs, the oil, and above all the rich wine of Tuscany—the royal Montepulciano, it may have been—to march against Clusium. The citizens, terrified at the strange and ferocious aspect, and the vast hosts of these unlooked-for foes, sent to beg succour of Rome, though bound to her by no tie of friendship or alliance. Flattered by this compliment to their power and martial spirit, the Romans in an evil hour interfered, and diverting the fury of the Gaulish hordes from Clusium to themselves, opened the way for the capture and destruction of the Seven-hilled City.[1]

In what year Clusium fell under the Roman yoke is not

[7] Æn. X. 167.

[8] Dion. Hal. III. c. 51.

[9] Niebuhr (I. p. 551) maintains that of this war, from beginning to end, not a single incident can pass for historical. It is evident that the ancients themselves had some such suspicion, for Florus (I. 10) speaks of the heroes as "prodigies and miracles, which were they not in our annals would now-a-days be accounted fables."

[1] Liv. V. 33, 35; Dion. Hal. Excerp. Mai. XII. 24, 25; Flor. I. 13; Plut. Camillus; Diod. Sic. XIV. p. 321, ed. Rhod. Dionysius' version of the story of Aruns differs somewhat from that of Livy.

recorded; not, however, immediately after the fatal rout of the Etruscans in the year 445 (B.C. 309) at the Vadimonian Lake, though Perusia was in consequence compelled to surrender;[2] for in the year 459 (B.C. 295) a Roman legion was left before Clusium, during the war with the Etruscans, and was there cut to pieces by the Senonian Gauls, their allies.[3] In the same year also, after the great rout of the Gauls and Samnites in the territory of Sentinum, the Clusini, in conjunction with the Perusini, sustained a defeat from Cn. Fulvius the Roman proprætor.[4] We hear no more of Clusium in the time of Etruscan independence; for the next notice of it is that the Gauls marched a third time to this city, just before their defeat near Telamon in 529.[5] Clusium, with the other cities of Etruria, assisted Rome in the Second Punic War, supplying the fleet of Scipio with corn, and fir for ship-building.[6] More than a century later Sylla defeated an army of his foes near Clusium, which, it is probable, had joined others of the Etruscan cities in espousing the cause of Marius.[7] Inscriptions prove Clusium to have continued in existence under the Empire; and she seems, unlike many of her fellows, never to have been utterly desolated or deserted, but to have preserved her name and site from the remotest antiquity to the present day.[8] Yet so fallen and reduced was this illustrious city in the middle ages, principally through the pestilent vapours of the neighbouring lakes and marshes, that for eight centuries and more, says Repetti, she might be called "a city of sepulchres." Chiusi is even cited by Dante as an instance of the melancholy decay of cities—

> Se tu riguardi Luni ed Urbisaglia
> Come son ite, e come se ne vanno
> Diretro ad esse Chiusi e Sinigaglia,
> Udir come le schiatte si disfanno,
> Non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
> Poscia che le cittadi termine hanno.

[2] Liv. IX. 39, 40.

[3] Liv. X. 25, 26.

[4] Liv. X. 30.

[5] Polyb. II. 25.

[6] Liv. XXVIII. 45; cf. Sil. Ital. VIII. 479. The grain, indeed, of Clusium was celebrated for its whiteness. Columella, de Re Rusticâ, II. 6; cf. Martial, XIII. 8.

[7] Vel. Paterc. II. 28; Appian. Bell. Civ. I. 89. An inscription has been found which shows that the Clusini raised a statue to Sylla, two years after this battle, or 80 B.C. Repetti, I. p. 714.

[8] Repetti thinks the colony of Clusium Novum spoken of by Pliny (III. 8) was established by Sylla. Clusium is mentioned also by Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.), and by the Antonine and Theodosian Itineraries. The catacombs in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, moreover, prove its existence in the early ages of the Christian era; which is confirmed by the Church of S. Mustiola, built in the year 765.

Since the draining of the Val di Chiana, she has risen from her low estate, and though she no longer holds her head proudly among the cities of Italy, she has an air of snugness and respectability, with two or three thousand inhabitants, and an inn, the Leon d'Oro, of more than ordinary by-road comfort.

In his excursions to the numerous and widely scattered points of Etruscan interest around Chiusi, the visitor cannot do better than have at his elbow Pietro Foscolo, better known by his *sobriquet* Mignolino, a veteran excavator, whose skill has been tested in all parts of Etruria, and who can claim to have made all the most important discoveries of the last thirty years. I have also made proof of his ability in Sicily.

Chiusi retains few traces of Etruscan times on her site, beyond the contents of her Museum, drawn from the sepulchres around. Of her ancient fortifications some fragments are extant, but these are not sufficiently abundant or continuous to mark the precise extent or limits of the city, which must be determined rather by the nature of the ground. Where still standing, they form the foundations of the mediæval walls. A fragment of walling beneath the Duomo, near the Porta delle Torri, or di Pacciano, composed of rectangular blocks of travertine, without cement, is pointed out as Etruscan, but it is a mere reconstruction of the original walling.[9] The best portion of the ancient walls is beneath the Prato, or public promenade. This is also of travertine, of similar and rather more regular masonry; but still of small blocks, rarely exceeding three feet in length, and never so much as two in height.[1] It can be seen from the Giardino Paolozzi, adjoining the Prato. Beneath this garden, which seems the site of the ancient Acropolis, and is still called La Fortezza, are some buttresses of Roman work, under which are also a few courses of the earlier, or Etruscan masonry.

The style of all these fragments is very similar to that of Perugia and Todi, and very unlike that of the more northern cities—Fiesole, Volterra, or Cortona; the blocks being much

[9] I am surprised to find Repetti (I. p. 720) describing this masonry as "of large polygons;" when it is as horizontal as that of Perugia or Todi, though not so regular. He also errs in calling it the only fragment of the Etruscan walls. The travertine must have been brought from a distance, probably from Sarteano, for the hill of Chiusi is composed of that friable sandstone containing marine deposits, which prevails in this district of Italy.

[1] Though of *opus quadratum*, it is not *isodomon*, and the blocks are arranged without any symmetrical relation to those above or beneath them. The finest portion is below a brick arch, at the further end of the Prato. The courses vary from 15 to 21 inches in height.

smaller, the courses more uniform, and the sharpness of the edges, preserved by the hardness of the travertine, giving the whole a much more modern appearance. In the Piazza del Duomo, and in many of the buildings of the city, as well as in the fences without the walls, are large blocks of travertine, probably taken from the ancient fortifications, as this is not a local stone.

There are many relics of early days scattered through Chiusi. Fragments of architectural decorations are built into the houses. Over a well in the main street is a sphere of stone resting on a cube, with a sphinx, in a quaint style, carved on each side. On Signor Paolozzi's gate are two similar monuments, with lions instead of sphinxes.[2] But on the Prato hard by are numerous sarcophagi and urns, and a menagerie of wild beasts, more like those with which "the learned stock the constellations" than anything that ever trod terrestrial desert—the most uncouth savageness beheld or conceived, grotesque caricatures of ferocity—the majesty of the king of beasts relaxed to a ridiculous grin.

In the Paolozzi garden is a so-called "Labyrinth." The mere word brought to mind the celebrated Tomb of Porsena, described by Varro as existing at Clusium, and I eagerly rushed into the cavern. To my disappointment it was merely a natural hollow in the rock of some extent, but without a sign of labyrinthine passages.[3] But in the cliffs of this very height, immediately beneath the Palazzo Paolozzi, are some singular subterranean passages, running far into the heart of the rock, yet being half filled with water they have never been penetrated. It is asserted, however, that there are seven of these *strade*, but whether running parallel like the Sette Sale at Rome, or radiating from one point like the Seven Dials of the Great Metropolis, I could not ascertain. The only passage I saw was hollowed in the sandy rock, and rudely shaped into a vault; the marks of the chisel being very distinct. Rumour says there are many other such passages; the whole city, indeed, is supposed to be undermined by them, and by subterranean chambers, though

[2] Inghirami (Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. p. 5) gives a plate of a similar monument, with a sphinx, a lion, a griffon, and an augur with his *lituus*, on each side respectively—all of very archaic art. These were probably Etruscan *cippi*, or tombstones. They remind us of the sphere and cylinder on the tomb of Archimedes, at Syracuse—*i.e.*, on the real sepulchre discovered by Cicero (Tusc. Quæst. V. 23), not that shown now-a-days under the name.

[3] In this garden are remains of Roman baths.

what purpose they may have served is a mystery no one pretends to have fathomed.[4]

Beneath the city to the east is a slope called "Botusso," or "Campo degli Orefici," the "Jewellers' Field," from the number of *scarabei* there brought to light. For these valuable relics of ancient days, which are found much more abundantly at Chiusi than on any other Etruscan site, are very rarely the produce of her tombs, or the fruit of systematic research, but are generally the accidental discovery of the husbandman—

> "the unlettered ploughboy wins
> The casual treasure from the furrowed soil."

After heavy rains especially, something new in the shape of Etruscan *scarabei* is almost always brought to light. Why these gems should be more abundant on this spot, than on any other around the town, is matter for speculative inquiry. But there can be no doubt that this branch of ancient Etruscan art was carried on extensively, if not even exclusively, at Clusium and its neighbourhood. Other articles of jewellery, however, such as acorns of gold, and chaplets of laurel or other leaves in the

[4] One entrance to these underground "streets" is near the church of San Francesco. Another is on the Piazza del Duomo. In 1830, in lowering this Piazza, four round holes, 2 feet in diameter, were discovered, which had been formed for lighting a square chamber, vaulted over with great blocks of travertine, and divided by an arch. It was nearly full of earth, but in it were found a large flask of glass, fragments of swords, pieces of marble, and broken columns. About 100 feet distant was another light-hole, giving admission to a second vault, about 27 feet deep, but so large that its extent could not be ascertained. In the Bishop's garden, close to the Piazza, another subterranean chamber, very profound and spacious, was opened, and on one side of it was a small well. Signor Flavio Paolozzi also discovered two underground streets, about 3 feet wide and 10 high, partly built up with large squared blocks of travertine. Capitano Sozzi took them to be conduits, because many pipes of lead and terra-cotta were found in them, and because water still choked them. Bull. Inst. 1831, pp. 99–102. In 1868, Signor Gamurrini saw a number of subterranean passages on this spot, winding about in the heart of the hill, ascending and descending, in parts lying in two or three tiers, some flanked with uncemented masonry, others vaulted with a Gothic arch, and some lighted here and there by shafts sunk from the ground above. Bull. Inst. 1868, p. 133. Under the house of the Nardi Dei is also known to be a passage, opened fifty or sixty years since; and it is said that a reverend prelate once ventured to penetrate it, but found it so labyrinthine, that had he not provided himself with a clue, he would never have seen again the light of day. It is by some pretended that these subterranean passages form part of the Labyrinth of Porsena, but this opinion has no foundation. They are much more probably connected with the system of sewerage; and the subterranean chambers may have been either cellars to houses or *favissæ* to temples. However, the idea of a labyrinth has been connected with such passages for more than a century past. See Maffei, Osserv. Letter. V. p. 314. From the description given they seem to bear a close analogy to the Buche de' Saracini which are hollowed in the base of the hill on which Volterra stands. *Ut supra*, p. 158.

same metal, like those of Vulci, are discovered in the tombs of Chiusi.

Fortunately for the sight-seer, the produce of the Etruscan tombs of Chiusi, formerly scattered in numerous private collections, has recently been gathered by the Municipality into one public museum. The largest and most important of those private collections, the property of Signor Ottavio Casuccini, was sold in 1863 to the Municipality of Palermo. That of Signor Paolozzi, which ranked next in importance, has been incorporated with the Museum. There were also collections of miscellaneous character in the hands of the Conte Ottieri, Don Luigi Dei, the Signori Luccioli, Ciofi, Sozzi, and Galanti. The Bishop had a number of choice vases, the produce of his own excavations, and the canons Pasquini and Mazzetti, and the arch-priest Carducci, besides the ordinary articles, were particularly rich in *scarabei*. None of these collections now exist. The Bishop's vases are in the Museum, and the only private collections, and they are of a very limited character, are those of the Conte della Ciaja, and the Signori Giovanni Paolozzi and Remigio Mazzetti. Besides these, Signor Innocenzo Nardi has a few vases, and Signor Vincenzo Giulietti some urns. None of these collections are difficult of access. A request from a stranger will meet with prompt attention, and he will be received with all that courtesy which distinguishes the Tuscan character. As these gentlemen are willing to part with their treasures, no offence will be given by inquiring the prices.[5]

Museo Civico Chiusino.

Open every day at the visitor's pleasure. Admission half a lira; besides a small fee to the *custode*.

This Museum has been formed within the last few years, since the sale of the Casuccini collection. It comprises the greater part of the Paolozzi collection, together with the vases formerly in the possession of the Bishop of Chiusi, and the urns from those tombs which have recently been closed. The painted vases and bronzes are exhibited in a separate building. All the other articles are crammed into two rooms.

The outer room is devoted to urns and sarcophagi. The first

[5] Notices of the articles discovered during the last forty-eight years at Chiusi and its neighbourhood will be found in the publications of the Archæological Institute of Rome, *passim*.

object that strikes the eye on entering is an excellent marble bust of Augustus, with the skirt of his toga covering his head—dug up in the Bishop's garden. In strong contrast with this specimen of Roman art, there stands by its side a *canopus* of red clay, the bust of a woman, with movable head, wearing earrings of gold, and with handles in the place of arms, resting in a chair of terra-cotta. It contains the ashes of the lady whom it portrays, and the head and face are pierced with minute holes for the escape of the effluvium. Like all monuments of this Egyptian character, it is of very archaic art, and was found in one of the "*ziri*" or well-tombs, the earliest sepulchres of Etruscan Chiusi. On a square Roman altar in the same group, rests a sitting figure of a woman, twenty inches high, a miniature of that which used to excite so much astonishment in the Museo Casuccini. Like that, it is of *cispo*, or fetid limestone, a yellowish brittle material, much used in the most ancient monuments of this district. The figure is represented sitting in a curule chair, holding out a pomegranate with her left hand, as if to present it to whoever approached her. Her head is encircled with a fillet, but is not movable as usual. Like the *canopus*, this figure is at once the effigy of the deceased and the urn containing her ashes, which were found within it; in truth it is but a variety of the Etruscan practice of representing the dead reclining upon their own coffins.[6] It is in excellent preservation.

Etruscan statues in stone, be it observed, whether sitting or standing, are extremely rare, most of those extant, being either of bronze or of terra-cotta. In the inner room, however, is a half-length female figure in fetid limestone of high antiquity, generally supposed to represent Proserpine. She wears a double chaplet round her head; her hair falls in a long tress on each side to her bosom, on which her hands are crossed; and many plaits clubbed together in Egyptian style reach down her back to her waist.[7] Her eyes are large and staring, her mouth open, as if with wonder or alarm, yet neither feeling is expressed in her

[6] Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 152) regards the position of the figure in the chair as indicative of the supreme beatitude of the soul. Inghirami gives illustrations of a very similar statue found near Chiusi (Museo Chiusino, tav. 17, 18), which he takes to represent Proserpine, and thinks the ashes of the deceased were deposited in the effigy of the Queen of Hades, because the soul was supposed to be committed to her keeping. Bull. Instit. 1831, p. 55. In the faces of certain of these figures there is an ideality which favours Inghirami's view; others show an individual character, which seems to mark them as portraits.

[7] As in the figure from the Isis-tomb at Vulci. See Vol. I. p. 459.

countenance, which is remarkable for its utter want of expression. This bust was found outside a tomb at Chiusi, where it served the purpose of a *stele*. Here is also a large winged sphinx of the same material, having her hair clubbed behind the head, in the same archaic style, and she also served the purpose of a tombstone.

From this Museum the traveller will learn that the tombs of Chiusi and its neighbourhood yield articles more singular, quaint, and archaic in character, than those of any other part of Etruria, with the exception of Veii and Cære.

Among these early monuments of Etruscan art are several of the square or round pedestals of *cippi*, sometimes supposed to be altars. They are almost invariably of the fetid limestone, peculiar to this district. Their interest lies in being among the earliest and most genuinely national works of the Etruscan chisel. Though not all of the same epoch, a characteristic archaicism is always preserved: the figures are in very low, almost flat relief, and with a strong Egyptian rigidity and severity. The style, in fact, may be said to be peculiar to these monuments, and in some measure may be owing to the material, which would not admit of the finish and delicacy of the high reliefs in alabaster and travertine.[8] The subjects are also purely national—religious or funeral rites and ceremonies—public games —scenes of civil or domestic life—figures in procession, marching to the sound of the double-pipes, or dancing with Bacchanalian furor to the same instrument and the lyre. There is no introduction of Greek myths, so frequently represented on the sepulchral urns.

These pedestals, I have said, are generally of *cispo*, but here, in the inner room, is one of marble, proving that material to have been occasionally used by the Etruscans at a very early period. It had a sphinx couchant, but now headless, surmounting the cube at each angle. The scene below is in low relief, and shows a dance of women, four on each side, moving briskly to the music of the lyre and double-pipes. All wear the *tutulus*, the head-dress of Etruscan women in the earliest times, with tunics reaching half way down the leg, and heavy mantles, and in their attitudes as well as drapery, betray a very primitive style of art.[9]

[8] So brittle is this stone that it is rare to find a monument formed of it in a perfect state. Such monuments are found throughout the Val di Chiana, and a few even at Perugia.

[9] This monument has been illustrated by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 53, 54; and in the Museo Chiusino, tav. 2—5.

Another *cippus* of round form, and of travertine, is in a later style, but bears a similar subject—women dancing to the sound of the *syrinx*. It now serves as a pedestal to the large sphinx, already described.

Of similar character is a relief, once forming the front of a sarcophagus of *cispo*, representing seven male figures reclining at a *symposium*, one of whom, in the middle, playing the double-pipes, shows a full face.[1] Yet the art is most archaic. The figures have all red borders to their robes, one of many illustrations of the *toga prætexta*, which the Romans received from the Etruscans.[2] The end of the monument displays a pair of sphinxes, *vis-à-vis*, each wearing a *tutulus*.

I looked in vain in this Museum for a most interesting *cippus* which I remembered to have seen in the Paolozzi collection. It represented a death-bed scene. An Etruscan lady was stretched on a couch, around which many *præficæ*, or hired mourners, stood, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair, their cheeks, or their garments, their wailings being drowned by the shrill notes of a *subulo;* while in contrast with all this extravagance of sound and gesture, a little boy stood leaning against his mother's couch, with one hand to his head, proclaiming, as clearly as stone could speak, the intensity of his grief.[3]

One of the alabaster urns bears a relief with a subject novel and singular. A hippocamp, with the body of a Centaur, but with the tail of a fish, is galloping in one direction, brandishing a palm-tree as a lance, while a half-draped woman is escaping in the other. A vase beneath the monster's feet suggests the marriage-feast of Peirithoos, at which the contest between the Centaurs and Lapiths arose. Strings of teeth, probably of wild-

[1] There is an instance of a full face also in a *cippus* in the Casuccini Museum. With these exceptions I recollect no other instance of a full face in Etruscan paintings or reliefs of so early a date, save in the case of Gorgons, whose faces are always so represented.

[2] Liv. I. 8; Flor. I. 5; Plin. VIII. 74; IX. 63.

[3] This *cippus* has been illustrated by Inghirami, Mus. Chius. I. tav. 53–56, and by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 56. It is very similar to a relief at Perugia. Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. Z 2. But it still more resembles, as regards two of its sides, another *cippus* from Chiusi, once in the Mazzetti collection, and now in the Museum of Berlin. Abeken, Mittelitalien, taf. 8; Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 22. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 150. The *præficæ* beat their breasts, it is said, to squeeze out the milk, and tore their flesh to make the blood flow, because the souls of the dead were supposed to be pleased with milk and blood. Serv. ad Virg. Æn. V. 78; Varro, ap. eund. III. 67. By the laws of Solon and by the Twelve Tables, women were forbidden thus to tear their cheeks, and to wail for the dead. Cic. de Leg. II. 23.

boars, are represented hanging in festoons along the top of the urn, above the figures.

A glance round this Museum will show that the Etruscans of Chiusi, as of Volterra, were wont to burn rather than to bury their dead. The cinerary urns are most numerous, surrounding the outer room in a double tier, but of sarcophagi there are but three or four examples.

The sepulchral urns of Chiusi are usually of travertine, or sandstone, rarely of alabaster or marble; yet are much like those of Volterra in size and character, and differ chiefly in being generally of an earlier style of art. They more frequently retain traces of colour, both on the recumbent figures on the lids, and on the reliefs below; but the polychrome system of the Etruscans is seen to more advantage in the sepulchral urns of Cetona, Città la Pieve, and Perugia. The subjects of these reliefs are very similar, often identical with those of Volterra; and were I to give a detailed account of the "ash-chests" of this Museum, it would be little more than a repetition of what has been said of those of that city and of Florence. I shall therefore have some regard for my reader's patience, and confine my descriptions to a few of the most remarkable monuments.

These urns of Chiusi have not so frequently subjects from the Greek mythical cycle as those of Volterra. Yet such are not wanting. A bull is represented overturning a chariot and goring the horses. The driver is thrown to the earth, and a Fury with a torch bestrides his body. It is the death of Hippolytus, whose horses took fright at the bull of Neptune. His history is thus quaintly told by Spenser:—

"Hippolytus a jolly huntsman was,
That wont in charett chace the foming bore;
He all his peeres in beauty did surpas:
But ladies love, as losse of time, forbore.
His wanton stepdame loved him the more;
But when she saw her offred sweets refusd,
Her love she turnd to hate, and him before
His father fierce of treason false accusd,
And with her gealous termes his open eares abusd;

Who, all in rage, his sea-god syre besought
Some cursed vengeaunce on his sonne to cast;
From surging gulf two monsters streight were brought
With dread whereof his chasing steedes aghast
Both charett swifte and huntsman overcast.
His goodly corps, on ragged cliffs yrent,
Was quite dismembred, and his members chast
Scattered on every mountaine as he went,
That of Hippolytus was lefte no moniment."

A more common subject is the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia, who is borne by men to the altar, where the priest pours a libation, not on her, but on the hind which Diana has suddenly substituted for her. Here are others of the favourite subjects, variously treated—Paris kneeling on an altar and defending himself against his brothers, a Lasa with a long battle-axe, at his side—the mutual slaughter of the Theban brothers—Pyrrhus slaying Polites—combats of Greeks with Amazons, some of spirited design—Centaurs carrying off women. A combat before an arched gate, in which a youth is dragged from his horse by a warrior, and a man and woman are thrown to the ground, represents the death of Troilus, slain by Achilles at the gate of Troy; the Fury with a snake, and the Lasa with a torch, are Etruscan features. A most unusual subject is Laocoon, wrapt in the coils of the huge serpent, from Tenedos—

> Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos,
> Perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno;
> Clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit.[4]

The scene differs, however, from Virgil's description, in the snake being single, and in introducing but one of the old priest's sons, who lies dead at his feet, and in representing three armed men rushing up to his rescue.[5] On another urn is the wooden horse entering the arched gate of Troy; Charun with his mallet and a Fury are looking on, rejoicing in the impending slaughter. On an urn of marble is a spirited scene of the death of Priam and Cassandra at an altar on which sits a Fury with a torch; for, according to the Etruscan version, the daughter appears to have perished at the same time as her father. In point of art this is superior to most of the urns in this collection. One urn shows Orestes and Pylades sitting at the tomb of Agamemnon, with Iphigeneia and Electra standing by them in mournful attitudes.

Another exhibits a warrior scaling the walls of a city, probably Thebes, hard by an arched gateway; he is opposed by a soldier on the ramparts, behind whom stands a Fury with a torch.

Many of these urns display combats, often at altars, sometimes, it may be, representing a well-known event in classic mythology;

[4] Virg. Æn. II. 220.

[5] All ancient writers agree in representing the number of snakes which destroyed Laocoon and his sons to be two to which the names of Porkes and Chariboia were assigned by Tzetzes. Yet a marble relief discovered outside the Porta Maggiore at Rome, introduces four snakes into a scene representing the death of Laocoon. Bull. Inst. 1862, p. 50; cf. 1863, p. 11.

sometimes, an ordinary contest between warriors, without any individual reference, or illustrative of some unknown native tradition—

"The reflex of a legend past
And loosely settled into form."

The ministers of death are generally represented at such scenes, ready to carry off their victims, or rushing in between the combatants. As on an urn where a winged Fury with a torch sits on an altar between the Theban Brothers, dying by each other's hands; or where she springs from the ground between the combatants. Sometimes demons of opposite characters are present, both waiting, it would seem, to claim the soul. Charun, with his mallet, plays a conspicuous part, and is often attended by a female demon with a torch; as in a scene where they are leading away a soul between them.

These demons have occasionally neither wings, buskins, nor anything but the attributes in their hands to distinguish them from ordinary mortals. This Museum in truth, is an excellent school for the study of Etruscan demonology. What with urns, sarcophagi, and vases, we seem to have here specimens

"Of all the demons that are found
In fire, air, flood, or underground."

Marine monsters are not wanting—sea-horses—dolphins—*hippocampi;* but the favourite is Scylla, here, wielding an anchor in each hand, as if combating an invisible foe; there, armed with an oar, contending with Ulysses and his companions. She is sometimes winged, sometimes not; always with a double fish's tail.

Nor is there any lack of terrestrial monsters—griffons, centaurs, and strange chimæras—Gorgons' heads, winged and snaked, sometimes set in acanthus leaves. In one such instance the head is flanked on each side by a female Centaur in the act of rearing, who grasps a leaf in one hand, and is about to hurl a large stone with the other.

At the further end of the room are two large sarcophagi of marble, one with a male, the other with a female figure, reclining on the lid. The reliefs in both cases represent combats between Greeks and Amazons, but that on the woman's coffin is of better design, and treated with more spirit than the other. Another marble sarcophagus, near the entrance, is peculiar in being unfinished. The recumbent figure is only roughly chiselled, showing

everywhere the marks of the tool, and the scene below is only sketched out, partly in flat relief, in part merely deeply carved.

In the inner room is a sarcophagus of terra-cotta, with the recumbent effigy of a man on the lid, decorated with chaplet, torque, and ring, and with a scroll in hand. His flesh is painted red, his eyes and hair black. The sarcophagus has none of the usual reliefs, but is moulded into the form of a banqueting-couch, with cushions and with legs of elegant form, and the usual *hypopodium*, or low stool, beneath it, to enable the Ganymede or Hebe better to replenish the goblets of the revellers.

Here is also a pair of small urns with banqueting-scenes. On each a man and woman are reclining on a couch, carousing to the music of the double-pipes, but in one, the *subulo* is also reclining with them; in the other he stands as usual at the foot of the couch. These urns retain traces of colour, and are remarkable for their archaic style of art.

Another small urn, also of very early art, is in the form of a house or temple, with two lions couchant on the ridge of the roof, and several small figures painted on the walls below. This monument suggests that not only the chambers in Etruscan houses, but the external walls also, were often decorated with paintings, a custom still practised by the Tuscans, and probably derived from their Etruscan forefathers.

Round the walls are many cinerary urns of terra-cotta, found in abundance in the tombs of Chiusi. They are miniatures of those in stone, being rarely more than twelve or fifteen inches long, but the figures on the lids are not often reclining as at a banquet, but generally stretched in slumber, muffled in togas. A few of unusually large size are even in a sitting posture, decorated with very long and elaborate torques, and with finger-rings, which for size might be coveted by Pope or Sultan. One has a graceful figure of a woman in this posture, wearing a veil on her head, and gathering its folds round her neck and bosom. Her flesh, eyes, and hair are all coloured to the life. The art displayed in these large figures is superior to that usually seen in the urns of stone. Indeed these terra-cotta monuments seem in general of a better period of art. There is not much variety of subject on these urns, which seem to have been multiplied abundantly from the same moulds. The mutual slaughter of Polyneices and Eteocles, and Jason or Cadmus vanquishing with the plough the teeth-sprung warriors, are the most frequent devices. These little urns were all painted—both the figure on

the lid, coloured to resemble life, and the relief below; and many retain vivid traces of red, blue, black, purple and yellow.[6]

Some of the inferior urns of terra-cotta are bell-shaped, with inscriptions in red paint. Here are also large sepulchral tiles, 2 or 3 feet long, bearing epitaphs in Etruscan characters. Among them is a slab with a bilingual inscription, Etruscan and Latin. The Etruscan, rendered into Roman letters, would run thus:—

VL. ALPHNI. NUVI.
CAINAL.

The Latin inscription is

C. ALFIVS. A. F.
CAINNIA. NATUS.

From this it would appear that the Etruscan *prænomen* "Vel," is equivalent to the "Caius" of the Romans. We certainly learn that the suffix "al" is the Etruscan matronymic.

But the most interesting among these inscribed slabs are two which bear Etruscan alphabets. They were found in adjoining tombs in the necropolis of Chiusi, yet appear to have formed part of the same monument. One of them bears two alphabets, the other but one. From two, owing to the softness of the tufo on which they are inscribed, several letters have been obliterated. The third seems to be complete, although the earlier letters are illegible. In Greek characters they would run thus—

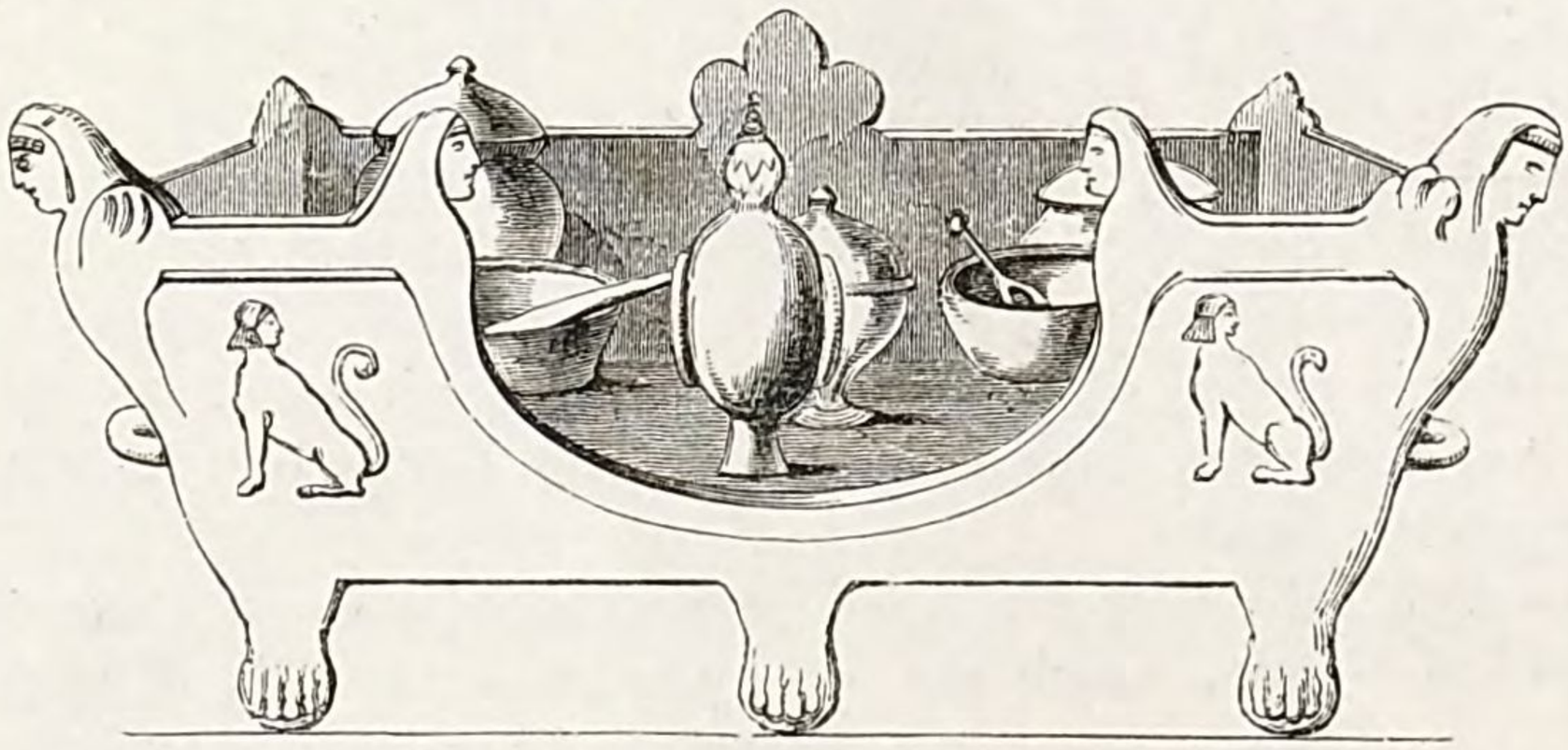
ΑΕF (digamma) ΖΗ (aspirate) ΘΙΚΛΜΝΠΦΡΤ.

This appears to have been corrected by a second alphabet in smaller characters inscribed beneath, which adds ΣΥΧΦ. The separate one is imperfect, containing the first twelve letters only of the first. The peculiarity of these alphabets is that they all run from left to right, contrary to Etruscan custom. They are considered by Signor Gamurrini, who has described and illustrated them, to be of very early date, both from the form of the charac-

[6] There was formerly a remarkable monument of this material in the Paolozzi collection, for which I looked in vain in this Museum. In the centre of the scene sat a woman with a babe at her breast, taking farewell of her husband who stood by her side. Hard by sat Charun, with his wonted hammer in one hand, and an oar in the other—a fact which removes all doubt as to the Etruscan Charon being akin to the Greek—and he was waiting to conduct his victim to the Gate of Hell, which yawned close at hand, surrounded with the heads of wild beasts, and surmounted by Furies, brandishing their torches and threatening their expected victim. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 153.—Braun.

ters, and from the absence of certain letters which are found in the alphabet of Bomarzo, and in Etruscan inscriptions on monuments of later date.[7]

The inner room contains a few good specimens of *bucchero*, the early and coarse black ware of Chiusi and its neighbourhood, which is peculiarly Etruscan, and has been described at length in the account already given of the Museum of Florence.[8] The



FOCOLARE—BLACK WARE OF CHIUSI.

great antiquity and oriental character of this ware cannot be questioned,[9] although there is reason to believe that it continued to be manufactured throughout the period of Etruscan autonomy. Tradition indeed among the Romans appears to have assigned such pottery as this to the earliest days of the City, and to royal use—

> quis
> Simpuvium ridere Numæ, nigrumque catinum,
> Et Vaticano fragiles de monte patellas,
> Ausus erat ?—JUVEN. Sat. VI. 342.

[7] Ann. Inst. 1871, pp. 156–166, tav. d'agg. L.

[8] *Vide supra*, pp. 75–80, where illustrations of this ware are also given. See also Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tavv. 22–26; Mon. Ined. tavv. 28–31; Mus. Chius. tavv. 12, 19–21, 45, 82; Noël des Vergers, Etrurie et les Etrusques, pl. 17–19.

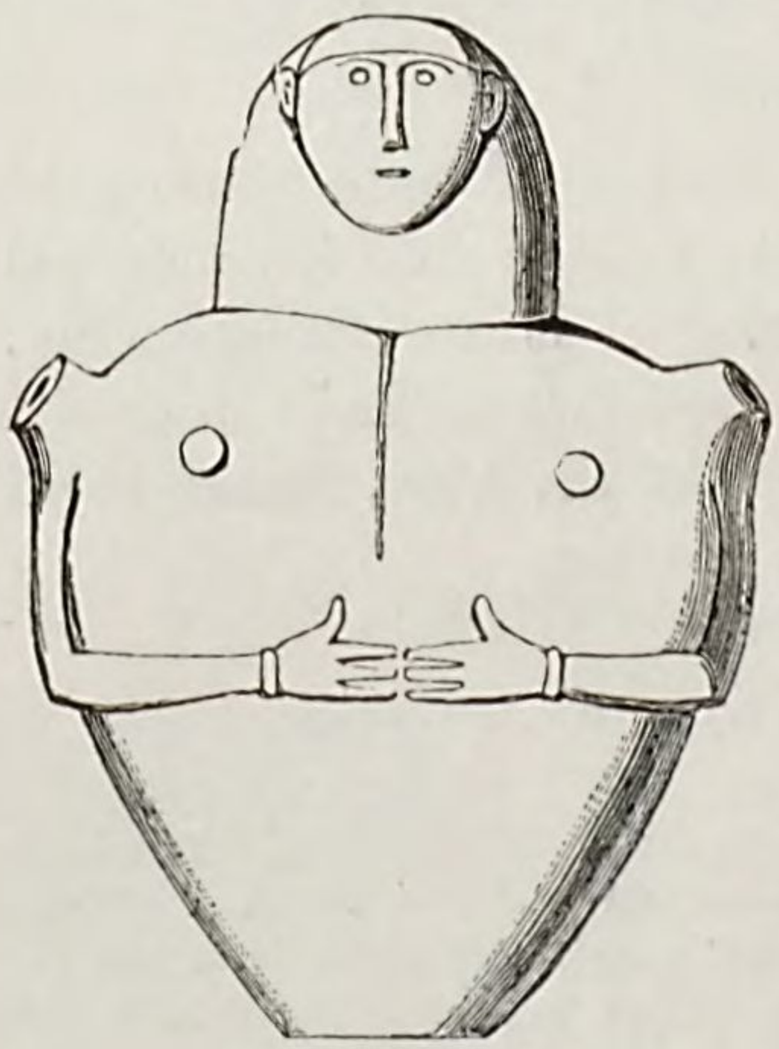
[9] If the early ware of Cære and the coast should be referred to the Pelasgic inhabitants of the land, rather than to the Etruscans, as Professor Lepsius is of opinion (Tyrrhen. Pelas. p. 44), this of Clusium, which cannot be of inferior antiquity, may have a similar origin.

It is said that this black ware is formed of no peculiar earth, and that when broken it sometimes shows a gradation of colour from the surface to the centre, where it is of the natural yellow of the clay. Depoletti and Ruspi, who differ from the ordinary opinion in considering it to be not merely sun-dried, but baked, have conjectured that the black hue was thus obtained. When moulded, the vase was put into a receptacle of larger size; the intervening space, as well as the vase itself, was filled with shavings, or sawdust, and the whole plastered over with mud, so as to prevent the escape of the smoke. Being then placed in the furnace, the woody matter carbonising by slow and equal heat, coloured the vase with its smoke. They ascertained by experiment that by this process the desired effect might be obtained. Bull. Inst. 1837, pp. 28–30.

One of the pots in this room is of extraordinary size, and has four handles. Here are also several of the so-called *focolari*, which resemble tea-trays more than any other utensil of modern times, and a specimen of which is shown in the woodcut on the last page. The pot in the middle is in the form of a cock, though, being fore-shortened, it is not clearly shown, but the beak, crest, and wings are visible.

Particularly worthy of notice is an elegant *krater* of this black ware, with two bands of reliefs, one of them displaying a series of bulls, each carrying a woman on his back, and alternating with swans. The Greek myth illustrated, and the superior art exhibited, which shows unmistakable traces of Hellenic influence, from which the ordinary *bucchero* is free, prove this *krater* to be of no archaic period of Etruscan art. Other pieces of this black ware of a late date have a metallic varnish, bright as if fresh from the potter's hands.

In this collection are some curious specimens of *Canopi*, or head-lidded jars, which are almost peculiar to this district of Etruria. They are of the same full-bellied form as those of Egypt, but always of pottery, instead of stone or alabaster; and they are surmounted, not by the heads of dogs or other animals, but always by those of men, or what are intended for such. The jar itself represents the bust, which is sometimes further marked by nipples, and by the arms either moulded on the jar, as in the annexed wood-cut, or attached to the shoulders by metal pins. These are all cinerary urns, and there is a hole either in the crown, or at each shoulder, to let off the effluvium of the ashes. The heads are portraits of the deceased, though some have imagined them to represent Pluto or Proserpine, according to the sex, seeing that the soul of the deceased had passed into the charge of those deities.[1] These



ETRUSCAN CANOPUS, MUSEO CHIUSINO.

[1] Inghirami thought the jar symbolised the world, and the head the presiding deity. It is true that in the Egyptian *canopi*, the lids are generally the heads of known divinities, but from the analogy of the Etruscan sarcophagi and urns, and of the heads in terra-cotta, it is much more reasonable to suppose them here to be por-

jars evidently bear a close analogy to the sitting statues, which are also cinerary urns. The style of art also indicates a similar archaic period.[2] They are generally in the black ware of this district, but a few are of yellow clay. The eyes are sometimes represented by coloured stones. Some have been found resting on stools of earthenware; others placed in small chairs, resembling in form the rock-hewn seats in certain tombs of Cervetri, and either of terra-cotta or of oak preserved by a calcareous coating;[3] these are probably curule chairs, indicative of the dignity of the defunct, whose ashes were deposited in the vase.

The similarity of the *canopus* illustrated in the above woodcut to the vases discovered by Dr. Schliemann among the débris at Hissarlik, which he takes to represent the "owl-faced goddess"—*θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*—is striking, and is suggestive of the cinerary character of those Trojan pots.[4] It may be that the face which Dr. Schliemann takes for that of an owl, is nothing but a primitive attempt to portray the countenance of the deceased, whose ashes, if the above suggestion be well-founded, were deposited within.[5]

Of bronzes there are sundry specimens, mirrors, *pateræ*, *candelabra*, caldrons, and other articles of culinary or sacrificial use, votive offerings, and small figures of gods or Lares, and of the chimæras which the Etruscans delighted to honour, or which were

traits. "The great variety of the countenances," says Micali, "the different ages, the various modes of wearing the hair, the purely national character of the physiognomy, the agreement of the facial angle, leave no doubt that these are veritable portraits—so much the more important, as they faithfully and without any embellishment, show us the physical type of our forefathers." Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 11. Illustrations of *canopi* are given by Inghirami, Mus. Chius. tav. 49, 67; Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. G. 5; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 14, 15; Mon. Ined. tav. 33. See also the woodcut at p. 78 of this volume.

[2] Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 151), while admitting the *canopi* to be of very early date, pronounces the statues to be as late as the seventh or eighth century of Rome. Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 275), on the other hand, thinks the *canopi* not to be of the earliest days of Etruscan art. All analogy, however, is opposed to his opinion.

[3] Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 68.

[4] Some of the Etruscan canopi, in the place of arms moulded on the vase, as in the woodcut at p. 308, have handles at the sides, just like some of the pots illustrated by Schliemann (Troy, pp. 106, 307), into which handles, arms of terra-cotta were sometimes inserted. I have seen nothing, however, in the pottery of Etruria like the upright horns on the shoulders of certain of the Trojan vases (Troy, pp. 35, 258, 267, 294), which the Doctor takes to represent the wings of the divine owl.

[5] In certain instances, as in the woodcuts at pp. 115, 268 of "Troy," the face on the pot is unquestionably human, and in others, where the humanity is less distinct, it is not easy for any one who does not hold the "owl-faced" theory to recognise the visage of the bird of wisdom, or to see more than a pair of very large and prominent optics, and a nose more or less pronounced. See the woodcuts at pp. 171, 214, 258, 283, 296 of Schliemann's "Troy."

symbols of their creed. The most remarkable objects are two square *escharæ*, or braziers, with the figure of a lion at each angle, whose tails form the handles to the utensil.

Not all the pottery in this collection is of the archaic, un-Hellenic character already described. There are specimens of figured vases and *tazze* in the various styles of Etrusco-Greek art. For while Chiusi has a pottery peculiar to itself, it produces almost every description that is found in other Etruscan cemeteries, from the plain black or yellow ware of Volterra, to the purest Greek vases of Tarquinii and Vulci; and it is a singular fact that the largest vase, the most rich in figures and inscriptions ever discovered in Etruria, "the king of Etruscan vases," was from the soil of Chiusi.[6] It must be admitted, however, that the painted ware of this district is by no means so abundant, or in general so excellent, either for clay, varnish, or design, as that of some other Etruscan sites, though occasionally articles of extreme beauty are brought to light.

The principal *roba* in pottery and bronze pertaining to this Museum of Chiusi is not here, but in a house in the main street belonging to the Municipality. It is contained in an upper room, which teems with ceramic and toreutic treasures. But your eye is at once arrested by a strange monument of unbaked, uncoloured clay, which surmounts a glass case in the centre of the chamber. It is of so uncouth and extraordinary a form, that it requires some minutes' study to resolve it into its component parts. You then perceive that it is a large pot or jar, from the lid of which rises a female figure of some size, of most archaic character, with her arms attached to her body by metal pins, with one hand raised to her mouth as if she were kissing the tips of her fingers, and the other holding a piece of fruit. A long tress of hair falls on each side over her bosom, and the rest is clubbed together behind her head, and descends quite to her heels, terminating in an ornament like a huge ring and tassel. Her *chiton*, which is open in front, is covered, both before and behind, with small square compartments recessed, so as to form a sort of check pattern incised. She rises like a giantess from a circle of eleven Lilliputian females, standing on the lid, like herself in miniature, similarly draped, tressed, and clubbed, and all with their hands on their bosoms; and lower still, ranged around the shoulder of the jar, stand seven other figures, similar

[6] *Ut supra*, pp. 81, 113 *et seq.* It was found at a spot called Fonte Rotella, about a mile west of Chiusi.

in every respect, alternating with the heads of huge snakes or dragons, with open jaws. All these figures are removable at pleasure, being merely hung on to the jar by earthen pegs. The



From a Photograph.

CINERARY POT, FROM CHIUSI.

jar itself is a sepulchral urn, and contained the ashes of the lady whose effigy stands on the lid; her body is hollow, and the effluvium passed off through a hole in the crown.

This most remarkable monument was discovered by Signor Galanti, in 1842, at a spot called Il Romitorio, about two miles

from Chiusi to the N.W. It was found in one of the "*ziri*," or well-tombs, itself inclosed in a large jar. It stands about three feet in height. Though its details find analogies elsewhere in Etruria, as a whole it is unlike any other monument now to be seen in that land, and in the uncouth rudeness of its figures and their fantastic arrangement, you seem to recognise rather the work of New Zealand or Hawaii, than a production of classical antiquity.[7]

I have said that this urn is unlike anything now to be seen in Etruria. But a monument very similar in character, though differing in the details, is in the possession of Theodore Fry, Esq., of Darlington, who has kindly allowed me to illustrate it by the woodcut on page 311. I have not seen the urn, but from Mr. Fry's description I learn that it is rather smaller than that in the Chiusi Museum, being only thirty inches in height, and having only eight women or griffons in the upper tier, and twelve in the lower. The lid has a hole in the centre, beneath a sort of handle to which the feet of the principal figure are attached and over this the figure itself is fitted. The body, as in the Chiusi monument, is hollow, and the cock or bird fits with a peg into the hole in the crown. The pot was purchased at Florence, but was said to have been found at Chiusi.

In the glass case beneath this urn are some choice figured vases. Among them is an *amphora* in the Second style, showing Achilles and Ajax playing at dice, with Pallas fully armed standing behind them in the centre of the scene. The reverse shows Dionysiac revels. Another *amphora* in the same style, shows a *quadriga* on each face; on one side "Amphiaraos" is mounting his chariot, on his departure for Thebes, and "Eriphyle" stands by with a child in her arms.

The vases presented by the Bishop occupy another glass case. Most of them are of the Third style, with red figures. One shows Hermes with *caduceus* and *talaria*, between Hercules and a nymph. Another, of late style, shows Hercules bringing the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus, who, in his terror at the beast, endeavours to hide himself in a huge *pithos* or jar.

[7] This urn is illustrated by Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 188; tav. 33; cf. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 3; Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 361. Micali takes the small female figures for Junones; and reminds us that *seven* was a sacred or mystic number among the Etruscans, as well as among the Jews, and other people of antiquity, being supposed to have relation to the term of human life. Censorin. de Die Nat. cap. XI.; Varro, ap. eund. cap. XIV. Cicero calls *seven*—numerus rerum omnium fere nodus. Repub. VI. 18; ap. Macrob. Somn. Scip. I. 6; II. 4.

Pallas follows her hero. On a *krater* Cassandra is taking refuge at the Palladium from the pursuit of Ajax; another woman, with dishevelled hair, rushes in the opposite direction. Many of the figured vases in this collection are *kylikes*, or drinking-bowls, and require particular inspection, and even handling, to distinguish the subjects depicted on them, within and without. Another case contains specimens of black *bucchero*—the early ware of Chiusi; among which a canopus of very archaic character and rude art, with handles formed of dragons' heads, is worthy of attention. There is more than one case of bronzes—vases—mirrors, figured, and some gilt, two with ivory handles—idols—*candelabra*, and sundry other articles; among which notice a bronze mask—a chafing-dish, or brazier, with seven small idols round its edge—and a canopus of this metal in a curule chair of the same, all in *sphyrelaton* or hammered work, the plates being fastened together with big nails, but the head is of terra-cotta, and does not seem to belong to the body.

As in every other collection of Etruscan antiquities in Italy, public or private, there is here no catalogue, and unless the traveller have the guidance of some learned friend, he is left to put his own knowledge to the test; for the guardians of these treasures are mere doorkeepers; and in the Museo Casuccini the visitor will look in vain for a ray of antiquarian light from the *custode*.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LIII.

NOTE I.—VIA CASSIA. See page 291.

ANTONINE ITINERARY.		PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.	
Roma.		Roma.	
Baccanas	M. P. XXI.	Ad Sextum	M. P. VI.
Sutrium	XII.	Veios	VI.
Forum Cassii	XI.	Baccanas	VIIII.
Volsinios	XXVIII.	Sutrio	XII.
Clusium	XXX.	Vico Matrini	—
		Foro Cassii	IIII.
		Aquas Passeris	XI.
		Volsinis	VIIII.
		Pallia fl.	—
		Clusio	VIIII.

The Peutingerian Table in the portion of this Via beyond Sutrium is defective and very incorrect.

NOTE II.—THE CASUCCINI COLLECTION. See page 298.

THIS was the largest private collection of Etruscan antiquities in Italy, second in the number and interest of its sepulchral urns only to the Museum of Volterra. It was the produce of many a season's excavation, by Signor Pietro Bonci Casuccini, whose grandsons sold it to the Municipality of Palermo, where it is still exhibited in a collective form. Though it is no longer in Etruria, I must not pass it by without notice, but will point out some of its most remarkable monuments.

Foremost in interest is a female figure of fetid limestone, almost as large as life, holding out a pomegranate in her left hand. It is singularly quaint and rigid, with an utter want of anatomical expression—a caricature of humanity. It looks like an effigy, not of that form which tempted angels to sin, but of a jointed doll, or an artist's lay-figure. Further examination shows this stiffness to arise from the arms, feet, head, and even the crown being in separate pieces, removable at pleasure, and fixed in their places by metal pins. The limbs were jointed, probably from the inability of the artist to carve them from the same block, or from the brittleness of the material, which would not allow of it. Red paint is to be traced on the drapery, sandals, and seat, but not on the head or limbs; female flesh being always left uncoloured on Etruscan sculptured monuments of this early date. The figure is hollow, and contained the ashes of the deceased, whose portrait it is supposed to exhibit. This figure has been styled by Mrs. Hamilton Gray (Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 475) "the gem of Chiusi," and pronounced to be "in a beautiful style of art." It were paying that lady a poor compliment to suppose she took a note to that effect. Her lively imagination, when subsequently recalling this figure, invested it with a halo it does not possess. This monument is illustrated by Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 26.

Still more uncouth and archaic, though of similar character, is the statue-urn of a man, of semi-colossal size, with loose head and jointed arms, sitting in a curule chair. The upper half of his body is bare, his flesh is deep red, his eyes and hair black, the latter trimmed short behind; yet, notwithstanding that his features have been injured, and his beard wantonly hewn from his cheeks, his face is full of expression, and it was doubtless intended for a portrait. There is not the slightest attempt at anatomical development; even the hair resembles a woollen cap, and the figure bears much affinity to the sitting statues which Mr. Newton discovered on the Sacred Way of Branchidæ, though it is on a smaller scale, and is probably of not inferior antiquity. There is a close resemblance between some of the early works of the Etruscan chisel, and those of Hellenic art of a corresponding period.[1]

[1] Let any one compare with these the terra-cotta figures of Minerva and another female found at Athens, and illustrated by Stackelberg in his Graeber der Hellenen, taf. 57, 58. They are only 5 or 6 inches high, but are in similar attitudes, and of a very analogous style of art, and are painted red, white, blue, and green, with the ornaments gilt. Sir C. Fellows gives a cut of a similar figure in terra cotta, found in a tomb near Abydos. Asia Minor, p. 81. Similar terra-cotta figures of women or goddesses sitting, are often found in the Greek cemeteries of Sicily.

A remarkable monument of this description from the tombs of Chiusi, was a group, the size of life, representing a man on a couch, embracing a winged genius who was sitting on his hip. A boy and dog stood at their feet. Even this was a cinerary urn, for in the drapery of the couch, where it was folded on the man's thigh, was a hole with a stopper, which gave access to the ashes. Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 21. What has become of this singular coffin, I cannot learn.

There are several interesting specimens of the archaic *cippi* or pedestals of fetid limestone, so characteristic of Chiusi. They are generally cubes, and bear reliefs on each face. One of these monuments shows, on each of its sides, a couple of warriors on horseback, turning from each other. They retain traces of red colour, and are in perfectly flat relief.[2]

Another *cippus* displays a judicial scene—two judges, with wands of office, sitting on a platform, with their secretary, who has *stylus* and tablets to take notes of the proceedings ; an *apparitor*, or attendant, stands by with a rod in each hand. Before the bench a warrior fully armed appears to be awaiting judgment. A woman behind him, dancing with castanets to the music of a *subulo*, seems to mark him as some victor in the public games ; or he may be a *pyrrhichcstes*. The judges are consulting as to his merits ; and their decree seems to be favourable, for the officer of the court is pointing to half a dozen skins or leathern-bottles beneath the platform, which, full of oil, probably constitute his reward.[3]

A bas-relief, not forming part of one of these monuments, but similar in style, represents several figures at a banquet, with hands and *paterœ* raised in that peculiar manner characteristic of early Etruscan art.[4] Another fragment represents a youth, with veiled head, falling to the ground.[5] On a third relief, in this archaic style, is a race of *trigæ*, or three-horse chariots—a rare subject in Etruscan sculpture. The resemblance of the details in this relief to those of similar scenes in the painted tomb of Chiusi is remarkable ; though the latter are not in so early a style of art.[6] Other fragments show races of *bigæ* or *trigæ*. Akin to them is a relief showing a contest of wrestlers, with a border of floral adornments, perfectly Assyrian ; and another with a foot-race between three naked youths. On the ground beneath each stands a jar. A *brabeutes*, or umpire, in front holds out a bag or purse to the victor, and a boy rushes forward to offer him his clothes.

But the most common subject represented on these monuments is the death-bed. On one very archaic *cippus* of coarse stone, the corpse is stretched on its couch, the helmet and greaves lie neglected beneath it, the relatives stand mourning around, the *præficæ*, or wailing-women, are tearing their hair, and the warrior's comrades on horseback have their hands to their heads in the conventional attitude of grief. On another circular *cippus* a child is closing the eyes of its parent, while the figures around are tearing their hair and beating their breasts.

On fragments of a circular *cippus* of large size are seven warriors, marching to the sound of the double-pipes ; probably part of a funeral procession. They are in a very rigid and archaic style of art, and in nearly flat relief.[7] One of them is shown in the woodcut on the following page. The *subulo* is represented wearing the *capistrum*.

Another relief displays a dance of maidens, holding hands, all draped to their feet, and with their hair hanging in long curls on their shoulders. This

[2] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 52, 1. Inghirami (Mus. Chius. tav. 1) takes them for Castor and Pollux ; but without reason, thinks Gerhard. Bull. Inst. 1831, p. 54.

[3] Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 24, 1. Helbig (Ann. Inst. 1864, p. 52) puts a funereal interpretation on this scene.

[4] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 58, 1 ; Mus. Chius. tav. 38.

[5] Micali, op. cit. tav. 52, 4 ; Mus. Chius. tav. 30. Beneath him is an inscription.

[6] Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 24, 2. The *aurigæ* have the reins round their bodies ; the horses' tails are knotted ; and the trees which are introduced are as much like paddles as those in the painted tombs of Chiusi.

[7] Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 25, 1.

is one of the earliest sculptures in this collection, of truly archaic character, the drapery showing no folds, and the figures being mere outlines; yet there is a charming simplicity and grace about the group. This was a favourite



ETRUSCAN WARRIOR, MUSEO CASUCCINI.

subject on these early monuments. On one *cippus* is a dance of nymphs, all draped, four on each side; on another, a similar dance, but with only three; in both cases the dance is regulated by the music of the lyre and *tibiæ pares* played by the women themselves. One of these monuments is surmounted by a pine-cone; the other by a lion or sphinx couchant at each angle.

Another relief shows a man reclining with a *phiala* in one hand, and a pen or feather in the other; though this has been taken for a "sacred bough."[8]

One of the most remarkable monuments in this collection is a large sarcophagus of marble, bearing on its lid the headless figure of a lady, richly draped and ornamented, holding a pomegranate in her left hand, and in too good a style to be of early date. The jewelry about her neck is very rich and curious, and its counterpart in gold has been found in the tombs of Chiusi. The relief on the body of the monument represents the farewell embrace of a married pair. He is designated "Larth Aphuna," in Etruscan characters; she has the feminine inflexion, "Aphunei;" and it is probable, from the similarity of the jewelry in each case, that this figure represents the lady who reclines in effigy above. She is gently drawn from her husband's arms by a female winged demon, the messenger of Death, whose name is almost obliterated. Another woman, named "Thanch—"[9] —a contraction of Thanchvil, or Tanaquil—probably their daughter, lays her hand on the old man's shoulder, as if to rouse him from his sorrow,

[8] Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 307; tav. 48, 4.

[9] Part of her name is obliterated, but the feminine termination . . ei, probably of Aphunei, is remaining. She has been taken for the sister, and the men for the brothers of the husband. Mus. Chius. II. p. 213. "Aphuna" seems equivalent to the Latin, Aponius, or Apponius.

and remind him of the ties which yet bind him to life. Four others of his family stand by, three of them males, each with a scroll in his hand. One of these, called "LARKE APHUNA," is evidently the son of the severed couple.[1] Next to this group stands a female demon, looking on, with some nondescript instrument under her arm.[2] She is named "VANTH." In the corner of the scene a Fury or Fate, called "CULMU," with flaming torch on her shoulder, and shears in her hand, is issuing from a gateway, the portal of Death.[3]

The cinerary urns are very numerous, and chiefly of sandstone, or travertine. Some of them have much interest, but to describe them *seriatim* would swell my page; I can only notice a few of the most remarkable.

Among them is a singular instance of portraiture. An elderly gentleman, who reclines on the urn, is represented blind. He seems to have been a noble, for he wears a signet-ring; and as a Lucumo, he was probably skilled in augury—perhaps a Teiresias, a blind seer of the will of heaven, who knew alike the past, the present, and the future—

Ὃς ἤδη τὰ τ' ἐόντα, τὰ τ' ἐσσόμενα, πρὸ τ' ἐόντα.

Another urn bears the effigies of a wedded pair reclining on it, as on the banqueting couch. He is half draped, and both are decorated with ornaments. She lies on his bosom, while he has one hand on hers, the other holding a *patera*,—a specimen of Etruscan connubials highly edifying. The relief below displays a furious combat, a contrast, perhaps, intentionally introduced to show the turmoil and struggle of this life, as opposed to the blissful repose of a future existence, which the Etruscans could only express by scenes of sensual pleasure.[4]

A singular scene on one urn shows two men kneeling on an altar, one of them holding a human head in his hand, and both defending themselves against their foes.[5]

On another urn reclines a lady, with a vase in one hand and a ponderous mace in the other—a representation quite unique.

A *patera* is a very common device on these urns, and it is generally set between a pair of *peltæ*, or half-moon shields.[6] The favourite sport of hunting the wild boar is not omitted in these sepulchral reliefs.

[1] The other males are called "VEL. ARNTNI," and "LARSA . . . . ." The female is designated "LARTHI PURNEI."

[2] It bears some resemblance to the instruments of torture used by the demons in the Grotta Tartaglia of Tarquinii. Vol. I. p. 384.

[3] Migliarini and Valeriani think the name of Culmu belongs not to the Fury, but to the gateway. Mus. Chius. II. p. 213. Mr. Isaac Taylor thinks this word alone supplies the key to unlock the Etruscan language. Etruscan Researches, p. 96. For illustrations see Mus. Chius. tav. 13, 14; and Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 60. This monument is evidently of a late period in Etruscan art, as is proved by the attitudes, full faces, and flow of drapery. The shears seem also an adoption from Greek fable, whether alluding to Atropos, who cuts the thread of life spun out by her sister Clotho, or to Proserpine, who severs the hair from the head of the doomed. Virg. Æn. IV. 698; Stat. Sylv. II. 1, 147. The material of this monument is marble, which is found in few works of the Etruscan chisel of high antiquity. It does not appear to be from the quarries of Luna. Canina declares it to be from the Circæan promontory.

[4] Mus. Chius. tav. 25, 26. Inghirami interprets this combat as Amphiaraus before Thebes, with the severed head of Menalippus in his hand.

[5] Mon. Etrus. I. tav. 58, 59; VI. tav. A 5. There are some urns with this subject in the Museum of Volterra, *ut supra*, p. 117, n. 4.

[6] The *patera* in these scenes, has been taken by a fanciful writer, whose theories distort his vision, to represent a nautical compass! Etruria Celtica, II. p. 270.

There are some sepulchral lions couchant and a pair of sphinxes in stone, with wings curled up like elephants' trunks; they were found in the tombs of the Poggio Gajella. See the woodcut at p. 352.

There are also numerous sepulchral tiles, two or three feet long, bearing Etruscan inscriptions—one in the ancient style called *boustrophedon*, rarely found on the monuments of this people. These tiles are discovered either in tombs as covers to urns, or in niches in the rock—two or three



THE ANUBIS-VASE—BLACK WARE OF CHIUSI.

being arranged so as to form a little penthouse over a cinerary urn, and the epitaph, instead of being on the urn, is sometimes inscribed on a tile.

This collection is particularly rich in specimens of *bucchero*—the primitive black ware almost limited to Chiusi and the neighbouring sites, and peculiarly Etruscan in character. The most remarkable monument in this ware, and the finest specimen of it yet brought to light, is a large jug twenty inches high, studded with grinning masks, and banded with figures, in a group of six, repeated three times round the body of the vase. The first of these figures, shown in the above woodcut, is a monster in human shape with the head of a beast, supposed to be a dog, which, from its resemblance to the

Egyptian god, is generally called Anubis.[7] Next to him is a winged deity probably Mercury the conductor of souls; then a Fury with Gorgon's head, and wings springing from her breast, is gnashing her teeth for her prey and with hands upraised seems about to spring upon it. The rest of the group represents a veiled female between two warriors, who though in the semblance of this world are supposed to have reference to the next. Various are the interpretations put upon this singular scene; but from the manifestly remote antiquity of the monument, it is probable that it bears no reference to any subject in the Greek mythical cycle, but illustrates some doctrine or fable in the long-perished creed of the mysterious Etruscans.[8]

The collection comprises also some choice painted vases. The most beautiful is a *hydria* in the best Greek style, representing the Judgment of Paris. The happy shepherd is not alone with "the three Idæan ladi...," as Spenser calls them, for Mercury, Cupid, a warrior, a female thought to be Œnone and a Victory, are also present to inspect their charms. This vase was found in the singular labyrinthine tumulus, called Poggio Gajella.[9] Another beautiful vase, a *krater*, represents the birth of Ericthonius.[1]

[7] There is no necessary relation, however, to Anubis; for there was a tradition among the ancients that monsters of this description were common in mountainous regions. Ctesias, the Greek writer on India, declared there were more than a hundred thousand of them. Plin. VII. 2. The head of this figure, however, being as much like a bull's as a dog's, may mark it as the Minotaur, which is usually so represented on painted vases.

[8] Illustrations, descriptions, and opinions of this vase are given by Inghirami, Mus. Chius. p. 29, tav. 33, 34; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 20, tav. 22; Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 63. Levezow interpreted it as Perseus, attended by Minerva, about to cut off the Gorgon's head; Mercury and genius or Gorgon in front; the swans indicating the neighbourhood of the Tritonian lake. The Duc de Luynes saw in it Ulysses conducted by Circe or a Sibyl to the infernal regions, indicated by the Gorgon, Fear, the Minotaur, and the Stymphalian birds. Ann. Inst. 1834, pp. 320–3. Cavedoni also regards it as the descent of some hero to the lower world. Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 59.

[9] An illustration and description of this vase are given by Dr. Braun in his work on the Poggio Gajella, Rome, 1840. See also Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 148.

[1] Ann. Inst. 1841, pp. 91–98. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. 30.



BIGA FROM A CHARIOT-RACE, TOMBA DEL COLLE CASUCCINI, CHIUSI.

CHAPTER LIV.

CHIUSI—*CLUSIUM.*

The Cemetery.

Have they not sword-players, and every sort
Of gymnic artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,
Jugglers, and dancers, antics, mummers, mimics?—Milton.

No Etruscan site has more general interest than Chiusi. On some the interest centres in walls; on others, in tombs; on these, in museums; on those, in historical associations. Chiusi combines all, though not to an equal extent. Her weak point is her fortifications; but for this she makes amends by her mysterious underground passages. Her excavations yield as abundantly as those of Vulci, though a different *roba;* her museums formerly might have rivalled that of Volterra; and in the extent of her necropolis, and the variety, singularity, and rich decorations of her sepulchres, she is second only to Tarquinii. As regards her painted tombs, she is certainly inferior to the city of Tarchon and Tages, and not in number merely; there is here less variety of style and subject. Nevertheless, the sepulchral paintings of Chiusi display scenes of great spirit and interest, differing in

many points from those of Corneto, for though they generally are less archaic in design, they have more of a purely native character than the wall-paintings of Tarquinii, not having been at so early a period subjected to Hellenic influences.

The tombs of Chiusi which are kept open for the visitor's inspection are not, as at Tarquinii, on one side of the city, but lie all around it, sometimes several miles apart; and as they are not all to be reached in a carriage, and as the country tracks are not easily travelled on foot after wet weather, it would be well, especially for ladies, to procure beasts in the town. These are not always to be had; and as a substitute I would recommend an ox-cart, which mode of conveyance, though primitive and homely, is preferable, after heavy rains, to the saddle, as regards comfort, cleanliness, and security. The keys of the tombs are kept by a *custode* appointed by the municipality, who must be dispatched expressly from Chiusi, to meet the visitor at the several tombs.

The most accessible of these painted sepulchres is the

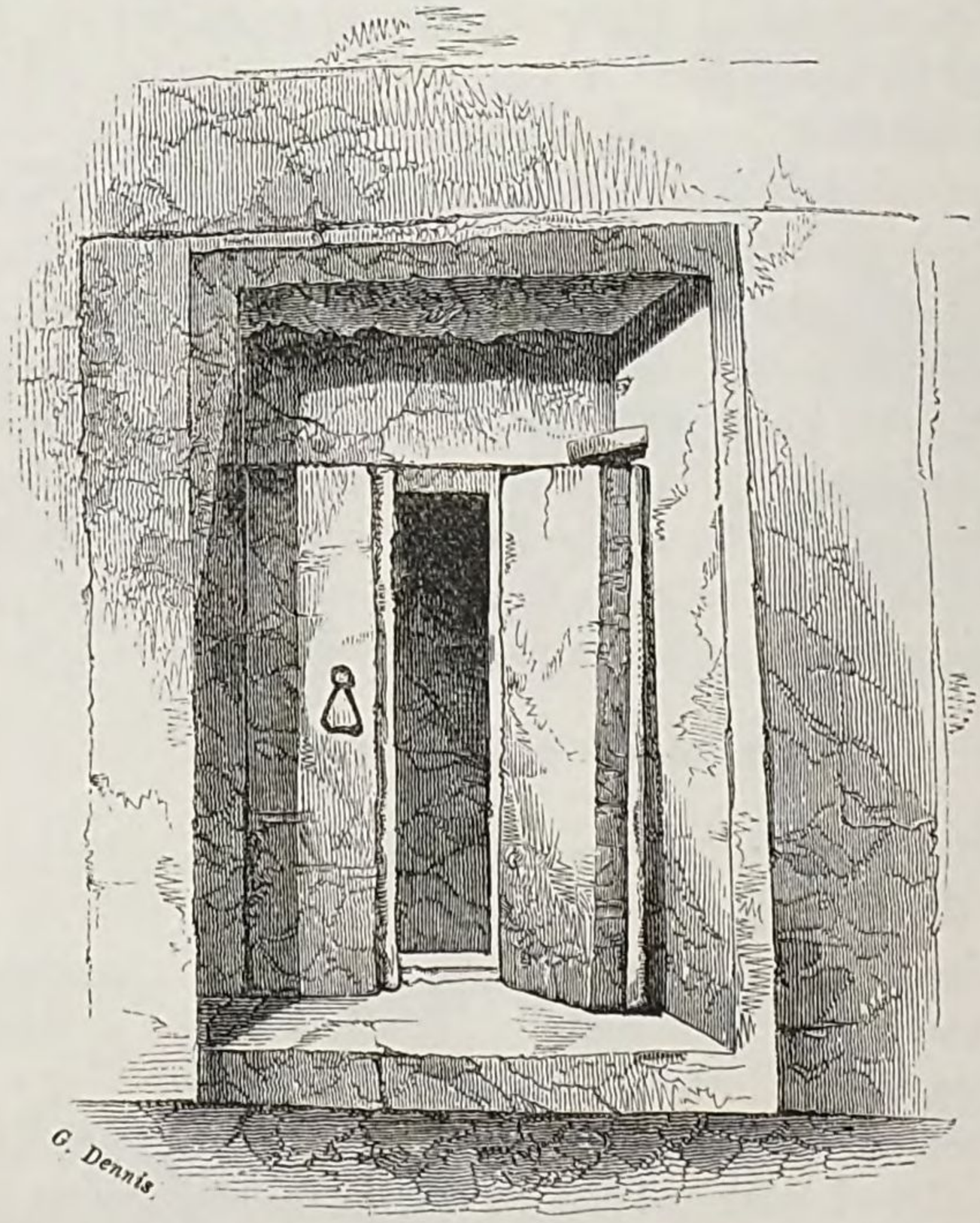
Tomba del Colle Casuccini,

which lies "a short mile" to the south-east of Chiusi. It is hollowed in the side of a hill, and is entered by a level passage cut in the slope. At Chiusi, indeed, almost all the tombs now open are entered in this manner, instead of by a descending flight of steps, as at Corneto, Vulci, and Cervetri.

The marvels of this tomb meet you on its threshold. The entrance is closed with folding-doors, each flap being a single slab of travertine. You are startled at this unusual sort of door —still more, when you hear, what your eyes confirm, that these ponderous slabs are the original doors of the tomb, still working on their hinges as when they were first raised, some twenty and odd centuries since. Hinges, strictly speaking, there are none; for the doors have one side lengthened into a pivot above and below, which pivots work in sockets made in the stone lintel and threshold; just as in the early gateways of Etruscan cities,[1] and as doors were hung in the middle ages—those of the Alhambra for instance. There can be no doubt of the antiquity of these doors; it is manifest in their very arrangement; for the lintel is a huge mass of rock buried beneath a weight of superincumbent earth; and must have been laid *after* the slabs were in their places; and it is obvious that none but those who committed

[1] *Ut supra*, p. 145.

their treasures to this sepulchre, would have taken so much labour to preserve them.[2] This was not a common mode of closing the tomb, which was generally done with one or more slabs of rock, often fitted to the doorway, and sometimes adorned with reliefs, as in the Grotta delle Inscrizioni at Tarquinii.



DOOR OF THE TOMBA DEL COLLE CASUCCINI, CHIUSI.

Just outside the door a small chamber opens on either hand, probably for the freedmen or slaves of the family. The tomb itself has three chambers, two only decorated with paintings, the third unfinished. The first is the largest,[3] and has a doorway in the centre of two of its walls, opening into the other chambers; but on the third wall is a false door recessed and painted to correspond, as in the tomb of Tarquinii just mentioned. All the doors, true or false, narrow upwards, and have the usual Etruscan

[2] This ancient doorway is shown in the above woodcut. The door is 4 ft. 4 in. high, and each leaf or flap is about 18 inches wide, and nearly 5 thick. The depth of the architrave is 16 inches. The iron handles are a modern addition.

[3] The dimensions of this chamber are about 14 feet by 10; the height to the cornice is 6 ft. 8 in., and about 7 ft. 6 in. to the central beam, which runs transversely. The tomb faces the south.

mouldings marked in colour. The ceilings are not carved into rafters as usual on other sites, but coffered in concentric squares and oblongs recessed, as in the Grotta Cardinale at Tarquinii, and painted black and red.

The paintings do not stand out forcibly, though on a white ground.[4] Beyond this, the walls have undergone no other preparation than smoothing. The rock is a sort of sandstone, which will not take a very fine surface, and therefore hardly allows of a high finish or of much force of colour.

The figures are in a band about twenty-two inches deep, which surrounds the chamber as a frieze. They are twenty-six in number, and are divided into two subjects, banquets and games, both having a funereal reference. On the portion of the frieze facing you as you enter, are the palæstric games. To the right of the central door is a race of three *bigæ*. The charioteers are dressed in white skull-caps and tunics, and the reins as usual are passed round their bodies. The horses are of meagre forms, and each pair is black and red, and red and black, alternately, the red horses having black hoofs and blue tails; the black have blue hoofs. By the side of each chariot is a tree, or what in the conventional system of the Etruscans was intended to represent such, though to our eyes it is more like a tall bullrush, or a paddle stuck into the ground, the stick being painted red, and the blade bright blue. Such trees may be intended for cypresses, either introduced as sepulchral emblems—*cupressi funebres*, or more probably to mark the goal in the circus—*metas imitata cupressus*.[5] The action of both men and horses is natural and easy; the latter especially, though with native peculiarities, have more spirit and freedom than any of those in the painted tombs of Tarquinii.[6] The foremost chariot in this race is represented passing the goal, in the woodcut at the head of this chapter. A dog, spotted black and white, is chained to a peg beneath the central *biga*.

To the left of the central door, are represented the games on foot. First is a pair of wrestlers, or it may be tumblers, for one is inverted, with his heels in the air and his body resting on the shoulders of the other, who is kneeling on one knee.[7] They

[4] This chamber is peculiar in being whitened. In most of the tombs of Chiusi, the colours are laid on no other ground than the natural rock, which is of a yellowish grey hue.

[5] Ovid. Met. X. 106. Plin. XVI. 60.

[6] The whole race-scene is very like one on a relief in the Museo Casuccini; but the latter is more stiff and archaic, and the chariots are *trigæ* instead of *bigæ*.

[7] For illustrations of Etruscan tumblers see Micali, Ital. av. Rom. tav. LVI.

strongly resemble certain figures in the painted tombs of Egypt. A *pædotribes* in blue *pallium*, and holding a wand, stands by to direct the sport. Next, a naked man, whose attitude may remind you of the celebrated dancing Faun at Naples, is boxing with an imaginary opponent,[8] to the sound of the double-pipes played by a boy behind him. A woman follows, dancing to the same music, and to the castanets which she rattles herself. Her flesh is of the same red hue as that of the men around her. She is draped with red bodice, yellow transparent gown, and a white *chlamys* or scarf on her shoulders, and wears red sandals; and in attitude as well as costume is very like the dancing-girls in the tombs of Tarquinii.[9] She is followed by another *subulo*; and then by a naked youth, with crested Greek helmet, round shield, and wavy spear, leaping from the earth as if practising an armed dance, such as the ancients were accustomed to perform.[1] The last figure is a naked man, exercising himself with *halteres*, or, in plain English, using the dumb-bells, which, with the ancients, served the same purpose as with us.[2]

[8] This figure seems at first to be beating nothing but the air with his hands, and time with his feet; but that he is a pugilist is rendered evident by a precisely similar figure in the Deposito de' Dei, who has an opponent. He has no *cestus*, though one fist is closed. Mus. Chius. tav. 182.

[9] See Vol. I. pp. 301, 319, 320.

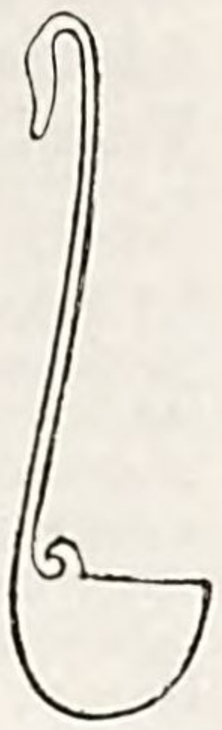
[1] This figure has been taken for that of a woman, on account of the flesh being of a rather paler hue than that of the athletes around it. Ann. Inst. 1851, p. 259. But the colour corresponds exactly with that of the young male figures in the same tomb; the figure is moreover decidedly manly in form; and there is no instance known of a naked female taking part in the funeral games represented on Etruscan monuments; especially at the comparatively late period to which the paintings in this tomb must be referred, although on Greek vases women are sometimes represented performing the Pyrrhic dance, naked, as exemplified by Dorca and Selenice on a *hydria* in the Etruscan Museum at Florence, see p. 82 of this volume. But as Athenæus (XIV. 28, 29) informs us that the Pyrrhic dance was performed by armed boys, and that at Sparta, where alone in his day, the dance was kept up, all boys above five years old were taught to dance it, as it was practised in preparation for war, we are authorised to believe that when women were represented as performers it must have been in burlesque. The probability then is that the *pyrrhichistes* depicted in this tomb was intended for a male.

That the Etruscans had armed dances is proved, not only by their painted tombs, but by other monuments, *e.g.* a silver gilt vessel in very archaic style found at Chiusi. Dempster, I. tab. 78; Inghir. Mon. Etrus. III. tav. 19. Müller (Etrusk. IV. 1, 7) is of opinion that the Etruscan *histriones*, who formed an essential part of the pageantry of the circus, danced armed, because they are compared by Valerius Maximus (II. 4, 3) to the Curetes. And the armed dances of the Salii in honour of Mars, which according to one tradition (Serv. ad Æn. VIII. 285) were of Veientine institution, Müller would refer to an Etruscan origin. The figure, however, in this painted tomb can have no relation to the Salii, who, as described by Plutarch (Numa), danced in purple robes, with brass belts, helmets, swords, and brass bucklers of a peculiar form, which are represented on a singular Etruscan gem in the Uffizj Museum at Florence, where the Salii are carrying *ancilia* in procession. *Ut supra*, p. 86.

[2] Mart. VII. 67, 5—

gravesque draucis
Halteras facili rotat lacerto—

Half of the frieze in this chamber being devoted to games, the other half is pictured with the banquet. Here are five couches, each bearing a pair of figures, all males, young and beardless, half-draped, and crowned with blue chaplets. The absence of the fair sex shows this to be a *symposium*, or drinking-bout. The gestures of the revellers, animated and varied, betray the exhilarating influence of the rosy god. One holds a chaplet, another a flower, a third a branch, apparently of myrtle, and several have *pateræ*, which the slaves are hastening to replenish. The whole goes forward to the music of the double-pipes. Each youth lies under a separate coverlet, and the colours of the cloths are contrasted with each other, and with their own borders. The couches themselves are draped with white, spotted with black crosses. Beneath each is the usual *hypopodium*, or foot-stool, here resting on lions' paws. At one end of the scene stands a tripod with a large triple *lebes*, or basin, of red earth, either a wine-cooler, or containing the beverage, mixed to the palates of the revellers;[3] and a naked slave is busied at it, replenishing wine-jugs. A second figure, who, with arm uplifted, is giving the slave directions—"*Deprome, o Thaliarche, merum diotâ!*"—is evidently the butler; and the *patera* suspended on the wall marks this corner as his pantry. Should curiosity be excited as to the costume of butlers in Italy some two or three-and-twenty centuries since, I must reply that this Etruscan worthy is "in leathers," as the Spaniards say, though not in buff, chamois, or cordovan.



SIMPULUM.

One of the slaves in this scene holds a cullender, with a handle bent into a hook, for the purpose of suspension on the rim of the wine-vessel. This is the *ethmos*, *hylister*, or *colum*, for straining the wine into the cup, and was generally of bronze. The *simpulum*, or ladle, nearly resembled it in form, the bowl being at right angles with

cf. XIV. 49; Juv. Sat. VI. 421; Seneca, Epist. XV. 4; LVI.; Pollux, X. c. 17. Seneca says they were of lead. They are here painted blue, probably to represent that metal. Those represented in this tomb are nearly of the form now in use, but on the painted vases, as on some in the British Museum, they are represented flat, of an oval form, with a hole for the insertion of the fingers (Bull. Inst. 1836, p. 29), as they are described by Pausanias (V. 26, 3) who says they are grasped in the same manner as a shield.

[3] This basin seems to answer the purpose of the *krater*, or ordinary mixing-bowl. A similar tripod with basins is shown on a bas-relief from Chiusi, representing the funeral feast and dances, in very archaic style (Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 140, tav. 23); and also on a singular sarcophagus discovered at Perugia. Mon. Ined. Inst. IV. tav. 32.

the handles, as shown in the annexed woodcut. Such *simpula*, of bronze, are occasionally found in Etruscan tombs. The handle often terminates in a swan's head and neck.

The inner chamber is of smaller dimensions, with a bench of rock on two sides. It has also a frieze of figures, here only fourteen inches high—a chorus of youths, fourteen in all; one with a *patera*, another with a chaplet, a third has the double-pipes, and a fourth a lyre, by which to regulate the dance. All are naked, with the exception of a light *chlamys* on their shoulders, or round the waist.[4]

The natural interpretation of these scenes is that they represent the funeral rites of the Etruscans. Though some antiquaries have attached a symbolical meaning to them, I see no reason why they should not represent the feasting, music, dances, and palæstric games, actually held in honour of the dead.[5] It is possible that they may be at once descriptive and symbolical. This is a point on which every one is at liberty to hold his own opinion.

The figures in these paintings are generally outlined with black or red. The colours are hardly so well preserved as in those of Tarquinii; the blues and whites are the most vivid. Yet all have been seriously injured. Let the visitor have a care

[4] This *chlamys* may be introduced merely for the sake of the colour; as it varies—red, black, blue, and white, in succession. For variety's sake also, these figures are made to alternate with trees, all painted black, both stems and foliage, and not paddle-shaped, like those in the outer chamber, but branching out with more nature and freedom than usual in Etruscan tombs. Some of these figures are painted red, others are merely sketched on the wall, with black or red outlines—carbone aut rubricâ picti. All have been carelessly scratched in before being coloured; and the artist has not always adhered to his outline, which in some cases has evidently been retouched.

[5] I may add to what has been stated elsewhere (Vol. I. pp. 323, 374), that Inghirami regards such scenes as "an apotheosis of virtuous souls"—*i. e.*, that the figures in these scenes do not represent the survivors, thus expressing their sorrow for the dead, but symbolise the souls of the departed, depicted in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, because the ancients had no other way of representing the delights of Elysium. In truth, some of them considered that the highest rewards the gods could bestow on the virtuous in another life was an eternity of intoxication. Musæus, ap. Plat. Repub. II. p. 363, ed. Steph. Inghirami thinks such an interpretation the more appropriate to the scenes in this tomb, because the usual tables for food being wanting, the figures are drinking, not eating; and souls in bliss would be served with nectar alone. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 22. But this difference merely indicates a drinking-bout instead of a regular meal—a *symposion*, not a *deipnon*. In either case it may be a funeral feast, in its late, rather than early stage. In the trees of the dancing-scene in the inner chamber, he sees the "fortunata nemora," and the "luci opaci" of the Elysian regions (Virg. Æn. VI. 639, 673), and further quotes Virgil (Æn. VI. 647) to prove the orthodoxy of the lyre in this scene.

as he moves through these tombs. The medium, whatever it was, with which the colours were laid on, having perished after so many ages, they now remain in mere powder on the walls, and may be effaced by a touch of the finger, or by the sweep of a garment.

These paintings have no *chiaro-scuro*, no perspective, no foreshortening; the faces are always in profile; the figures sometimes unnaturally elongated; the limbs clumsy; the attitudes in some cases rigid; the drapery arranged in stiff, regular folds—all features of archaic character. Yet the eyes are in profile, the sexes are not distinguished by their colour, and there are more ease and power than are usually found in connection with such signs of antiquity. They evidently show the influence of Greek art, and are of later date than any of the other tomb-paintings of Chiusi, yet can hardly belong to the period of Roman domination, still less can they be referred, as Inghirami opines, to the decadence of art.[6]

This tomb was discovered in May 1833, by accident, while making "bonifications" to the soil. It had been rifled in past ages, for nothing but fragments of pottery and urns was found within it.[7]

[6] Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 26. Dr. Brunn (Ann. Inst. 1866, p. 428) designates the general character of the paintings in this tomb as "the decadence of archaicism." While admitting the simplicity of the design, he pronounces it to be wanting in accuracy, precision, and energy, and remarks that the severity, which characterises all archaic art, is here entirely lost, without being replaced by the more elevated qualities of free art; but that instead of it we have a certain softness, which in the physiognomies fluctuates between pure ideality and decided realism. Dr. Helbig also (Ann. Inst. 1863, p. 357) points out a certain resemblance among the heads, as if ideal types had been employed in the representation of figures of every day life.

[7] Illustrations of the scenes in this tomb are given in the Museo Chiusino, tav. 181–185. For further notices see Ann. Inst. 1835, pp. 19 *et seq.*—Inghirami; Ann. 1851, pp. 255–267.—Brunn; Mon. Inst. V. tav. 32–34; Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 58.

A painted tomb, very like that just described, was opened as long since as 1734, in a hill near Poggio Montolli, about a mile from Chiusi. It has been long reclosed, but a record of it is preserved by Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. pp. 84–7. cl. II. tav. 6), who shows us a pair of wrestlers in the same singular positions—a pair of pugilists, with an oil-pot on a column hard by—the agonothete with his rod, and with a *tutulus*, or high-peaked cap—a *subulo* with double-pipes—a bearded dwarf—a charioteer in his *biga*, followed by a man with a palm-branch in token of victory—a recumbent figure with a *patera*, to indicate the banquet, though Gori takes it for the soul of the deceased—and two men, with rods and something twisted round them, which seems to be a serpent, as in the Grotta delle Bighe of Corneto; but Gori takes these figures to be centurions with their *vites*. Other figures of huntsmen, dogs, and wild beasts, all prostrate in the midst of a wood, together with two other chariots, were seen in this tomb when first opened, but they soon faded from its walls.

Deposito de' Dei.

On the opposite site of Chiusi, and about three miles from the tomb just described, was another with paintings so strikingly similar, that on entering you were ready to abuse your guide for leading you back to what you had already seen. The resemblance was not only in subject, mode of treatment, and style of art, but individual figures were almost identical, affording convincing proof that this tomb and the Tomba del Colle Casuccini were decorated by the same hand. Even in the plan, number, and arrangements of the chambers, these sepulchres exactly corresponded. Unfortunately the Deposito de' Dei had suffered so much injury; the surface of the wall had flaked off to such an extent, that it was considered useless to continue to keep it under lock and key, and it was accordingly closed a few years since, and the urns it contained were transferred to the Museo Civico of Chiusi. A description of this tomb, as it was, is given in the Appendix to this Chapter, Note I.

Deposito delle Monache.

Not far from the sepulchre de' Dei, and about a mile and a half from Chiusi, to the north-west, in a hollow, called Val d'Acqua, was the "Tomb of the Nuns," so called, not from containing the ashes of ancient religious virgins—Etruscan civilisation, so far as we can learn, never having encouraged voluntary celibacy in either sex—but from being in the grounds of the nunnery of Santo Stefano. It was a vaulted chamber of small size, rudely hollowed in the rock, and unpainted; possessing no interest beyond the preservation of its monuments, just as they were discovered—two sarcophagi, for unburnt bodies, and a number of cinerary urns, of alabaster and travertine; but these have all either been sold, or transferred to the Etruscan Museum at Florence, and the tomb is now reclosed.

These sepulchral monuments proved, by the epitaphs they bore, that this sepulchre belonged to the family of "Umrana." This is an interesting fact, for in this word we recognise the name of Umbria; and it is confirmatory of the historical record of the early relations between that country and this city of Clusium.[8]

This tomb was discovered in 1826, by some *clairvoyant* peasant,

[8] The last syllable of Umrana is but the usual augmentative, as from Titi is formed Titine, from Pumpu, Pumpuni, from Vipi, Vipina. From the known relation between Camars or Clusium, and the Camertes of Umbria (*ut supra*, p. 292), we might expect

it is said, dreaming that he had found a sepulchre on this spot. But the fact loses much of the marvellous when it is recollected that the discovery of tombs around Chiusi is of every-day occurrence; the neighbourhood being so full of them, that on any spot a man might select, he would probably meet with traces of ancient sepulture. But such is "the stuff that dreams are made of" in Italy, where the lower orders place implicit faith in them, and consult soothsayers and somnipatent books for the interpretation thereof. In lottery matters, dreams are the Italian's oracles. Before purchasing a ticket he tries to dream of "*buoni numeri;*" or if no numbers enter into his visions, the circumstances of the dream determine its character, and the phantasmagoria of his somnolent hours are translated into numerals.

In 1866 a tomb was opened at the Colle, near the Tenuta Casuccini, which had figures painted on its walls. It was a single chamber of small size, closed, instead of a door, with three large tiles, two of which bore Etruscan inscriptions. On each side-wall of the tomb was painted in black, whether merely in outline it does not appear from the description we have of them, a figure, on one side a man, on the opposite, a woman, holding a bowl, from which she seemed to be pouring a libation. Near her was drawn a bird, apparently a crow. The male figure stood in the midst of an Etruscan inscription of four lines—the epitaph, it appeared, of the man depicted on the wall, which corresponded with the inscription on one of the tiles, and also with that on a cinerary urn in the tomb, which probably contained the ashes of this gentleman. A similar agreement existed between the inscription attached to the female figure on the wall, that on the other tile with which the entrance was closed, and one on a second cinerary urn. The inscriptions seemed to mark the figures as man and wife, he being of the family of "Tiuza," she of that of "Hermne" (Herminius). The tomb is now closed.[9]

to find traces of that connection in the names of families, which, among the Etruscans, as among other nations, were often derived from regions, cities, rivers, &c.; and the discovery of a family-name of this character at Chiusi is corroborative of the historical record. It may be further observed that the appellation Livy (IX. 36) attaches to the foreign kindred of the Clusians, — "Camertes Umbri," has its equivalent in this tomb, for in one of the epitaphs the names are coupled together—"Phastia Umranei Cumerunasa"—which, divested of the adventitious terminations, would be—Umra Cumere. On an urn in the Museo Casuccini the very word Umbria, expressed as well as it can be in the Etruscan, which has no B, occurs as a family name—"Larthia Umria Puia."

[9] Conestabile, Bull. Inst. 1866, pp. 193-9.

Not far from the Tomba del Colle Casuccini, and to the east of Chiusi, was a sepulchre called Tomba del Postino, from its proprietor, the postmaster of the town, but it is now reclosed. It contained seven chambers, full of urns, the fruit of excavations made in the neighbourhood, which have now been transferred to the Museo Civico. In the cliff hard by have been discovered many urns in niches, covered with tiles.

Near this, a tomb was discovered in 1837, having two figures of the Etruscan Charun, as large as life, sculptured in high relief in the doorway, and armed with hammers as if to guard the sepulchre against violation. Unfortunately this tomb has been reclosed.[1]

TOMBA DELLA SCIMIA.

In the Poggio Renzo, or La Pellegrina, an oak-covered hill, about a mile from Chiusi to the north-east, a tomb was discovered in March, 1846, by Signor François, which was decorated with paintings of very early date, and singular interest. It is generally designated the "Monkey-Tomb."

This sepulchre since its discovery has been reopened and reclosed twice, but in 1876, I found it still preserved under lock and key. In form and arrangement it bears a resemblance to the other painted tombs, but has four chambers, all surrounded by rock-hewn benches, carved to resemble banqueting-couches. The central chamber is surrounded by a band of figures, thirty inches high, representing palæstric games. The only spectator is a lady, with a red mantle on her head, sitting beneath the shade of an umbrella, just like those of modern times, and indicative, it is probable, of her rank and dignity.[2] Her foot-stool is

[1] Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 258.

[2] Braun takes this lady to represent the spectators in general. Umbrellas and parasols—*skiadeia*—be it remembered, are as old as the sun and rain. Though of comparatively modern introduction into England, they were well-known in the olden time. In the East the umbrella has been used from time immemorial, though chiefly by the great; and proud is the oriental despot who can style himself, "Brother of the Sun and Moon, and Lord of the Umbrella." Assyrian monarchs stood beneath its shade while receiving homage from their vanquished foes; and Lycian princes sat under such shelter while directing the siege of a hostile city; as the reliefs from the ruins of Nineveh, and the coast of Lycia, now in the British Museum, satisfactorily attest. So also Persian kings are represented in the reliefs of Persepolis. The proudest trophy of the Gallic arms in Africa was the umbrella of Abd-el-Kader, till he himself shared its fate; though he was soon avenged by his victor being compelled to abandon his in a far ignobler manner. Umbrellas preserved the complexion of "the fair-cheeked" Helen, and sheltered many a fair one of Greece and Rome from Phœbus' gaze, as we learn from ancient vases, bas-reliefs, and paintings. An umbrella was introduced into the only Greek painted tomb, of which we have record, at Tritæa in Achæa, for

marked with a pair of eyes, like so many of the painted vases. In front of her is a decorated inclosure, probably intended to represent the orchestra, within which stands a *subulo* blowing his pipes for her amusement; and outside stands a woman, in yellow jacket and red gown and with a string of large brown beads crossed on her bosom, as the she-demons wear their bands, who balances a lighted *candelabrum* on her head. There are other musicians also—a minstrel with his lyre, and a trumpeter with a long horn, of the peculiar *lituus*-like form, which was an Etruscan invention.[3]

There is also a race of three *bigæ*, so often represented in these painted tombs of Chiusi, and the *brabeutes* or umpire stands in front ready to bestow a palm-branch on the victor. Under the horses' feet lie bundles in net-work, which may be intended for skins of oil, the usual prizes in such contests, often introduced into representations of ancient chariot-races; though here they have been supposed to be obstacles of some sort, thrown purposely under the chariots in order to upset them,—fair play on the turf being no better understood in those early days than at present,—and this view is borne out by the figure of a boy behind the horses in the foremost *biga*, who appears to be setting a large dog at them to make them swerve from their course. In other parts of the chamber are two other pairs of horses—one ridden by a groom, the other by a man with a javelin and by a boy with a bow—the riders in both instances being seated sideways, as horsemen are often represented on Etruscan monuments. See the woodcut at p. 333.[4] The steeds are black, red, or white, and although not of perfect forms, are not deficient in spirit.

Pausanias (VII. 22, 6) describes a beautiful young lady sitting on an ivory throne, as depicted on its walls, sheltered by an umbrella held by a maid-servant over her head. Umbrellas were borne by the men, as well as by the Maids of Athens in the days of Pericles (Aristoph. Equit. 1348; Thesmoph. 823, 829; Aves, 1508, 1550); and Roman gallants were wont to prove their devotion by holding them over their mistresses. Ovid. Art. Amat. II. 209. cf. Mart. XI. ep. 73. In this tomb of Chiusi we have proof that they were used in Etruria also. Yet though an umbrella often shadowed the rich cheek of Cleopatra, and softened the glow of Aspasia's charms, in London, the centre of modern civilisation, only a century since, Jonas Hanway was ridiculed for carrying one through the streets.

[3] This is not the circular trumpet or *cornu* represented in the Tomba Golini, at Orvieto (*ut supra*, p. 55), and on the urns of Volterra (p. 188), but it is curved at the end like a *pedum*, or *lituus*; and is of that description designated by the latter name. See Vol. I. p. 333. The curved part is supported by cross bars, and at the extremity is a ring for suspension.

[4] Braun took this peculiar position in which horsemen are depicted in Etruscan tombs to indicate their great agility and skill in horsemanship—that like the Numidians in battle, or the *desultores* of the Roman circus, they could ride a pair of horses, and spring from one to the other at pleasure. Liv. XXIII. 29; cf. Suet. Cæs. 39.

PUGILISTS, PYRRHICHISTES, AND DWARFS.—TOMBA DELLA SCIMIA, CHIUSI.

On one of the side walls are a pair of naked pugilists, boxing with the *cestus*, holding one hand open for defence, the other closed for attack; their robes on a stool between them.—A Pyrrhic dancer, in yellow armour — helm, cuirass, greaves, Argolic shield, and wavy wand, with which he seems to be striking his shield; his helmet has the two long cockades, so often represented on painted vases.—A naked figure, who seems to have been hurling a long straight lance, having a looped cord attached to it, is taking a flask of oil or wine from a boy, who also carries a bough. A dwarf with a black beard, and wearing a *tutulus* and chaplet, is teaching the

double-pipes to a youthful *subulo* of fair proportions, who has the *capistrum* bound round his cheeks. See the woodcut on p. 332.

On the opposite wall are a pair of wrestlers, in even more difficult attitudes than in the other tombs—an *agonothetes*, in blue "high-lows," standing by to see fair play—two men on horseback apparently racing, already referred to—another black-bearded dwarf, with a paddle-like leaf on his shoulder, who is being dragged forward by an athlete, bearing a similar leaf, apparently with the wish to instruct him in gymnastics, to which the little man naturally shows much reluctance.[5]



WRESTLERS, HORSE-RACERS, AND ATHLETES.—TOMBA DELLA SCIMIA, CHIUSI.

[5] These two figures have leathern pads fastened to their knees and ankles.

Dwarfs and monkeys are associated in our minds; and so apparently in those of the Etruscans. Here, amid the *athletæ*, sits an ape chained to the stump of a tree, from which new branches are sprouting. He has no apparent relation to the scene, and it may be that, like the dwarfs, he is introduced to fill an awkward space under the projecting lintel of a door.[6]

All the figures on this wall are shown in the woodcut on page 333.

It is impossible not to be struck with the mediæval character of much of this scene. It requires no great exercise of the imagination to see a castle-yard in the days of chivalry. There is the warder with his horn, the minstrel with his lyre, the knight in armour, the nun with her rosary, the dwarfs and monkey—and even some of the other figures would not be out of place. Yet the style of art, bearing a resemblance to that of the earliest tombs at Corneto, proves this to have been one of the most ancient of the painted tombs of Chiusi, and four or five centuries before the Christian era.

Below the figures is a band of the meander fret. Above them is a cornice painted with the egg and tongue pattern, and on it uo each wall is a female head with dishevelled hair.

The inner chamber has only two figures painted; a boy on each side-wall,—one holding a flask of wine or oil; the other a bill-hooked lance. Like the outer chamber this has a sepulchral couch hewn from the rock; but in one corner a square mass is left, which would hardly be intelligible, were not the arm of a chair painted on the wall above it, indicating its analogy to the curule chairs in the tombs of Cervetri.[7] The arm in this case represents a spotted snake.

In the recessed coffer in the ceiling were painted four ivy leaves, and in the corners as many Sirens, each with long dishevelled hair, and her hands to her bosom as if beating it in grief, and with two pairs of wings, like the Cherubim of the Jews.

The sexes of the figures in this tomb are as usual distinguished by their colour; the males being a strong red, the females white. Many figures were first scratched in, then drawn with strong black outlines, and filled up with colour. Some of them show that the artist made several attempts before he could draw the form to his satisfaction.

[6] Dr. Braun (Ann. Inst. 1850, p. 256) thinks these figures were not intended for dwarfs, but were represented of diminutive size, to mark them as of secondary importance, and mere accessories to the scene.

[7] Vol. I. pp. 240, 256, 276.

Dr. Helbig regards this as the earliest of the painted tombs of Chiusi, and classes it, in point of antiquity, as little subsequent to the Grotta delle Iscrizioni, G. del Morto, and G. del Barone, at Corneto, and asserts that while those sepulchres display very few traces of the Greek style, this of Chiusi shows none whatever. In this tomb, he says, "we find true Etruscan portraits, and distinguish the various characters of the individual figures; the lady who presides at the games being represented as noble and dignified; the men on horseback, active and graceful; the *pyrrhichistes*, bold and proud; the pugilists, coarse and almost bestial."[8] Dr. Brunn, on the other hand, does not consider these paintings to be of great antiquity, or even to belong to the period of advanced archaicism. They have a certain rudeness and rusticity, which is not so much a sign of antiquity, as the mark of the individual artist or school, and must not be confounded with the true characteristics of archaic art, which are here wanting. He admits, however, the true Etruscanism of the style, so entirely opposed to the principles of Greek art, and based on those of realism; for the artist would not subject himself to the laws of any particular style, but his aim was evidently to represent people as they appear to the eye in the reality of common life. In this he recognises an independent school of art, which may lay claim to be called national.[9]

Near the "Monkey-Tomb," another was opened at the same time, also containing three chambers, one of which was painted with the scene of a hare-hunt, a rare subject in Etruscan tombs, though the Grotta dei Cacciatori at Corneto has a scene of somewhat similar character.[1] The art in this tomb was very inferior, and its walls so much dilapidated, that it was not thought worthy of being kept open for public inspection, and was therefore reclosed.

Hard by these tombs a remarkable circular well or shaft has been recently discovered, sunk to a great depth in the hill, and having windows at intervals opening into tombs, of which there are supposed to be several stories, but the well has not yet been fully excavated. The absence of niches in its walls seems to

[8] Ann. Inst. 1863, pp. 342–4.

[9] Ann. Inst. 1866, pp. 429–431. For a detailed description of this tomb see Ann. Inst. 1850, pp. 251–280. E. Braun; and for illustrations, Mon. Ined. Inst. 1850, tavv. 14–16.

[1] See Vol. I. p. 311.

mark it as a means of ventilation rather than of entrance to the tombs.

Near the summit of Poggio Renzo, and not far from the "Monkey-Tomb," was opened, in 1874, a sepulchre, whose walls were painted with animals in the most archaic style. The figures were almost as large as life, and represented lions, panthers, bears, griffons, sphinxes, all winged, and depicted in threatening attitudes, or devouring their prey, and among them a goose, so often introduced, as if for contrast, among similar ferocious beasts and chimæras, on the vases of the First, or so-called Phœnician, style. The outlines were scratched on the wall, and the figures were all bichromatic, black and red, painted on the smoothed surface of the yellow rock, which was *sémé* with quaint conventional representations of leaves and flowers, as in those very archaic vases. Indeed the decorations of this tomb seemed but faithful copies, on a magnified scale, of the figures on some vases of that early period; and that they had a corresponding antiquity there could be no question, for though the sepulchre had been rifled in past ages, a relic of its original furniture was left in a *bombylios* in the same archaic style. There can be no doubt that this was one of the earliest painted tombs yet found in Etruria, although we may hesitate to regard its decorations as works of Etruscan art; and it is to be regretted that it is no longer open for inspection.[2]

On the hill-slope behind the Tomba della Scimia, is a tomb opened many years since, but which contains one of the few Etruscan inscriptions discovered on this site, graven or painted on the rock. It is cut over a large body-niche in the inner chamber, as in the tomb by the Ponte Terrano, at Civita Castellana. The inscription is legible, but does not appear to be a proper name.

This same Poggio Renzo, when further explored in 1872, was found to contain the earliest necropolis of Chiusi. Near its summit were opened a number of little tombs, lying in three rows, utterly unlike any yet described, being sunk, like shallow wells, to the depth of about a mètre, and lined with pebbles and broken stones, put together without cement. Each of them contained a single cinerary pot of *bucchero*, from 6 to 14 inches in height, of very rude formation, either entirely plain, or ornamented with geometrical patterns, scratched on the clay; and all of them had invariably one of their two handles broken. The

[2] Gamurrini, Bull. Inst. 1874, pp. 225–228.

tombs with unadorned pots, which are mostly in the highest row, nearest the crest of the hill, seem to be of earlier date than the others. In the pots of both kinds, the only articles found among the ashes of the deceased, were crescent-shaped razors of bronze, and thin plates, almost square, of the same metal, with holes for a fringe, which were supposed to have been worn as ornaments or *insignia* on the breast, and were of higher antiquity than the razors. There were also found a few *fibulæ* of bronze, some small chains linked together, and an object somewhat resembling a Latin cross, all of the same metal; but no articles of gold, silver, ivory, or amber; no rings for the ears or fingers; and no figures, either of man or beast, either scratched, or impressed, on the pots which held the ashes, were discovered in these primitive sepulchres. In one instance alone, the lid of one of the pots bore two figures embracing, which formed the handle, but so rudely fashioned were they, that they more nearly resembled a couple of bears hugging, than a pair of human beings.[3]

Still further from the town in the same direction, or to the north-east, lies the Lake of Chiusi, a piece of water about two square miles in extent, and of no great beauty, yet heightening the charms of the surrounding scenery. Though generally styled the "Chiaro di Chiusi," it is the muddiest lake I have ever seen; as golden in hue as the Tiber, the Tagus, or the Guadalquivir. Its eastern shore used to form the frontier between the Roman and Tuscan States, and at its southern extremity two towers still frown defiance at each other, and seem to say, in words which have been applied to them as names—"Béccati questo," and "Béccati quest'altro." In the olden time the chief magistrate of Chiusi used yearly to wed this little lake with a ring, as the Doges of Venice espoused the Adriatic; yet the Chiusians had no great reason to be fond of their misnamed Chiaro, for its stagnant waters render the city unhealthy in summer, in spite of its elevation.[4] The atmosphere at that season is more or less impregnated with miasma; it is always "*grossa*" sometimes even "*balorda*."

Near the Lake of Chiusi, are the Catacombs of Santa Mustiola, which are too like those of Rome and its Campagna, Naples, and Syracuse, to require particular notice.

[3] Il Canonico Brogi, Bull. Inst. 1875, pp. 216–218. These tombs in their construction, as well as in their furniture, bore a close resemblance to many of the tombs opened at Villanova, near Bologna, the ancient Felsina. See Chapter LXIV.

[4] Chiusi stands about 500 feet above the lake, and 1300 above the level of the sea.

In a slope above the lake, nearly two miles from Chiusi is the

Deposito del Gran Duca

or "del Sovrano," so called from lying in the property of the Crown. It is also known as the "Camera della Paccianese," as it lies immediately below the Podere, or farm, of that name.

I was startled on entering; so unexpected was the sight. Yet the walls blazed not with gorgeous colours—no Bacchanals danced before me—no revellers lay on their couches—no *athletæ* contended in the arena. All was colourless and sombre. But the tomb was vaulted over with a perfect arch of neat travertine masonry;[5] and on the benches around lay the urns exactly as they were found, undisturbed for more than two thousand years. If other proof were wanting, this tomb would suffice to show that the Etruscans understood and practised the arch.[6]

There are here eight urns of travertine, some without recumbent figures on their lids; and none with reliefs of great interest —Gorgon's heads, winged and snaked, among flowers or foliage —sea-divinities and winged *hippocampi*—a *patera* between two *peltæ* or half-moon shields; the most striking is a male figure riding on a panther, though with none of the attributes of Bacchus. The inscriptions, which are painted in red or black, show this to be the tomb of the Peris—one of the noble families of Clusium.[7]

The doorway of this tomb is worthy of notice. It has a lintel of a single stone, but above that is a low arch of cuneiform blocks springing from the masonry of the doorposts, which seems introduced to lessen the pressure of the superincumbent earth upon the lintel, but is, in fact, the termination of the vault within. The door was formed like that of the Tomba del Colle Casuccini, shown in the woodcut at p. 322, but one of the stone flaps now

[5] The masonry is not massive, the courses being from 10 to 18 inches high, and the blocks varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length. It is entirely without cement. The tomb is 12 feet 6 in. long, by 9 ft. 9 in. wide, which is consequently the span of the vault. The height is 7 feet 11 inches.

[6] Though now in the slope of the hill, it is probable that this tomb was originally built up as an independent structure, and then covered with earth—a method adopted, it would seem, because the ground in this part was too loose and friable to admit of a tomb being excavated.

[7] One of the male figures on these urns who is called "Au. Pursna. Peris. Pumpual," must have been of the illustrious race of Porsena by a mother of the great Etruscan family of Pumpus, or Pompeius. The other men are named "Au. Pulphna. Peris. Au. Seiantial."—"Lth. Peris. Matausnal."—"La. Pulphna. La." . . . The women are "Thania. Seianti. Perisal."—"Thana. Arntnei. Perisalisa."—"Thana. Arinei. Perisalisai."

lies on the ground outside the tomb, and the other no longer works on its hinges.[8]

It has been asserted that the measurements of this tomb correspond throughout with the multiples and divisions of the Tuscan *braccio*, which is known to be just double the ancient Roman foot; and it is hence fairly inferred that the Romans took that measure from the Etruscans, and that it has descended unaltered to the modern inhabitants of Tuscany.[9] I have often been struck with the same accordance, in the measurements of ancient masonry and tombs in Etruria, with the Tuscan *braccio*, particularly the tufo masonry, in the southern district of the land, to which I have applied the term *emplecton*, which in the majority of instances, even in the walls of Roma Quadrata, the city of Romulus, and in portions of those of Servius Tullius, shows the same accordance. It may be observed also in several other sepulchres at Chiusi. What other instance can be shown of a standard measure being handed down unchanged through so many ages?

This tomb was discovered in 1818. From the style of its urns, rather than from the character of its construction, it may be pronounced of no early period of Etruscan art.[1]

Deposito di Vigna Grande.

In an olive-sprinkled slope, facing Monte Cetona, about three quarters of a mile from Chiusi to the S.S.W., lies this tomb, discovered in 1839. It is in every respect very similar to the Deposito del Gran Duca, being formed, like that tomb, of a vault of travertine blocks surrounded by benches of similar masonry, and having its doorway closed by massive slabs working on their hinges. But it is of superior construction and of larger dimensions.[2] The vault is of beautiful and regular masonry, without cement; the blocks are about 30 inches long, and 11 inches (or half a Tuscan *braccio*) in height; and there are twenty courses over all from bench to bench. In truth the arch is perfect—as well constructed as if it were the work of the best builders of

[8] The door is six feet high, and about half as wide.

[9] See the observations of the architect Del Rosso, appended to Vermiglioli's description of this tomb, Perugia, 1819.

[1] Mr. Steuart describes a tomb near Afghan Khiu, in Phrygia, very similar to this in construction, though nearly double the size; and he assigns to it a very high antiquity. Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia, p. 5.

[2] The tomb is $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, by $9\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and about 8 feet high.

modern times, instead of dating from some centuries before Christ.

The door also, when the tomb was first opened, was perfect, composed of two slabs of travertine, as in the Tomba Casuccini; but one only of these now works, the other being broken and prostrate. Each slab had a handle of bronze, but this also has been broken off.[3] The tomb when opened, contained eight urns of travertine, the inscriptions on which showed it to be the vault of the Therini family. But the urns have now been removed to the Museo Civico, and the sepulchre stands open and neglected, and in all probability will soon be destroyed by the peasantry.[4]

Tomba d'Orfeo e d'Euridice.

About a mile or more to the west of Chiusi, in the Poggio delle Case, at a spot called I Pianacci, another painted tomb was discovered in 1846, but soon afterwards the roof fell in and choked it, and the paintings were destroyed. This is much to be regretted, for in point of design the figures in this tomb had a decided superiority over every other yet discovered at Chiusi. A description of the paintings is given in the Appendix, Note II.

In a hill near the Poggio Gajella, called Poggio Paccianesi, or del Vescovo, because it is episcopal property, is a tomb with seven chambers, arranged like *atrium* and *triclinia*, some of which bear traces of paintings; but little is now to be distinguished beyond a pair of parti-coloured lions in one of the pediments. As the tomb is often flooded, these lions may be left unbearded by those who have seen the other painted tombs. Here were found the beautiful vases, lately in the possession of the Bishop of Chiusi, and now in the Museum of that town.

The "well-tombs" of Chiusi were not confined to the Poggio Renzo, but have been found scattered singly or in groups in various parts of the necropolis, although the earliest were indis-

[3] Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 2. Each slab is 5 feet 8 inches high, by 1 foot 5 inches wide, and 4 inches thick.

[4] The inscriptions on the urns ran thus in Roman letters :—

Larth. Therini. Lth.

Lth. Therini. Umranal.

Lth. Therini. Tlesnal.

Lth. Therini. Lth. Tlesnai isa.

Tha. Tlesnei. Therinisa. Puluthnal.

Ar. Tutna. Claniu. Rathmsnal.

Thania. Tutnei—Claniunia Rathums.

putably those opened in the crest of the above-named hill. These scattered "well-tombs" were of larger size, as well as of later date, than those of the Poggio. Each of them contained a *ziro*, an enormous jar, or *pithos*, of terra-cotta, sometimes as much as two mètres high, within which were found, mixed with the ashes of the deceased, besides the usual crescent-shaped razor, objects of more value, such as bronze weapons, pots of bronze or terra-cotta, rings of gold, silver, and iron, with scarabs, or incised stones, earrings of gold or bronze; *canopi* of *bucchero*, with a human head for a lid, surmounted by a small figure, surrounded by little women and dragon's heads, precisely as in the woodcut at p. 311, all so rudely and clumsily modelled as to look like the infantile efforts of primitive art. In these *ziri*, articles in *electrum*, or an alloy of gold with silver, first appear; also of silver, ivory, and amber, though very rarely, as well as of iron, used in ornaments and weapons, and sometimes in strigils. Occasionally also a bronze mask, rudely modelled, has been found attached to the pot by little chains of the same metal. But spindles of terra-cotta frequently occur, and certain small cylinders, which seem to have served for weaving, and of which a large number are sometimes found in the same tomb. The *ziri* were covered with a slab, on which have been found ten or twelve little pots of *bucchero*, plain, or with geometrical ornaments, together with articles which seemed of culinary use, all probably employed at the funeral feast. Over these was laid another slab, and the space around the *ziro* was filled in with the charcoal of the pyre, which kept the huge urn free from the contact of the soil. In a tomb of this description were found two axes of bronze, one with a handle of iron encircled with ivory, inlaid with amber, and both of admirable workmanship.

There can be no doubt that these well-tombs are the most ancient in the necropolis of Chiusi. They bear no traces of inscriptions; the pottery they contain is hand-made, and its decorations are always geometrical, and drawn by the hand, never in relief, or stamped on the clay, as on the *bucchero* vases found in the early chamber-tombs. Gold, silver, iron, amber, ivory, are all very rare; bronze is comparatively abundant. They evidently belong to an age in which the arts of pottery and of design were in their earliest infancy.[5]

The fact that in these tombs human ashes are invariably found

[5] See an article in the Bull. Inst. 1875, pp. 216–220, by the Canonico Giovanni Brogi, from which the above account has been taken.

within the jar, proves that cremation was practised at Chiusi from the remotest times, and it seems to have continued in vogue on this site, down to the period of the Roman domination.

The wonders of the Poggio Gajella demand a separate chapter.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LIV.

Note I.—Deposito de' Dei. See page 328.

This tomb was discovered in 1826. It received its name from the family in whose ground it lay, which was about two miles from Chiusi to the north-west.[1] It contained three chambers. The frieze round the principal chamber was devoted entirely to games. Here was a race of three *bigæ*, as in the Casuccini tomb, but drawn with more variety and spirit. The steeds were springing from the ground, as in the gallop, but the middle pair was refractory, and in their rearing and plunging had broken the shaft and kicked the chariot high into the air, and the unlucky *auriga*, still holding reins and whip, was performing a somerset over their heads.[2]

There was a repetition of the subjects of the Tomba Casuccini, but with some variety. A woman was dancing with *crotala* to the music of a *subulo*, —two pugilists were boxing with the *cestus*, one being the exact counterpart of the figure in the other tomb,—a naked man armed was performing a Pyrrhic dance to the sound of the double-pipes,[3]—another leaping with the dumb-bells,—a pair of wrestlers, or tumblers, in almost the same position, with an *agonothetes* leaning on his staff and seeing fair play; and a pot of oil rested on a slender pole hard by, from which they might anoint their limbs.

In addition, there was a *discobolus*, about to cast his quoit,—a man with two long poles, perhaps javelins,[4]—a boy with two nondescript articles attached to a string,—four youths about to contend in a foot-race, under the directions of a *pædotribes*, who appeared to be marking the starting-post,— two men playing at *ascolia*, or trying to leap on to a greasy vase, over which one was stumbling unsuccessfully[5]—and a pair of figures which I can only

[1] It lay in a hill, from which it received the second name of Tomba del Poggio al Moro. Kestner described it under the name of Grotta delle Monache. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 116.

[2] Dr. Braun (Ann. Inst. 1850, p. 255) thinks the chariot is supposed to be upset by some obstacle purposely thrown in its way, as shown in the Tomba della Scimia.

[3] It is possible that this figure was intended to be hurling his lance. If so, there were depicted in this tomb all the games of the Pentathlon, or Quinquertium, viz. leaping (here with dumb-bells)—the foot-race—casting the *discus*—hurling the spear—and wrestling.

[4] Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 110), represents this man (tav. 70) as holding a long curved pole.

[5] It was not, generally vases, but leathern bottles—ἀσκοί—that were used in this sport; or goat-skins filled with wind, and greased, as Virgil (Georg. II. 384) describes them—

Mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres.

See also Pollux, IX. cap. 7. This was an amusement also of the Athenians, and it was of Bacchic character, for the goat whose skin furnished the sport had previously been sacrificed to the jolly god. The skin became the prize of him who succeeded in keeping his footing on it. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 1129. It was an amuse-

explain as an athlete, playing at ball with a boy, *i.e.*, making the boy his ball, for he had one knee to the ground, with his hand raised as if to catch the boy, whom he had tossed over his head. Hard by were a couple of stout sticks, propped against each other, which perhaps represented the spring board, by which the boy was thrown into the air.[6]

The banquets in this tomb were painted in the pediments over the side-doors. In each scene were three figures, males, reclining on cushions. One played the lyre; another held a flower; a third, a branch of olive; a fourth offered a goblet to his neighbour. In one corner a slave was busy at a mixing-vase, like that in the Tomba del Colle. In one pediment was a dog, in the other something which might be a saddle, or anything you pleased; it seemed introduced merely to fill the angle. But what was more remarkable—in each pediment one of the figures had the face of a dog; it was at least so scratched on the wall, the colour being almost effaced.

The only painting in the inner chamber was a hideous mask or Gorgon's face with tongue hanging out.[7] Here, as well as in the other two chambers, were a number of urns and other sepulchral monuments. One sarcophagus had a female figure reclining on the lid, and holding a small bird in her hand—the effigy of some Etruscan Lesbia with her sparrow, her *deliciæ*,

Quem plus illa oculis suis amabat;

and her mourning Catullus chose thus to immortalise his love and her passion in stone.

In the outer chamber the figures were on a white ground; in the inner, the Gorgoneion was painted on the native rock, which is here of a greenish grey hue.[8]

Among the sepulchral inscriptions there was one of bilingual character.[9]

NOTE II.—TOMBA D'ORFEO E D'EURIDICE. See page 340.

This tomb contained three chambers, two of which were decorated with paintings. In one, a man with a light *chlamys* on his shoulders, was playing the lyre in the midst of a group of dancers, one of whom was a woman. Antiquaries thought to see in this scene Orpheus fetching Eurydice from the shades; and the inclination of the two principal figures towards each other, and the eagerness of the nymph, who seemed running, rather than dancing,

ment much akin to the greasy pole and flitch of bacon of our own rustic fairs and merry-makings. From the action of hopping in this game, the term came to be applied to hopping on any occasion. Aristoph. loc. cit.; Pollux, II. c. 4.

[6] Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 110) designates this game, "*il salto del cavalletto.*"

[7] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 102, 4.

[8] In a tomb near this, Signor Luccioli discovered, in 1839, about a hundred vases of the black relieved ware, all glued together in a mass by the sandy earth, and in the centre was a painted *tazza* in the best style. Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 5, 61, 153.

[9] The Etruscan inscription would run thus in Latin letters, VEL. VENZILEA RHNALISLE. The Roman epitaph is

C. VENSIVS. C. F.
CAESIA NATVS.

It will be observed that the names do not seem to correspond, the "Velus" of the Etruscan, as in the other bilingual inscription, given at p. 306, being rendered by "Caius" in the Latin. Yet Kellermann seems to regard them as referring to one and the same individual. Bull. Inst. 1833, pp. 49, 51.

This tomb has been illustrated and described by Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 69, 70. III. pp. 108–111. Inghirami, Mus. Chius. II. tav. 122–133. Kestner, Ann. Inst. 1829, pp. 116–120.

towards the *citharœdus* with out-stretched arms, appeared to favour this opinion. If this were the true interpretation, the other dancers might be supposed to represent souls attracted and animated by the magic of his lyre. It might be doubted, however, if this were the real purport of the scene, not because subjects from the mythology of the Greeks are rarely depicted on the walls of Etruscan tombs, though so commonly introduced in the reliefs on sepulchral urns and sarcophagi, but rather because in its general character the scene did not differ greatly from the many other wall-paintings which represent the ordinary dances at the funeral rites. The trees, which alternated with the figures, were drawn with more truth and freedom than usual.

The other painted chamber exhibited festive scenes—males reclining at the banquet, a *subulo* playing the double-pipes, and a mixing-jar, with the figure of a Satyr painted on it, standing on the ground. On another wall a boy was bringing a pair of slippers to one of the revellers.[1]

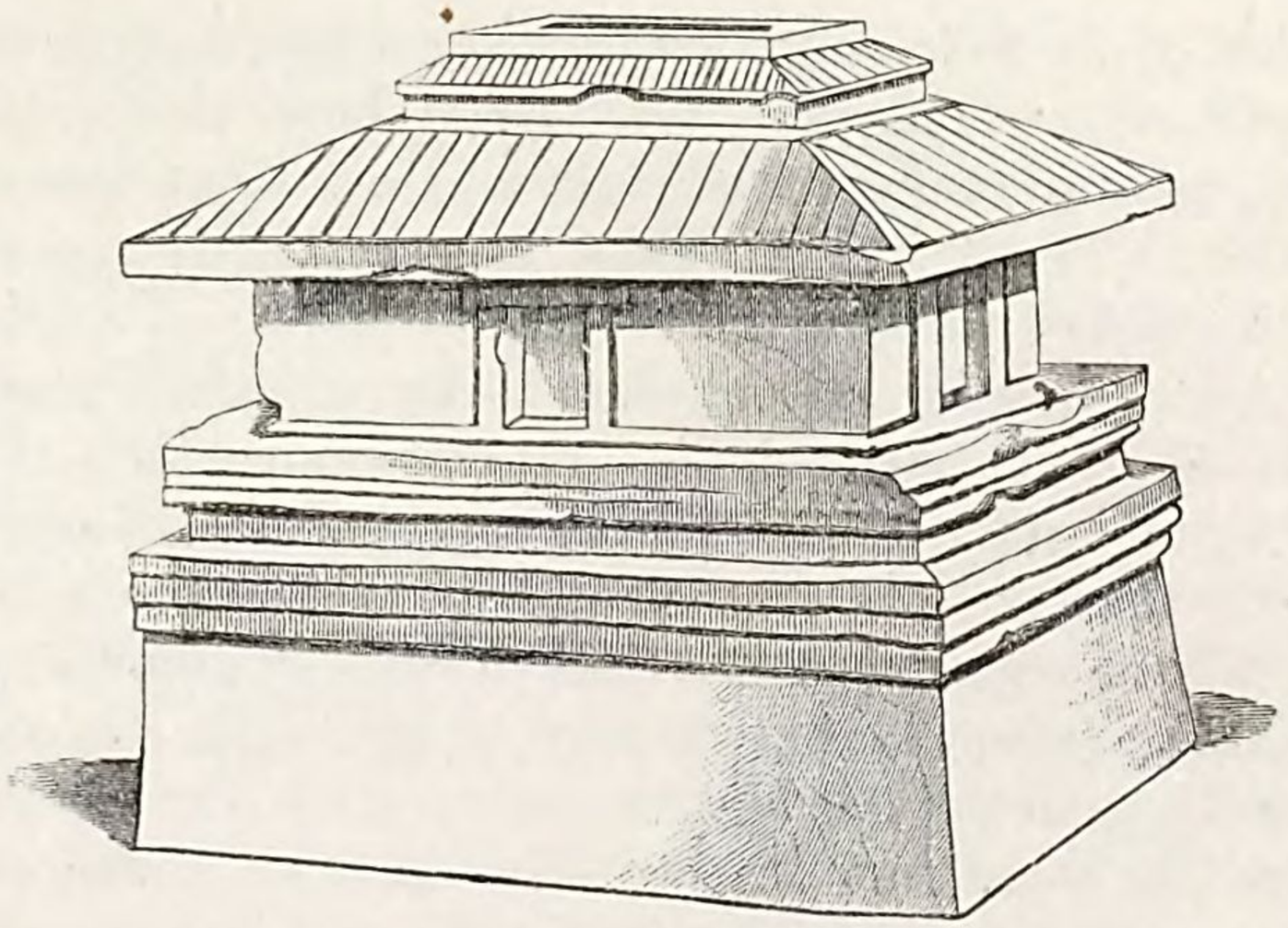
The tomb belonged to the Conte della Ciaja, by whose name it was often designated.

In point of antiquity the paintings in this tomb appear to rank between those of the Tomba della Scimia and of the Tomba Casuccini, and to belong to the second period of Etruscan art, which is designated as the Græco-Etruscan. Helbig places them after the Grotta del Citaredo, and before the Grotte Triclinio, Querciola, and Bighe of Corneto.[2] Brunn refers them to an advanced period of archaic art, a period in which, while retaining great simplicity of design and colouring, and somewhat still of Etruscan rigidity, they show a manifest development under Hellenic influence, and even betray a studious endeavour to penetrate into the spirit of Greek art. In comparison with the Tarquinian paintings specified above, he pronounces them to appear more free, harmonious, and noble.[3]

[1] For a description and illustrations of the paintings in this tomb, see Ann. Inst. 1850, pp. 280—285—Braun; Mon. Inedit. Inst. 1850, tav. 17.

[2] Ann. Inst. 1863, p. 352.

[3] Ann. Inst. 1866, p. 427.



CINERARY URN, IN THE FORM OF AN ETRUSCAN HOUSE, FROM CHIUSI.

CHAPTER LV.

CHIUSI.—*CLUSIUM.*

Poggio Gajella.

Crede mihi, vires aliquas natura sepulcris,
Attribuit; tumulos vindicat umbra suos.

SENECA.

Ut quondan Cretâ fertur Labyrinthus in altâ
Parietibus textum cæcis iter, ancipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, quà signa sequendi
Falleret indeprensus et irremeabilis error.

VIRGIL.

It is a notable fact that but one description of an Etruscan tomb is to be found in ancient writers; and that tomb was at Clusium—the mausoleum of Lars Porsena. It is thus described by Varro, as quoted by Pliny:—

"He was buried under the city of Clusium, in a spot where he has left a monument in rectangular masonry, each side whereof is three hundred feet wide, and fifty high, and within the square of the basement is an inextricable labyrinth, out of which no one who ventures in without a clue of thread can ever find an exit. On that square basement stand five pyramids, four at the angles, and one in the centre, each being seventy-five feet wide at its base, and one hundred and fifty high, and all so terminating above as to support a brazen circle and a *petasus*, from which are hung by chains certain bells, which, when stirred by the wind, resound afar off, as was formerly the case at Dodona.

Upon this circle four other pyramids are based, each rising to the height of one hundred feet. And above these, from one floor, five more pyramids, the height whereof Varro was ashamed to mention. The Etruscan fables record that it was equal to that of the rest of the structure."

This description is so extravagant, that it raised doubts even in the mind of the all-credulous Pliny, who would not commit himself by recording it, save in the very words of Varro.[1] Can we wonder that the moderns should be inclined to reject it *in toto?* Niebuhr regarded it as a mere dream,—"a building totally inconceivable, except as the work of magic,"—no more substantial than the palace of Aladdin.[2]

But at the same time that we allow such an edifice as Varro describes, to be of very difficult, if not impossible construction, we should pause before we reject the statement as utterly false and fabulous. It is the dimensions alone which startle us. Granting these to be greatly exaggerated, the structure is not impracticable. We should consider the peculiarities of its construction, and if we find an analogy between it and existing monuments, we may pronounce it to be even within the bounds of probability. A monument would hardly have been traditional, had it not been characteristic. However national vanity may have exaggerated its dimensions, or extravagantly heightened its pecu-

[1] Plin. N. H. XXXVI. 19, 4.—Namque et Italicum (labyrinthum) dici convenit, quem fecit sibi Porsenna rex Etruriæ sepulcri causâ, simul ut externorum regum vanitas quoque ab Italis superetur. Sed cum excedat omnia fabulositas, utemur ipsius M. Varronis in expositione ejus verbis:—Sepultus est, inquit, sub urbe Clusio; in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato: singula latera pedum lata tricenûm, alta quinquagenûm; inque basi quadratâ intus labyrinthum inextricabilem: quo si quis improperet sine glomere lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum pyramides stant quinque, quatuor in angulis, in medio una: in imo latæ pedum quinûm septuagenûm, altæ centum quinquagenûm: ita fastigatæ, ut in summo orbis æneus et petasus unus omnibus sit impositus, ex quo pendeant exapta catenis tintinnabula, quæ vento agitata, longe sonitus referant, ut Dodonæ olim factum. Supra quem orbem quatuor pyramides insuper, singulæ exstant altæ pedum centenûm. Supra quas uno solo quinque pyramides; quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adjicere. Fabulæ Etruscæ tradunt eandem fuisse, quam totius operis: adeo vesana dementia quæsisse gloriam impendio nulli profuturo. Præterea fatigasse regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificis esset.

[2] Niebuhr, I. pp. 130, 551. Engl. trans. Letronne (Ann. Instit. 1829, pp. 386–395) thinks it nothing more than the fragment of an Etruscan epic, preserved in the religious and poetical traditions of the country. So also Orioli, who puts on it a mystic interpretation. Ann. Inst. 1833, p. 43. The Duc de Luynes, however, and Quatremère de Quincy believed the whole tale literally, and have attempted to restore the monument from the description. Ann. Inst. 1829, p. 304–9. Mon. Ined. Inst. I., tav. 13. Canina has also made a restoration of this monument. Archit. Ant. Seg. Sec. tav. 159. The worthy father Angelo Cortenovis wrote a treatise to prove it was nothing more than a huge electrical machine.

liarities, it could not have conceived of something utterly foreign to its experience ; any more than a Druid bard could have sung of a temple like the Parthenon, or an Athenian fable have described a palace like the Alhambra. That such was the Etruscan tradition we cannot doubt, for Varro was not the man to invent a marvellous tale, or to colour a story more highly than he received it.[3]

No one can doubt that a magnificent sepulchre was raised for Lars Porsena, the powerful chieftain, whose very name struck terror into Rome, and whose victorious arms, but for his own magnanimity, might have swept her from the map of Italy. The site, too, of such a monument would naturally be at Clusium, his capital. That it was of extraordinary dimensions and splendour is likely enough ; otherwise it would not have been

"A worthy tomb for such a worthy wight"—

the greatest Etruscan prince and hero whom history commemorates ; nor would it have been thus traditionally recorded. That it had a square basement of regular masonry, supporting five pyramids, as described by the legend, is no way improbable, seeing that just such a tomb is extant—the well-known sepulchre on the Appian Way at Albano, vulgarly called that of the Horatii and Curiatii.[4] And though that tomb be Roman and of Republican date, it shows the existence of such a style in early times ; and its uniqueness also favours the antiquity of its model. Whether the analogy was carried further in this monument it is

[3] Müller (Etrusk. IV. 2, 1) is of opinion that the lower part with the labyrinth really existed, and that the upper, though greatly exaggerated, was not the mere offspring of fancy. He thinks that Varro must have seen a portion of the monument he describes—"he would hardly have gathered such precise statements from mere hearsay ; yet the upper part, from what point upwards is uncertain, was merely pictured to him by the inhabitants of the city." Niebuhr (I. p. 130), however, thinks Varro took his description from the Etruscan books. Orioli (ap. Inghir. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 167) thinks Varro's picture must have been not only consistent with the Etruscan style of architecture, but drawn from a real object, just as the palaces of Ariosto's and Tasso's imagination had evidently their originals in Italy. And Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 246) considers it, in its fundamental conditions, to be thoroughly national, and in accordance with other edifices of the land.

[4] In that instance, however, there are cones, not pyramids, but the latter word is thought by some to have had a generic application to anything having the tapering form of a flame. Canina (Ann. Inst. 1837, 2, p. 56) objects to this on the authority of Cicero (Nat. Deor. II. 18) ; who, however, merely mentions the pyramid, the cone, and the cylinder as distinct forms. Tombs with square basements of large size, either for mounds of earth, or for the support of pyramids or cones, like that of Albano, are still extant at Cervetri. Vol. I. p. 275. For the tomb at Albano, see remarks at Vol. I. p. 454.

impossible to say, for its cones now support nothing but themselves, and cannot even do that without assistance. The Cucumella of Vulci, with its walled basement and pair of towers, square and conical, and its Lydian cousin, the royal sepulchre of Sardis, with its diadem of five *termini*, though both are circular in the basement, bear also a strong affinity to the Varronian picture.[5] For further analogies it is not necessary to seek, though Varro himself suggests one for the bells; because the superstructure is just that part of the edifice, which offered a field for the imagination of the legend-mongers.[6]

But the distinguishing feature of Porsena's tomb was the labyrinth, which alone led Pliny to mention it. Here, if in any point, we may consider the tradition to speak truth; and here, as will presently be shown, a close analogy may be traced to existing monuments. Now the labyrinth being within the basement, was in all probability underground; which may account for it not being visible in Pliny's day. The upper portion of the monument, whatever it may have been, had probably been long previously destroyed in the Gallic or Roman sieges of Clusium, and the labyrinth itself, with the sepulchral chambers, may have been completely buried beneath the ruins of the superstructure, so that even its site had been forgotten.[7] That this labyrinth, however, actually had an existence, there is no ground for doubt; such is the opinion of distinguished critics who have considered the subject. Niebuhr, indeed, struck with the extravagance of Varro's description, condemned it at once as fabulous, which as an historian he was justified in doing. It is

[5] See Vol. I. pp. 452–4. The *cippi* so commonly found in Etruscan tombs, in the form of truncated cones on square pedestals —sometimes several rising from one basement—bear much analogy to the pyramids of the Clusian legend, still more to the tomb at Albano.

[6] Dr. Braun points out the analogy existing between the far-projecting roofs of Etruscan houses—as we know them from the imitations in cinerary urns—and the *petasus*, which Varro describes as resting on the lower tier of pyramids. Laberinto di Porsenna, comparato coi sepolcri di Poggio Gajella, p. 3. Such an urn, of fetid limestone, in the shape of a house, with an overhanging roof, is represented in the woodcut at the head of this chapter. Of this urn, Braun remarks, "its singular aspect recalls to every one who has regarded such monuments with an experienced eye, the peculiarities of the tomb of Porsenna." Cf. Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 150.

[7] Abeken remarks with justice, that if the monument had been entirely of masonry, it could not possibly have utterly disappeared, especially so early as Pliny's time; and thinks it was more probably a hill or mound like the Capitoline area of Rome. Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 34; Mittelitalien, p. 245. In this case, when the surrounding masonry was removed, the rest of the monument would soon lose its artificial character and sink into a natural mound; yet though all the external adornments of the tomb might have perished, the labyrinth, being in all probability excavated in the rock, must have remained.

the province of the antiquary to examine the details and consider how far they are supported by reason and analogy. Müller, therefore, makes a decided distinction between the upper and lower part of the structure, and is of opinion, not only that the latter with the labyrinth, had an existence, but that it was still extant in the days of Varro.[8]

It is not idle then to believe that some vestiges of this labyrinth may still exist, and to expect that it may yet be brought to light. If subterranean, it was in all probability excavated in the rock, and traces of it would not easily be effaced. In truth it has often been sought, and found—in the opinion of the seekers, who have generally placed it on the site of Chiusi itself, in the subterranean passages of the garden Paolozzi, or in those beneath the city; misled perhaps by Pliny's expression, "*sub urbe Clusio.*" But that such was its position, the general analogy of the sepulchral economy of the Etruscans forbids us to believe. It was more probably outside the walls, and if it were in one of the valleys around, it would be equally "below the city."

Some few years since, the attention of the antiquarian world was much drawn to the tomb of Porsena, in consequence of the discovery at Chiusi of a monument not only novel in character, but with peculiarities strikingly analogous, and in extent surpassing every other Etruscan sepulchre.

About three miles to the north of Chiusi is a hill called Poggio Gajella, the termination of the range on which the city stands.

There is nothing remarkable in the appearance of this height; it is of the yellow arenaceous earth so common in this district;[9] its crest is of the same conical form as most of the hills around, and it is covered with a light wood of oaks. There was no reason to suspect the existence of ancient sepulchres; for it was not a mere tumulus, but a hill, raised by nature, not by art. Yet it has proved to be a vast sepulchre, or rather a cemetery in itself—a *polyandrion*—an isolated city of the dead—situated like other ancient cities on the summit of a hill—fenced around with walls and fosse, filled with the abodes of the dead, carved into the very forms, and adorned with the very decorations and

[8] Etrusker, IV. 2, 1. So also think Thiersch (Abhandlung der Münchner Akademie, I. p. 415) and Abeken (Ann. Instit. 1841, p. 33; Mittelitalien, p. 244) who cites him.

[9] Gruner calls this rock a volcanic *nenfro*, but it is decidedly of aqueous deposition, often containing oyster-shells, and other marine substances. It is compact when moist, but extremely friable when dry; and, like chalk, it has occasional layers of flint.

furniture of those of the living, arranged in distinct terraces, and communicating by the usual network of streets and alleys.[1]

I know not what first induced Signor Pietro Bonci-Casuccini, the owner of the hill, to make excavations here; it may have been merely in pursuance of his long and systematic researches on his estate. But in the winter of 1839-40 the spade was applied, and very soon brought to light the marvels of the mound.

About the base of the conical crest was unearthed a *crepis*, or circuit of masonry, of rectangular blocks of travertine, uncemented, from two to four feet in length; and around this was a fosse three or four feet wide. Many of the blocks, removed from their original places, lay scattered at the base of the mound when I first visited the hill, but not one is now to be seen; yet the fosse may still be traced, and will be found to mark a circumference of more than nine hundred feet.[2]

Above it the crest of the hill rises some forty or fifty feet, and in its slopes open the tombs, not in a single row, but in several tiers or terraces, one above the other; and not in regular or continuous order, but in groups. A single passage of great length cut into the heart of the hill, and at right angles with the girdling fosse, generally leads into a spacious antechamber, or *atrium*, on which open several smaller chambers, or *triclinia*, just as in the tombs of Cære.[3] Both *atrium* and *triclinia* are surrounded by benches of rock for the support of the bodies or of sarcophagi. The doors are all moulded in the usual Egyptian form, with an overhanging square-headed lintel. The ceilings are generally flat, and coffered in recessed squares or oblongs, as in the other tombs of Chiusi, or they are carved into beams and rafters. They are painted in the usual style, and the walls also in certain chambers had painted figures, which though almost effaced and in no case very distinct, might, at my first visit, be recognised as those of dancers or *athletæ*, circling the apartments in a frieze, about twenty inches high.[4] They are no longer

[1] Conical mounds or isolated rocks of other forms, full of sepulchres, are not uncommon in Asia Minor. Mr. Steuart speaks of one at Dogan-lû, in Phrygia (Lydia and Phrygia, p. 11), and Sir Charles Fellows describes and illustrates one at Pinara in Lycia. Fellows' Lycia, p. 139.

[2] Abeken (Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 31) says 285 *mêtres*, which are equal to 938 feet English. A similar wall and fosse have been found encircling tombs at Sta Marinella and Selva la Rocca; and a fosse is cut in the rock round a tumulus at Bieda. See Vol. I. p. 217.

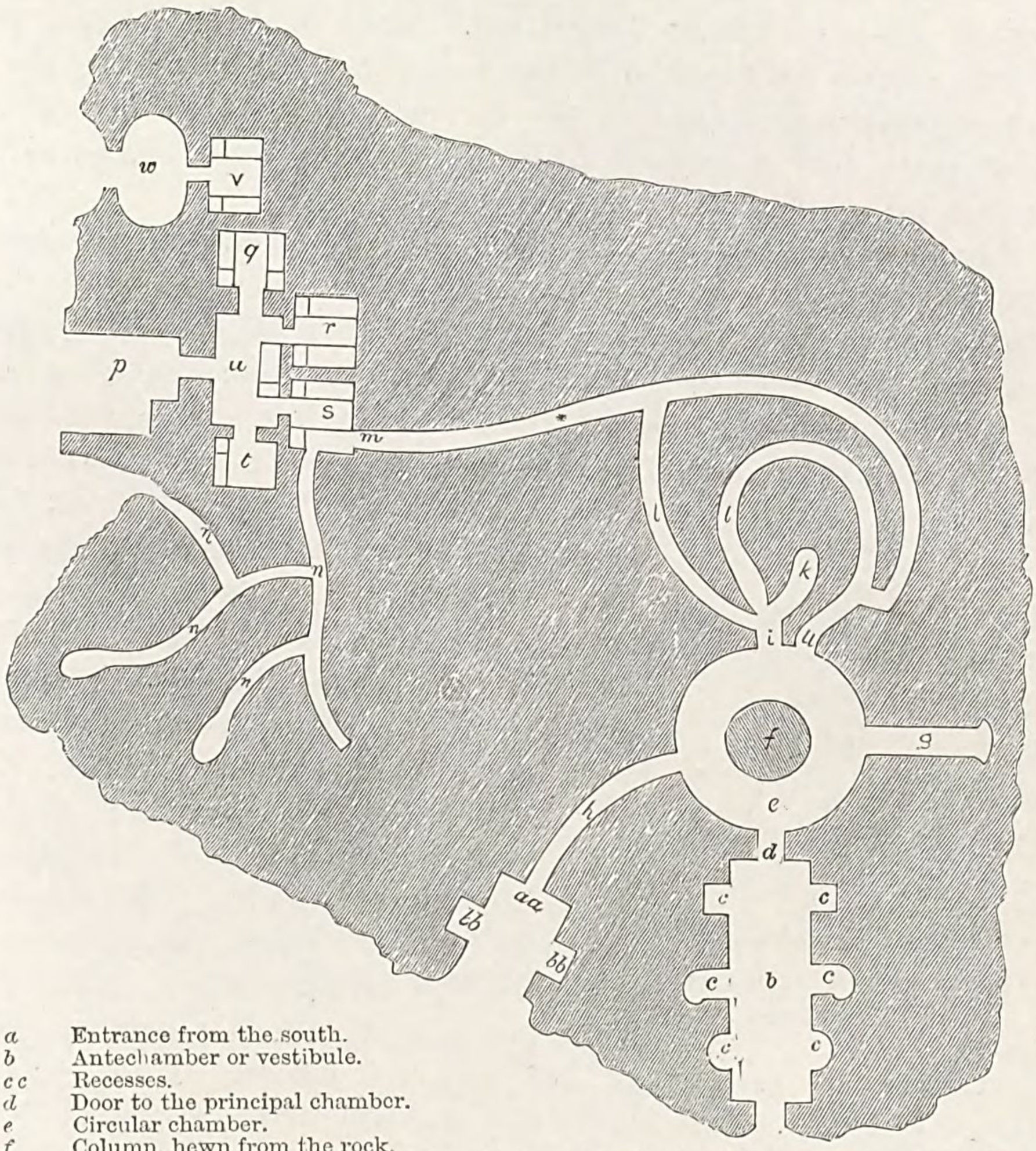
[3] The antechamber still more nearly resembles an *atrium*, inasmuch as the roof has now in most instances fallen in, leaving it open to the sky.

[4] The principal of these paintings were in a group of tombs to the right of the

PLAN OF A PORTION OF THE PRINCIPAL STORY

IN THE

POGGIO GAJELLA.



a	Entrance from the south.
b	Antechamber or vestibule.
c c	Recesses.
d	Door to the principal chamber.
e	Circular chamber.
f	Column, hewn from the rock.
g	Cuniculus, or passage cut in the rock, now cleared out, and running 10 yards further into the hill.
h	Cuniculus, leading to chamber *aa*.
i	Original mouth of the passages.
k l m	Passages, varying in size, and inclination, but only large enough to admit a man on all fours. At * the original cuniculus *m* seems to have terminated, or to have turned in another direction; the rest of it to *s* being narrower and more irregular.
l l	Spurious mouth of the passages, opening much higher in the wall than *i*.
n n	Cuniculi, partly unfinished, partly not yet excavated.
p	Antechamber to the group of square tombs, opening to the west.
q r s t u	Chambers, more or less rude, and all unpainted, with rock-hewn benches. In *s* are the mouths of the cuniculi *m* and *n*.
w	Antechamber to
v	A tomb found filled with large stones.
aa	Chamber, now encumbered with earth.
bb bb	Recesses in its walls.

The shaded part represents the rock in which the tombs and passages are hewn.

From Gruner.

distinguishable. The benches of rock are not left in unmeaning shapelessness; they are hewn into the form of couches, with pillows or cushions at one end, and the front moulded into seat and legs in relief—so many patterns of Etruscan furniture, more durable than the articles themselves. Many of these couches are double—made for a pair of bodies to recline side by side, as they are generally represented in the banquets painted on the walls. They prove this monument to be of a period when bodies were buried, rather than burned.

The most important tombs are on the lower and second tiers. On the lower, the most remarkable is one that opens to the south. It is circular, about twenty-five feet in diameter, supported in the centre by a huge column hewn from the rock, ten or eleven feet thick, rudely formed, without base or capital, but in the place of the latter there chances to occur a thin stratum of flints.[5] The tomb is much injured, retaining no traces of ornament, except over the entrance, where is something like a head in relief on the lintel. Some beautiful vases,[6] and the curious stone sphinxes of the Museo Casuccini were found here. These sphinxes, by the way, bear a remarkable resemblance to those in the reliefs from the Doric temple of Assos, now in the Louvre.[7] Nothing is now to be seen but fragments of urns of *cispo*. In this circular tomb, as well as in the group of square chambers on the same level, are mysterious dark passages opening in the walls, and exciting the astonishment and curiosity of the stranger. Of these more will be said anon.



ETRUSCAN SPHINX, FROM THE POGGIO GAJELLA.

There are four other groups of tombs in this lower tier,

circular tomb, marked *e* in the Plan. They were of very simple character, of two colours only, red and black, and in an archaic style. See Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 10.

[5] The entrance to this tomb is by a broad passage, or rather chamber, with large recesses on either hand, indicated in the Plan, but now hardly distinguishable.

[6] For an account of these vases, some of which were in the archaic Etruscan style, others of the best Greek art, see Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 128.—Feuerbach. At the entrance to the round chamber was found part of a winged lion, of *cispo*, in the most severely archaic style; and such, it is thought, must have surrounded this tumulus in great numbers, as at the Cucumella, of Vulci. Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 9.

[7] The strong resemblance that the reliefs from the said temple bear to works of Etruscan art, is noticed by Texier, Asie Mineure, p. 204. The affinity in the figures reclining at a banquet, and in the wild beasts devouring their prey, is striking. See Mon. Inst. III. tav. 34.

making twenty-five chambers in all, besides two which are unfinished.

On the tier above this are several tombs, some in groups, others single; two to the south seem to have been circular. The finest group is one of five square chambers opening to the south-east, whose walls retain traces of painting, now much injured. Here were discovered articles of great beauty and value:—the magnificent vase of the Judgment of Paris, which forms the gem of the Casuccini collection, found in one hundred and twenty minute pieces, now neatly rejoined—another vase on a small bronze stand or stool, with legs like those sculptured on the couches of rock—a cinerary urn in the form of a male statue, with a moveable head as a lid—a few small articles of gold and jewellery, and some thin *laminæ* of gold attached to the wall of one of the tombs, as though originally lining it throughout. In two of these chambers open small passages, like those in the lower tier.[8]

On the third and highest tier are three groups of tombs, one of which is supported by a column of rock; and here also were found articles of jewellery, and fragments of painted vases.[9]

I was grieved, on a recent visit to the Poggio Gajella, to find its sepulchres in a sad state of neglect and ruin. Most of the outer tombs are now encumbered with the *débris* of their fallen roofs, and lie open to the sky, so that it is not easy to recognise them as marked in the Plan; all traces of sculpture and painting have been effaced from the walls, and a little colouring and carving on the ceilings alone remain of the original decorations.

The marvel and mystery of this curious hive of tombs are the dark passages, which have given rise to as much speculation as such obscurities are ever wont to excite, in works sepulchral or literary, ancient or modern, of Cheops or Coleridge. They are just large enough for a man to creep through on all fours. Here, traveller, if curious and enterprising, "you may thrust your arms up to the elbows in adventures." Enter one of the holes in the circular tomb, and take a taper, either between your teeth, or in

[8] The longest of these passages extends to 35 *braccia*, or 67 feet, and is not yet fully cleared out. Another passage, which is nearly 3 feet square, runs some distance in a straight line into the rock, and then meets a third, at right angles, which is still full of earth.

[9] As the tombs on this upper tier are inferior to those below them, Abeken suggests that they may have been intended for the slaves or dependents of the family. Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 32. But the meanest tombs are at the base of the mound. Some have seen in these a fourth tier, though they can hardly be said to be on a different level from the principal groups.

your fore-paw, to light you in your Nebuchadnezzar-like progress. You will find quite a labyrinth in the heart of the mound. Here the passage makes a wide sweep or circuit, apparently at random —there it bends back on itself, and forms an inner sweep, leading again to the circular chamber—now it terminates abruptly, after a longer or shorter course,—and now, behold! it brings you to another tomb in a distant part of the hill. Observe, too, as you creep on your echoing way, that the passages sometimes rise, sometimes sink, and rarely preserve the same level; and that they occasionally swell out or contract, though generally regular and of uniform dimensions.[1]

What can these *cuniculi* mean? is a question every one asks, but none can satisfactorily answer. Had they been beneath a city, we should find some analogy between them and those often existing on Etruscan sites, not forgetting the Capitol and Rock Tarpeian. Had they been beneath some temple, or oracular shrine, we might see in them the secret communications by which the machinery of jugglery was carried forward; but in tombs—among the mouldering ashes of the dead, what purpose could they have served? Some have thought them part of a regularly planned labyrinth, of which the circular tomb was the centre or nucleus, formed to preserve the remains and treasure there deposited from profanation and pillage.[2] But surely they would not then make so many superfluous means of access to the chamber, when it already had a regular entrance. Moreover, the smallness of the passages—never more than three feet in height, and two in width, as small, in truth, as could well be made by the hand of man, which renders it difficult to thread them on all fours; the irregularity of their level; and the fact that one has its opening just beneath the ceiling, destroying the beauty of the walls, which were painted with dancing figures, and that another actually cuts through one of the rock-hewn couches—forbid us to suppose they were designed for regular communication, or were constructed throughout on any determined system. In truth, the latter facts would seem to show that in those cases, at least, they must have been of subsequent construction to the tombs. Could they then have been formed either by the burrowings of some animal, or by former plunderers of the tombs in their search for treasures?

[1] For plans of the several stories in this tumulus, and for illustrations of the articles found in the tombs, see the beautiful work of Dr. Braun cited above. The plans and plates are by M. Gruner, the well-known artist. The plan given at page 351 is from that work.

[2] Feuerbach, Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 8.

To the first it may be safely objected that these passages are too large, and in general too regular. In one of the tombs in the upper tier, however, are certain passages too small to admit a man, and therefore in all probability formed by some animal. I learned from the peasants who dwell at the foot of the hill, that badgers have been killed here. On the roofs of several of the chambers, which I was told had been found choked with earth, I observed the marks of that animal's claws. But it is impossible to believe that these labyrinthine passages have been made by that or any other quadruped.

It is more easy to believe that they have been formed in by-gone researches for buried treasure.[3] That the tombs have been opened in past ages is evident from the state in which they were discovered, from the broken pottery and urns, and from the pieces of a vase being found in separate chambers.[4] Yet in general there is too much regularity about them, for the work of careless excavators. In one instance, indeed, in the second tier, there is a passage of very careful and curious formation, which gradually diminishes in size as it penetrates the hill, not regularly tapering, but in successive stages—*magna componere parvis*—like the tubes of an open telescope. From a careful examination of the *cuniculi* in this hill, all of which I penetrated, I cannot but regard them as generally evincing design: here and there are traces of accidental or random excavation, such as the openings into the tombs which spoil their symmetry; but these, I think, did not form part of the original construction; they must have been made by the riflers carrying on the passages which were left as *cul-de-sacs*.[5]

What the design of this labyrinth may have been I cannot surmise. Analogy does not assist us here. True, the Grotta della Regina at Toscanella has somewhat kindred passages, though to a much smaller extent; but these are involved in

[3] This was Abeken's more digested opinion (Mittelital. p. 244), and that of Micali also (Mon. Ined. p. 335).

[4] The gold and jewellery discovered must have been overlooked by the first riflers, as is sometimes the case—articles of great value being found occasionally among the loose earth.

[5] The passage which connects the circular chamber with the group to the west, narrows very suddenly as it approaches the latter, and opens in it in an irregular aperture, which seems of more recent date. In the circular chamber, one opening is regular, and another quite irregular. Yet in one case it is the neatest and most decidedly artificial passage that cuts through the bench. May not the passages have been formed *before* certain of the tombs? May they not have formed part of the original sepulchre in connection with the circular chamber, and have been cut into by the subsequent excavation of other chambers?

equal obscurity; and in one of the mounds at Monteroni there were found *cuniculi* of this description, though leading not from the tomb, but from the grand entrance-passage.[5] There seems to be little analogy with the system of vertical shafts and horizontal ways which exist in the same tumulus at Monteroni, in the necropolis of Ferento, and in the Capitoline. There is more apparently with the subterranean passages beneath Chiusi; still more with the Buche de' Saracini at Volterra; but these are of most doubtful antiquity, origin, and purpose, and probably not sepulchral. Nor can any affinity be discovered to the catacombs of Rome, Naples, and other places in Italy and Sicily. Future researches, either by clearing out these passages where they are now blocked up, or by analogous discoveries, may possibly throw some light on the mystery.

We have now seen the existence of something very like a labyrinth in the heart of an Etruscan sepulchral tumulus, and have thus established, by analogy, the characteristic truth of Varro's description, as regards the substructions of Porsena's monument. I would, however, go no further. I would not infer, as some have done, that this tumulus of Poggio Gajella may be the very sepulchre of that hero. The circular, instead of the square basement, and the comparatively late date of its decorations and contents are opposed to such a conclusion.[6] Yet its vast extent, and the richness of its furniture, mark it as the burial-place of some of the ancient princes of Clusium; and its discovery, after so many ages of oblivion, encourages the hope that some kindred monument may yet be found, which may unhesitatingly be pronounced the original of Varro's description.[7]

Be this hope realised or not, the memory of Porsena and his virtues is beyond decay. It rests not on mausoleum or "star-y-pointing pyramid," which without that "monument more durable than brass," are frail and perishing records of human greatness; for as an old writer quaintly observes, "to be but pyramidally extant is a fallacy in duration."

[5] Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 242) supposes these to have been the work of former riflers.

[6] This is also Abeken's opinion. Mittelitalien, p. 245.

[7] There is another similar, but larger hill, not far off, called Poggio di San Paolo, which tradition has marked as the depository of ancient treasures. Fragments of massive masonry also seem to indicate the basement of a sepulchral tumulus. Here is a most promising field for such researches. But no excavations have been yet made; and are not likely to be made as long as the mound remains in the hands of its present proprietors.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LV.

NOTE.—LARS PORSENA.

Lars is an Etruscan *prænomen*, supposed to be significant of rank and dignity, as Etruscan princes seem always to have had this name—Lars Porsena, Lars Tolumnius—a title of honour, equivalent to *dominus*. Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 405. The fact of its being the appellation also of the household deities of the Etruscans favours this view. Yet the frequent occurrence of this name, or its varieties, "Lart," or "Larth," in sepulchral inscriptions, seems to deprive it of any peculiar dignity, and to show that it was used by people of various classes in Etruscan society. Perhaps the distinction drawn by the grammarians is correct—that Lar, Laris, was significant of deity, and Lars, Lartis, was the Etruscan *prænomen*. The Romans, however, who took both from the Etruscans, seem to have used them indifferently. Müller, I. p. 408. Thus we find a Lar Herminius, consul in the year 306. Liv. III. 65. The old patrician *gens Lartia* derived its name from Lars, just as many other gentile names were formed from *prænomina*. Lars is supposed by Lanzi (II. p. 203) to signify *divus*, but it is more generally believed to be equivalent to "lord;" and it is even maintained that the English word is derived from the Etruscan. Some take Lars to be of Pelasgic origin, from the analogy of Larissa, daughter of Pelasgus; and others seek its source in the Phœnician. However that be, it can at least, with all its derivatives, be traced with certainty to the Etruscan.

Porsena is often called King of Clusium, or of Etruria. Pliny (II. 54), however, seems to call him King of Volsinii. He was properly chief Lucumo of Clusium, and "King of Etruria" only in virtue of commanding the forces of the Confederation.

The name is spelt both Porsena and Porsenna, but in any case, thinks Niebuhr (I. pp. 500, 541), the penultimate is long, from the analogy of other Etruscan gentile names—Vibenna, Ergenna, Perpenna, Spurinna; and he pronounces Martial guilty of a "decided blunder" in shortening the penultimate

> Urere quam potuit contemto Mucius igne,
> Hanc spectare manum Porsena non potuit.
>
> Epig. i. 22.

> Aretina nimis ne spernas vasa, monemus,
> Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus.
>
> Epig. xiv. 98.

Lord Macaulay, in his admirable "Lays of Ancient Rome" (p. 44), justly questions the right of Niebuhr or any other modern to pronounce on the quantity of a word which "Martial must have uttered and heard uttered a hundred times before he left school;" and cites Horace (Epod. XVI. 4) and Silius Italicus (VIII. 391, 480) in corroboration of that poet. Compare Sil. Ital. X. 484. The following prose-writers, though their authority cannot affect the quantity, also spell it "Porsena."—Liv. II. 9; Cicero, pro Sext. 21; Flor. I. 10; Val. Max. III. 2, 2; Tacit. Hist. III. 72. On the other hand there is the great authority of Virgil (Æn. VIII. 646)—

> Nec non Tarquinium ejectum Porsenna jubebat;

followed by Claudian (in Eutrop. I. 444)

Quæsiit, et tantum fluvio Porsenna remotus—

by Pliny (II. 54; XXXIV. 13, 39; XXXVI. 19), and Seneca (Epist. 66; Benef. V. 16), for the lengthening of the penultimate—Porsenna. Plutarch (Publicola) also has Πορσήνας, and Dionysius (V. 21) Πορσίνας. Servius (ap. Æn. VIII. 646) indeed asserts that Virgil added an *n* for the sake of the metre, as the penultimate is short. Now, though Lord Macaulay was at liberty to adopt either mode, I believe him to be right in his choice of Porsĕna; not on account of Servius' assertion, or because the authority of Horace, Martial, and Silius Italicus outweighs that of Virgil and Claudian, but because it is more agreeable to the genius of the Etruscan language, which gives us "Pursna," as its equivalent (*ut supra*, p. 338); and just so the "Ceicna" of the Etruscans was written Cæcina or Cæcinna by the Romans.

CHAPTER LVI.

CETONA AND SARTEANO.

Molta tenent antiqua, sepolta, vetusta.

ENNIUS.

— già furo
Incliti, ed or n'è quasi il nome oscuro.

ARIOSTO.

THE hills to the west and north-west of Chiusi are rich in Etruscan remains. The several towns of Cetona, Sarteano, Chianciano and Montepulciano are supposed, from the positions they occupy, and the mines of ancient wealth around them, not from any extant remains of fortifications, to indicate the sites of so many Etruscan cities. It is certain at least that in their environs are ancient cemeteries yielding the most archaic relics of Etruscan times. He who visits Chiusi should not omit to extend his tour to these towns, for they are all within a trifling distance of that city, and of each other; and should he feel little interest in their antiquities, he cannot fail to be delighted with the glorious scenery around them. He may make the tour of the whole in a day, though the roads in parts stand much in need of repair.

Cetona is only five or six miles from Chiusi to the south-west —a clean little town, and a picturesque, on an olive-clad height, with a ruined castle of feudal times towering above it. It has a decent inn in the Piazza, the "Locanda del Leone," kept by Giovanni and Pasquale Davide.

The Etruscan antiquities now visible at Cetona are all in the possession of the Terrosi family. The collection was originally made by the late Cavaliere Giambattista Terrosi, who drew most of his treasures from a spot called Le Cardetelle, in the valley of the Astrone, half way between Chiusi and Cetona. Since his death no steps were taken for many years to increase the collection, but his son, Signor Giulio, has recently made some most valuable additions to it.

The collection is not large, but very select. Here are some beautiful specimens of the black pottery of this district—the tall cock-crested jars, *focolari*, and other articles in the old rigid style of Clusian art; among which a fine goblet of the rare form called *carchesion*, with a band of figures in relief, is conspicuous. There are painted vases also, chiefly in the archaic style, with black figures on a red ground.

In this collection are two cinerary urns of much interest. One, on which a female figure, *patera* in hand, reclines on a cushion that was once coloured blue, bears in the relief below an armed warrior, seized by two figures in human shape, but with the heads of a pig and of a ram. A female figure stands behind him, and brandishes a serpent over his head, while another woman, whose attributes mark her also as a Fury, stands at the opposite end of the scene. A second warrior is sinking to the ground in death. We may recognise in this scene the attempted enchantment of Ulysses by Circe,—a rare subject on Etruscan urns. The drapery on the figures bears traces of colour.[1]

The other urn is one of the best preserved Etruscan monuments of this character I remember to have seen. The relief shows a female figure without wings, but with a hammer and the other usual attributes of a demon, sitting on an altar, with her arm about a naked youth. On each side a man, with a Phrygian cap and a *chlamys* on his shoulders, threatens with drawn bow the life of the youth. A child sits weeping at the foot of the altar, and a woman in an attitude of grief, with hands clasped on her lap, sits on the other side of the demon. It is difficult to explain this scene. It may represent the slaughter of Penelope's suitors—the chaste queen being portrayed in the sitting and sorrowing female, if this be not Eurycleia, her nurse; the two archers being Ulysses and Telemachus.[2]

The interest of this urn lies not so much in the subject of the relief, as in its high state of preservation, and its peculiar adornments. The necklace, chaplet, zone, and anklets of the Lasa are gilt; so also the chaplet of the youth, and the Phrygian caps

[1] Illustrations of the urn are given in Ann. Inst. 1842, tav. d'Agg. D.; and by Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 49. For notices, see Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 47 (Braun); Bull. Inst. 1842, p. 18; 1843, p. 61 (Braun).

[2] This is Braun's opinion (Ann. Inst. loc. cit.). He acknowledges that Telemachus is not so represented by Homer, but Etruscan versions of Greek myths generally differ more or less from those which are received. He elsewhere suggests that the she-demon on the altar may be intended for Proserpine, but who the youth under her protecting arm may be, and what the child weeping at her feet may mean, he is at a loss to conjecture. This urn is illustrated by Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 49; Ann. Inst. 1842, tav. d'Agg. E.

of the warriors; and the drapery of the whole is coloured a rich purple. The recumbent figure on the lid is that of an elderly man with a fine head, and his chaplet of oak-leaves, his long and thick torque, his signet-ring, and the vase in his hand, are all gilt; while the cushion on which he reclines and the drapery on his person are purple. These colours were perfectly fresh when the urn was discovered, and were set out by the pure white alabaster of the monument, which has now lost somewhat of its brilliancy. The effect of the whole is still very rich; and as the sculpture is not of a high order, the colour does not impair the ideality. It is perhaps the best specimen of polychromy, applied to sculpture, that is to be seen in Etruria.

But the gem of this collection is an ivory cup, covered with archaic and most interesting reliefs. It was found in a tomb within an isolated mound in the Podere Pania, about three miles south of Chiusi. The tomb was hollowed in the rock as usual, but instead of a pillar or column in the midst, it had a short wall left in the rock, which divided it into two chambers, leaving a passage between them at the inner end. In one chamber was a rock-hewn bench, yet on this lay no sarcophagus or urn, but on the ground between it and the partition wall were the remains of a body, stretched on bronze plates, fastened together by nails in the earliest style of metal work, adorned with figures and flowers in relief, and resting on a grating of iron rods. This was supposed by the discoverers of the tomb to be a pavement of bronze,[3] and it has also been cited as a proof that the ancients sometimes lined the walls of their tombs with metal plates;[4] but to me it appears far more probable that it was the bier of bronze on which the corpse was conveyed to the sepulchre, and on which it was there left. It was found in fragments and had doubtless been crushed by the previous riflers of the tomb, who had entered through a hole in the roof. From the description we have of it it was apparently very similar to the bronze bier in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, at Cervetri.[5] In the same tomb in the Pania Podere were found a very large pot or *olla* of bronze, 30 inches

[3] They may have remembered the χαλκοβατὲς δῶ of Homer, Il. I. 426; xiv. 173; Od. xiii. 4.

[4] Bull. Inst. 1874, p. 205. Helbig cites the Canonico Brogi, as authority for the fact, that in his excavations in 1873 near Fonte Rotella, in the neighbourhood of Chiusi, he found a tomb similar in construction to this, and lined with bronze plates to the height of 10 inches from the ground, in the chamber which contained the remains of the deceased. In the Poggio Gajella thin *laminæ* of gold were found adhering to the walls of one of the tombs. *Vide supra*, p. 353.

[5] See Vol. I. p. 267. The bier in the

in diameter, and 27 in height, also of plates hammered and fastened together with nails, in the earliest style of metal-work, called *sphyrelaton*, and within it, another pot of different form but of similar construction, which contained human ashes, together with many leaves of gold, as if a wreath of that metal had been deposited on the remains. In the outer vase was found a beautiful *fibula* of pale gold, adorned with filigree work.

The ivory cup was found upset in the middle of the tomb. It is of cylindrical form, being cut from that portion of a tusk next the root, where the tusk is thickest and hollow. It is nearly 8 inches in height, and from 6 to 6½ in diameter, and its outer surface is carved with reliefs of figures and other ornaments in alternate bands, four of the former and five of the latter. The style is very archaic and oriental, and the figures closely resemble those stamped on the very early vases of *bucchero*. The cup has lost its bottom, and is very imperfect, portions of it being broken or having rotted away, and the outer crust, on which the reliefs are carved, having peeled off in parts.

The upper band is composed of Assyrian lotus-flowers, upright and inverted alternately. In the second band is a vessel, with a man at the helm, the sail wrapped round the yard, and an *amphora* on each side of the mast. Two men raising their arms with lively gesticulations are approaching the ship, followed by a big ram, carrying a man who clings to him beneath his belly. Here occurs a gap; and then follows another ram, also carrying a man in the same position. This scene clearly represents Ulysses and his companions escaping from the cave of Polyphemus, and is of great interest, for it is very rare to find events from the Greek heroic cycle illustrated on Etruscan monuments of so archaic a period. The third band contains floral ornaments. In the fourth you see a *biga* with its driver, and a warrior in the act of mounting the car; followed by three more warriors, all with Corinthian helmets, spears, and Argolic bucklers, and by a youth on horseback. Then, after a gap, come four women, all in talaric *chitones*, and with their hair hanging in long plaits almost to their ankles, and ending in a tassel; each with both hands on her bosom. An armed man kneels before them in the attitude of a suppliant. After another gap, is a *subulo*, playing his pipes, as he turns to some warriors behind him. The fifth

Cervetri tomb was formed of strips of bronze crossed in a lattice-work. This of Chiusi is said to have been formed of long plates nailed together, and supported by iron-rods crossing each other at right angles. Both were adorned in a similar manner.

band shows ornaments like *peltæ*, or Amazonian shields. The sixth is composed of figures, some human, some mythical—a man on horseback, a female centaur, draped to her heels—the barrel and hind-quarters of a horse being attached to the body of a woman—a bull with a single horn, a hippogriff, and several lions. The eighth band had also fanciful animals; and the seventh and ninth showed floral ornaments.[6]

Another relic of classical antiquity at Cetona is a statue of marble, of life-size, discovered among some Roman ruins near the town. It represents a philosopher or poet, sitting, half draped, in an attitude of contemplation, and is evidently of Roman times.[7] It is in the possession of Signor Gigli.

If Cetona be an ancient site, we have no clue to its original name; the earliest record we have of it being in the thirteenth century of our era.[8]

From Cetona to Sarteano there are but four miles, and the road is full of beauty. It ascends a steep and lofty height covered with wood broken by boulders of travertine, and from the summit commands a magnificent view over the vale of the Chiana—Cetona nestling at the foot of the mountain which bears its name, a mighty mass of hanging woods, in winter all robed in snow[9]—La Pieve with its twin towers, like horns bristling from the brow of the long dark hills which stretch up from the south—Chiusi, nearer the eye, on a rival yet lower height—the intervening valley, with its grey and brown carpet of olive and oak woods—the lakes gleaming out bluely in the distance—and the snowy Apennines billowing along the horizon.

Sarteano stands on the brow of an elevated plateau, overhanging the valley of the Chiana. It lies five miles from Chiusi to the west, and the road is excellent. About half-way is a hill, called Poggio Montolo, where painted tombs are said to have been discovered. Sarteano is a place of some importance, fully as

[6] For a further description of this cup, and of the tomb in which it was found, see Bull. Inst. 1874, pp. 203–210, Helbig.

[7] Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 153.

[8] Repetti, I. p. 678. For notices of the earlier excavations on this site see Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 50; 1842, p. 17. At Palazzone, six miles south of Cetona, many Etruscan relics have been discovered.

[9] Monte Cetona rises 1957 *braccia*, or about 3751 feet, above the level of the sea. In this mountain, says Repetti, we find verified the fable of Janus, who looks with one face at the regions of Vulcan, with the other at the realm of Neptune; for though it rises in the midst of hills covered with marine substances, it gives vent on every side to sulphureous vapours and hot springs, which have completely incrusted its base; while at a few miles' distance, rise the lava-cone of Radicófani and the trachite of Montamiata. I. p. 683.

large as Chiusi, surrounded by walls of the middle ages. The inn, "Locanda d'Italia," kept by Lucrezia Vannetti, is tolerable for a town so little frequented by foreign travellers; yet this range of hills is much resorted to by the Tuscans in the hot season, both as a retreat from the burning heat of the low grounds, and for the sake of its mineral waters.

At Sarteano there are two *foci* of interest to the antiquary—the collections of the Cavaliere Bargagli and of Signor Fanello Fanelli.

The former of these gentlemen has some choice urns, found on his estate at a spot called Le Tombe, near the banks of the Astrone.

One represents in its relief Hippolytus attacked by the sea-bull which Neptune sent against him, and which caused his horses to take fright, so that they dashed him and his chariot to pieces—

littore currum
Et juvenem monstris pavidi effudêre marinis.

A she-demon or Fury, holding a torch, bestrides the fallen youth, and a warrior seems about to attack her, sword in hand. This urn is polychrome—the flesh of the men, the horses, the flame of the torch, are all red; the Fury's hair is brown; the drapery, the shield, and other parts of the relief bear traces of yellow.

There is a very good urn with the trite subject of Eteocles and Polyneices. The moment, as usual, is chosen when the brothers are giving each other the death-wound. A Fury rushes between them, not to separate them, but to indicate her triumph over both; she sets her foot on an altar in the midst, and extinguishes her torch. She has blue wings, with a large eye in each, small wings also on her brows, a serpent tied round her neck, and red buskins. The armour and weapons also of the warriors are painted. Beside the usual recumbent figure on the lid, which is here a man wearing a long yellow torque, this urn has a little child also, caressing its father.

Another relief represents Orestes in Tauris; and indicates the discovery by Iphigeneia, that the stranger she is about to sacrifice to Artemis, is her own brother. Orestes, naked, sits weeping on the altar; she, also naked, stands leaning on his shoulder in deep dejection. Pylades is being bound by an armed man, to be subjected to the same bloody rite; and two Lasas, one at each end, fill up the scene. The execution of this relief is excellent.

Another scene, where two young warriors are slaying an old man and seizing a maiden, may represent the death of Priam and rape of Cassandra. A female demon, with torch and buskins, is in at the death.

These urns, with others, twenty-four in all, were found in one tomb, and the inscriptions show them to belong to the family of "CUMERE."[1] The door of the tomb was closed by a large tile, bearing the same name; it is preserved in this collection. The discovery of a sepulchre of this family in the neighbourhood has led some to regard Sarteano as the site of the ancient Camars, but on no valid ground, for Cervetri might with as much reason be supposed the site of Tarquinii, because the tomb of the Tarquins is in its necropolis. Yet the very archaic character of the pottery found in the tombs of Sarteano proves the existence of Etruscan habitation here at a remote period.[2]

In the Casa Bargagli you see the fruit of some recent excavations in the Podere Bacciacciano, about one mile to the north, which prove the existence of a necropolis of very early date, resembling that of the Poggio Renzo, at Chiusi. The tombs were sometimes in the form of wells, lined with small stones without cement, more often mere holes in the earth, containing a large pot, or ossuary, wrought with the hand, in which were deposited the ashes and bones of the dead. As at Poggio Renzo, one of the two handles of the pot was always found broken. While the cinerary pots from that necropolis are often decorated with geometrical patterns, these of Sarteano are in general perfectly plain, and therefore may be regarded as of higher antiquity. In shape these pots resemble the cinerary vases found at Villanova, the earliest cemetery of Felsina, or ancient Bologna. Like them also they were generally covered with a *patera* or cup of terra-cotta, inverted, one of whose handles was invariably broken. The position of the pots was generally marked by circular disks of sandstone, from 8 to 28 inches in diameter, with the upper surface slightly conical, which lay a foot or more above the pot. Sometimes there was more than one of these disks over a cinerary vase. The little cups and pots found grouped around the central one, are all of the same primitive character, with the exception of three fragments which show reddish brown stripes

[1] The name is found also with the inflexions of Cumeresa, Cumerusa, Cumerunia. Lanzi gives other Etruscan sepulchral inscriptions with the names of Camarina, Camurina, and Camas, which last he would read Camars. Saggio, II. pp. 376, 399, 434.

[2] For notices of the urns in the Museum Bargagli, see Bull. Inst. 1836, pp. 30—32 (Sozzi); 1843, pp. 151–2 (Braun).

on a pale yellow ground.[3] In the cinerary pots, mixed with the bones and ashes, were found various objects in bronze—*fibulæ*, bracelets, hair-pins, chains, buttons, and crescent-shaped knives, supposed to have been razors. There were also found knives of iron, lance-heads, and *fibulæ* of the same metal; together with spindles of terra-cotta; beads of coloured glass, and of amber, which latter soon fell to dust on exposure to the atmosphere.[4]

There was formerly a collection of vases in the possession of Dr. Borselli, some painted, but the greater part of them of the black ware of this district; but since his death they have been sold.[5]

The collection of Signor Lunghini has also been dispersed since his death. It contained many vases, both Greek and Etruscan. The most remarkable were two of those tall and very rare vases, sometimes called *holmi*, but more correctly *lebetes*, about three feet high, and composed of a bowl-shaped vase, resting on a stand. Whether for containing the ashes of the dead, or for perfumes I cannot tell; but the lid was pierced for the escape of the *effluvium*. One of these vases was painted with numerous figures of men and animals in separate bands; the other was of black ware with decorations in relief. Both were of very early date.

But the most singular article in this collection was an urn of stone in the form of a little temple or small dog-kennel, with a high-pitched roof. Each side displayed a scene in low flat relief. First was a death-bed—the corpse covered with the shroud—children on their knees in attitudes of grief—wailing-women tearing their hair—*subulones* drowning their cries with the double-pipes. On the opposite side was a race of *trigæ*, or three-horse chariots; and at the ends were banqueting-scenes—the feasting and sports attending the funeral. On the ridge of the roof at each end was a lion couchant—the symbolic guardians of the ashes. The urn rested on the bodies of two bulls with human, or rather fauns' heads, representing either river-gods, or, more probably, Bacchus Hebon,—[6]

Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem.

[3] Dr. Helbig declares that these fragments bear a resemblance to the pottery found in the Acropolis of Athens, under the bastion of Cimon, to that of Cyprus, and also to that found under the peperino of the Alban Lake. Bull. Inst. 1875, p. 234.

[4] See a letter from Signor P. Bargagli to Count Gozzadini, in his Scavi Arnoaldi presso Bologna, p. 20.

[5] There were formerly in this collection some beautiful vases with mythological subjects; also a seat or curule chair of pottery, with bas-reliefs, much resembling the beautiful marble throne of the Palazzo Corsini at Rome. For notices of the Borselli collection, as it was, see Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 148, 149, 153.

[6] These heads are like that shown in the

This monument is an excellent specimen of the very early and severely archaic style of Etruscan sculpture.[7]

Signor Fanello Fanelli is lord of the ruined castle, which crowns the steep cliff overhanging the town of Sarteano. It was presented to his ancestors some centuries since by one of the Medici, for services rendered to the Tuscan State. Here he dwells, not in the crumbling and picturesque keep, but in a house he has recently built within the walls on the only spot not covered by the grove of ilex, which now fills the castle-court. He possesses some good Etruscan bronzes, mirrors, *pateræ* with figured handles, many idols of various sizes and merit, pottery of *bucchero*, a few painted vases, coins, etc. But he is particularly rich in Etruscan *scarabei*, some of them very choice; and he has also some good intaglios.

So rich is the soil around Sarteano in Etruscan treasures, that in the ordinary processes of agriculture articles are often brought to light and the proprietors of land come into the possession of antiquities without the trouble of research. This necropolis is hardly less abundant in bronzes than in pottery. The tombs are all hollowed in the rock, very simple, without decorations, and have generally but a single chamber, which, when of great size, is supported by a rock-hewn pillar in the midst. Not one remains open for inspection.

Much of this ancient *roba* has been disinterred near the Madonna della Fea, about a mile to the west of Sarteano; some also on Monte Salaja, in the same direction; but the most archaic pottery is found still further, towards Castiglioncel del Trinoro, a wall-girt village, with the ominous alias of de' Ladri, or the Robber-hold, three miles from Sarteano, towards Radicofani. Much has also been found at Castelluccio, four miles distant, on a mountain ridge on the western slope of Monte Cetona; and excavations made near a church called Spineta, below the same mountain, six miles from Sarteano, have yielded much early *bucchero*, and urns of terra-cotta, but no painted vases.

wood-cut at p. 401 of Vol. I. This figure is found on many bronze coins of Neapolis of late date, and is supposed to represent either Bacchus Hebon, the divinity of Campania, or the Sebethus, a rivulet near that city, or Achelous, or some other river-god. Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 133.

[7] For a notice of this urn, see Bull. Inst. 1846, p. 162.

CHAPTER LVII.

CHIANCIANO AND MONTEPULCIANO.

Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
VIRGIL.

FROM Sarteano to Chianciano it is a drive of seven miles amid glorious scenery. This range of heights, indeed the whole district of Chiusi, is prodigal in charms—an earthly paradise. There are so many elements of beauty, that those which are wanting are not missed. Here are hill and vale, rock and wood, towns and castles on picturesque heights, broad islet-studded lakes, and ranges of Alpine snow and sublimity; and if the ocean be wanting, it has no unapt substitute in the vast vale or plain of Chiana—a sea of fertility and luxuriance; while all is warmed and enriched by the glowing sun of Italy, and canopied by a vault of that heavenly blue, that

Dolce color d'oriental zaffiro,

which reflects beauty on everything beneath it. It is the sort of scenery which wins rather than imposes, whose grandeur lies in its totality, not in particular features, where sublimity takes you not by storm, but retires into an element of the beautiful.

Between Sarteano and Chianciano a few years since were discovered the remains of a temple in which were found fragments of a bronze chariot—some horses' hoofs, and an arm of the *auriga*, of wonderful beauty. The mountains hereabouts are said to abound in weapons of the stone period—arrow-heads, knives, and celts.[1]

Chianciano, like Sarteano, stands on the brow of a lofty hill, girt with corn, vines and olives—a proud site, lording it over the wide vale of the Chiana, and the twin lakes of Chiusi and Montepulciano. It is a neat town of about two thousand souls, and is

[1] Bull. Inst. 1868, p. 133.

much resorted to in summer, for the hot springs in its neighbourhood. Here are two little inns of very humble pretensions. The Locanda d'Italia, just within the gate, kept by Giovanni Cecchoni, is said to be the better.

There are no local remains of high antiquity at Chianciano, yet it seems very probable, both from the nature of its position, and from the discovery of numerous sepulchres in the neighbourhood, that an Etruscan town occupied this site. In truth the modern name is indicative of the ancient appellation, being obviously derived from the Clanis.[2] The beautiful collection of Etruscan antiquities, formerly in the possession of Signor Carlo Casuccini of this town, has been disposed of since his death. At present the principal collection of such *roba* is in the hands of Signor Giuseppe Bartoli, who has some fine specimens of the black ware of this district—*ciste*, *focolari*, and cock-crowned jars, with some painted pottery also, and bronzes of various descriptions—all the produce of his own excavations. Doctor Cecchi has also some vases, but they are not all genuine.

Many Etruscan tombs have been opened at a spot called Volpajo, near the mound of I Gelli, half a mile from Chianciano.[3] The tombs of Chianciano are generally found choked with the *débris* of the roof, or with earth that has washed in, and require great labour to clear them, and after all they contain, or seem to contain, nothing beyond the corpse and a few black pots of no value or importance. That experienced excavator, Alessandro François, here suspected deceit, and on sounding the walls he found sundry niches filled in with earth, so as to resemble the rock in which the tomb was excavated. Within the niche was a slab fitted to the cavity, and behind that a beautiful painted vase, generally of archaic character, with black figures on a yellow ground. These concealed niches form a peculiarity in the necropolis of Sarteano, and the vases are generally of the second style, while of the pottery found at Chiusi, the vases with yellow figures

[2] The very name of this town has been found in an Etruscan inscription, which contains that also of Clusium—"CLUNSIA." The form in which it occurs is "CLANICIANISTH." Mus. Chius. II. p. 222. This is probably an adjective, the last syllable answering, it may be, to the Latin adjectival termination,—*estis*—as *a cælo*, *cælestis*—*ab agro*, *agrestis*—an inflexion common also in modern Italian.

[3] Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 63; 1831, p. 38. In the same neighbourhood, at a spot called Le Fornaci, was found, half a century since, the remains of an ancient factory of vases and tiles, of Roman times, belonging to a certain L. Gellius. On two of the tiles was inscribed the name of that Sisenna, who was consul in the year of Rome 769, sixteen years after Christ; but though of so late a date the word is written from right to left, in the Etruscan style. Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 33.

on a black ground are more abundant.[4] In the neighbourhood of Chianciano has been found one of the rare bilingual inscriptions, in Etruscan and Latin. The former would run thus in Roman letters—

CUINT. SENU. ARNTNAL.

which is translated by

Q. SENTIVS. L. F. ARRIA. NATVS.

The last letter in the second word of the Etruscan epitaph, was probably T, a character which in the Etruscan may easily be mistaken for an U.[5]

From Chiusi to Chianciano by railroad is a distance of ten chilomètres, or about six miles, but from the station at the latter place to the town, there is a steep ascent of at least four miles, so that the intervening distance of nine miles between the towns can be accomplished almost as speedily by the carriage-road. So also with the journey between Chianciano and Montepulciano. By the direct road, which is not in the best order, it is true, the distance is only four miles. But he who thinks to save time by taking the train will be greatly deceived. The distance between the stations is eleven chilomètres, or about seven miles, but as the town in each case is at least four miles from the station, the entire journey by this *détour* will be extended to fifteen miles.

The direct road skirts the brow of the hills, which are covered with oak-woods; about half-way it crosses the Acqua Boglia, a sulphureous and ferruginous spring; and, on the approach to Montepulciano, passes a bare, conical hill, called Poggio Tutoni, or Tutona—a name, which from its affinity to the Tutni or Tutna, often found in Etruscan inscriptions in this district, appears to be very ancient.[6]

Montepulciano is a city of some three thousand inhabitants, girt by walls of the middle ages, and cresting a lofty height at the northern extremity of this range of hills. It is built on so steep a slope, that it would seem that the architects of the Cathedral had leagued with the priests to impose a perpetual penance on the inhabitants by placing it at the summit of the town. The most interesting building is the church of San Biagio, without the walls, a modern edifice after the designs of Sangallo, which owes its existence to a miracle of a Madonna, who is

[4] Bull. Inst. 1851, p. 69.

[5] Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 14; cf. p. 80.

[6] In the Museo Chiusino (II. pp. 124, 133, 226) will be found Etruscan inscriptions with this family-name; and I have observed them both at Chiusi and Cetona.

recorded to have winked "her most holy eyes" at two washer-women, in so fascinating a manner as to bring even a herd of cattle to their knees before her image.

Montepulciano is supposed to be an Etruscan site. Its situation on a lofty and isolated height, and the remains discovered in its neighbourhood, favour this opinion. Some have ascribed its foundation to Porsena;[7] others more modestly have regarded it as the Arretium Fidens of Pliny,[8] or as the Ad Novas of the Peutingerian Table.[9] The earliest record we have of it is in the year 715 after Christ, when it was called Castellum Politianum.[1] Its ancient name must remain a matter of conjecture, till fortune favours us with some local inscription, throwing light on the subject. No vestiges of ancient walls are now extant, nor are there any tombs open around the town. Yet excavations are occasionally made in the neighbourhood, and yield cinerary urns, the usual black pottery, painted vases of different epochs, and bronzes; a good collection of which is preserved in the house of Signor Ferdinando Angelotti, all found at the Poggio Serragio—together with some very early Latin inscriptions, as well as Etruscan.

Another collection of monuments, Etruscan and Latin, discovered in the vicinity, is preserved in the Palazzo Buccelli.[2] Here are sepulchral inscriptions, and reliefs from sarcophagi and urns, embedded in the façade—a prodigal display of antiquarian wealth, which is lost on the eyes of the natives, but has the advantage of attaching the relics to the spot. In the reliefs are centaurs, gorgons, souls on horseback—but nothing of extraordinary interest. Some of the inscriptions are remarkable for having Etruscan names in Roman letters,[3] as—

TITIA · C · L
FAVSAL

A . . . ABASSA
ARNTHAL · FRAVNAL.

Let not the traveller omit to pay his *devoirs* to the liquid "manna of Montepulciano," the monarch of Tuscan, if not of all other wines, as Bacchus and Redi have pronounced it—

"Montepulciano d'ogni vino è il Rè."

[7] Auctores ap. Dempster. Etrur. Reg. II. p. 422.

[8] Dempster. II. p. 423.

[9] Cluver. II. p. 569; Cramer, Ancient Italy, I. p. 247. But the distance from Clusium is much more than 9 miles. For the stations and distances on the Via Cassia north of Clusium, see the Appendix to this chapter.

[1] Repetti, III. p. 465.

[2] Gori, Mus. Etrus. I. tab. 191–5; Lanzi, II. p. 269; Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. I. p. 14.

[3] Those in the Etruscan character men-

Hark to the ecstatic jolliness of the god !—

> "Sweet Ariadne—
> Fill me the manna of Montepulciano !
> Fill me a magnum, and reach it me.—Gods !
> How it slides to my heart by the sweetest of roads !
> Oh, how it kisses me, tickles me, bites me !
> Oh, how my eyes loosen sweetly in tears !
> I'm ravished ! I'm rapt ! Heaven finds me admissible !
> Lost in an ecstasy ! blinded ! invisible !
> Hearken all earth !
> We, Bacchus, in the might of our great mirth
> To all who reverence us, and are right thinkers ;—
> Hear, all ye drinkers !
> Give ear and give faith to our edict divine—
> Montepulciano's the king of all wine."

Montepulciano commands a most extensive view of the vale of the Chiana, which, after lying in confined luxuriance between this range and the triple paps of Chiusi, here swells out and unfolds its beauties in a wide expanse of fertility ; stretching northward to the walls of Arezzo and the tower-crowned height of Cortona ; and eastward beyond the twin lakes, to the broad and bright-bosomed Thrasymene, and to the very base of the hoary Apennines. This was for ages a dreary swamp, proverbial for pestilence ;

> "But that is past, and now the zephyr brings
> Health in its breath, and gladness on its wings."

It is now one of the most fertile tracts in Europe, scarcely less healthy than the heights around it. This surprising change, which had been aimed at in vain for two centuries, has been effected in the last eighty years by filling up the swamp with alluvial deposits ;[4] and instead of slime and putrid water, it now overruns with oil and wine, and all the wealth of a southern soil, and in place of the fish and wild-fowl, for which it was famed of old,[5] are milk-white oxen, fair as the steers of Clitumnus, and

tion the families of Varna (Varius), Trepu (Trebius), Tlesna or Tresna (Telesinus), Latini (Latinus), Seianti (Sejanus), Velthur (Veturius), Pethni, &c., but the greater part belong to the families of Lecne (Licinius) and Tetina (Titinius).

[4] In the Roman portion of the Val di Chiana, the opposite system of draining has been pursued, and with little success. Repetti, I. p. 685. The Clanis or Chiana originally fell into the Tiber, but is now made to fall into the Arno. This change in its course was contemplated as long since as the reign of Tiberius ; but the Florentines of that day sent a deputation to Rome deprecating such a change on the ground that their lands would be flooded and destroyed ; and the project was abandoned. Tacit. Annal. I. 79.

[5] The λίμνη περὶ Κλούσιον of Strabo (V. p. 226) must refer to this swamp, then under water, rather than to either of the small lakes near the town, which were probably hardly distinguishable.

flocks of sheep, tended by dark-eyed Chloes and Delias, who watch their charge as they sit spinning by the road-side.

A great portion of the plain formerly belonged to the Grand Duke, who had a small palace at Bettolle, eleven miles from Montepulciano, and much of the land is parcelled off into small *poderi* or farms, all built on one plan, and titled and numbered like papers in a cabinet. In appearance the plain is much like Lombardy, the products are similar, the fertility equal, the road almost as level. The traveller who would journey across it to Arezzo may find accommodation at Bettolle or Fojano.[6]

Every one must be struck with the beauty of the cattle in this district. They are either purely white or tinged with grey, which in the sun has quite a lilac bloom; and their eyes are so large, soft, and lustrous, that one ceases to wonder that Juno was called "ox-eyed," or that Europa eloped with a bull.

At various spots in the Val di Chiana, Etruscan tombs have been found; and it would seem that some of the eminences which vary its surface, must have been occupied in ancient times by towns, or villages, though much of the low ground was under water.[7]

[6] Montepulciano is 13 miles from Chiusi by the carriage road, 7 from Pienza, 18 or 19 from Cortona, and 32 or 33 from Arezzo.

[7] Near Asinalunga, and also on a hill near the farm of Fonte Rotella, tombs have been found with curious articles in bronze. Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 200; 1835, p. 126. Near Lucignano, 18 miles from Arezzo, in some hills, called "Poggi Grassi," or "delle Belle Donne," a Roman urn of marble and some red Aretine vases have been discovered. Bull. Inst. 1832, p. 54. Also at the foot of the "Poggio de' Morti," or "Dead Men's Hill," some Etruscan urns, of the families of "Spurina" and "Thurice," with female ornaments of gold and silver, and painted vases in the latest and best style, have been brought to light. Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 37, 38; cf. Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 213, tav. 35, 2. At Marciano, a village on the heights by the road-side, a few miles from Fojano, tombs have been opened, containing numerous urns. Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 202; 1868, p. 133. At Farneta, also, inscriptions have been found, and at Brolio, 24 miles from Arezzo, beautiful bronzes, many of which are preserved in the Etruscan Museum at Florence. *Vide supra*, p. 87. At Casalta, also, in the Val di Chiana, the beautiful vases in the Museum of Arezzo, representing Pelops and Hippodameia, and the death of Œnomaus, were found. See p. 389.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER LVII.

NORTH of Clusium the Itineraries give us the following stations, on the

VIA CASSIA.

(*Continued from page* 313.)

ANTONINE ITINERARY.		PEUTINGERIAN TABLE.	
Clusium.		Clusium.	
Ad Statuas	M.P. XII.	Ad Novas	VIIII.
Arretium	XXV.	Ad Græcos	VIIII.
Ad Fines, sive Casas Cæsarianas	XXV.	Ad Joglandem	XII.
Florentiam	XXV.	Bituriha	X.
Pistorium	XXV.	Ad Aquileia	XIIII.
Lucam	XXV.	Florentia Tuscorum	—
		Arnum fl.	—
		In Portu	IIII.
		Valuata	XVII.
		Pisis	VIII.

From Clusium a second road ran more to the west to Sena, and apparently to Florentia, according to the same Table; but the distances are very incorrect.

Clusium.	
Ad Novas	VIIII.
Manliana	VIII.
Ad Mensulas	XVIII.
Umbro fl.	XVI.
Sena Julia	VI.
Ad Sextum	XVI.
	XXXIII.

CHAPTER LVIII.

CITTÀ LA PIEVE.

Tokens of the dead—the wondrous fame
Of the past world. . . . . .
Traditions dark and old, whence evil creeds
Start forth. SHELLEY.

THE most prominent feature in the scenery of Chiusi, after Monte Cetona, is the town of Città la Pieve, which stands in a commanding position, cresting with its towers the lofty hill to the south-east, which impends almost precipitously over the deep valley through which the railroad runs to Orvieto and Rome. It is but six or seven miles from Chiusi, and the road is delightful, winding first through woods of brave old oaks, baring their lichen-clad boughs to the winter sky, above an undergrowth of juniper and fern; and then, on the higher part of the ascent, commanding extensive views over the luxuriant vale of Chiana, and the broad Thrasymene with its islands, to the Apennines stretching their snow half across the horizon.

Città la Pieve shows no local traces of Etruscan antiquity, although tombs of that character have been found in the immediate neighbourhood. Its name, however, a corruption of Civitas Plebis, seems to indicate at least a Roman origin. The town is neat and clean, and built entirely of brick, a most unusual feature in this part of Italy. As it contains numerous works of Pietro Perugino, who was born here, to say nothing of his paint-pots and sundry letters from his own hand, together with some interesting Etruscan remains, the traveller may be induced to halt here for the night. Let him, in that case, seek shelter at the "Locanda de' Tre Mori," where he will find the best accommodation the town can afford.

The Etruscan antiquities are to be seen in the houses of the Signori Taccini, Mazzuoli, and Quindici. The last-named gentleman has a sitting figure of Proserpine, in admirable

preservation, and in that and other respects superior to every similar monument I remember to have seen in Etruria. It is of *cispo*, nearly as large as life, and retains traces of colour and gilding. The goddess is represented, as usual, sitting in a curule chair, which in this instance is flanked on each side by a winged sphinx, and covered behind with a lion's skin, but in spite of the rigidity of early art, and the stiff folds of her drapery, there is a dignity and even ease about her figure rarely seen in works of so archaic a period. In this, and the ideality of her features, which are certainly not iconic, she seems to illustrate Homer's epithet of *ἀγανὴ Περσεφόνεια*. Her head, which is movable, as usual, the figure being a cinerary urn, is bound with a quadruple *stephane* or chaplet, gilt; but she wears no other ornaments. In her right hand, which she rests on the head of the sphinx on that side, she appears to have held some object, probably a wand; her left reposes on the arm of the chair, and holds the customary pomegranate. This monument, for its excellent style of archaic art, and its almost perfect state of preservation, demands a place in a museum, but the price asked for it by its possessor will exclude it from any but a national collection.

Signor Luigi Mazzuoli possesses a number of vases, principally Greek, of the Third style, which he excavated at Gugliella, six or seven miles north of La Pieve, on the hill of Santa Maria, above the Lake of Chiusi.

The Taccini Collection.

The most beautiful collection of Etruscan antiquities in Città la Pieve is in the possession of Signor di Giorgi Taccini, who lives in a beautiful villa outside the town, but keeps his antiquarian treasures in his house within the walls. His collection of urns is particularly choice, for their admirable preservation, and their polychrome character, as well as for the superior art many of them display, and the novelty of the subjects in some of the reliefs.

I. The monument which strikes your eye on entering is a cinerary urn of alabaster, on whose lid reposes the figure of a man half-draped, *patera* in one hand, as usual, but his other passed round the neck of a woman, who, instead of reclining, sits on the couch beside him, resting her feet on a stool. Her feet form part of the urn, but the rest of her body is attached to the lid. Her eyes, lips, cheeks, hair, are all painted to the life, and her robes are decorated with a red border. In this urn were

found two magnificent necklaces, two spirals for the hair, a very large earring, and some small acorns—all of gold, which are exhibited in the same chamber.

II. An urn with a recumbent male figure, named "Larth Purnei Kurke." The relief exhibits a combat between two men on horseback and four on foot. The design is full of spirit, and appears to be taken from a Greek original. At one end of the urn is represented the suicide of Ajax; at the other, a warrior is sinking in death, with a bird perched on his helmet, in the act of pecking out his eyes. The urn retains traces of the colouring with which it was decorated.

III. On the lid of this urn a woman reclines, with an *œnochoë* in her hand. She is named "Larthi Purnei Rapalnisa." In the relief the Death of Laius is represented with the usual features—the chariot overthrown—one horse struggling on the ground—a Fury with a torch seizing another by the bridle—Œdipus unconsciously cutting down his own father, assisted by a comrade who brandishes a fragment of the wheel over the prostrate king.

IV. Another urn, on whose lid reclines a short stumpy figure, a true "*obesus Etruscus*," named "Arnti Purni," displays in its relief a rare subject, generally supposed to be the murder of Agamemnon by Clytæmnestra. A figure draped to the feet, and whose head is covered with a veil, sits on a chair in the centre of the scene. Opposite stands a woman, clad in tunic and mantle, who with a stool lifted high over her head, is in the act of striking down the veiled figure. Two armed men flank the scene.[1]

V. An urn with a male figure, called "Larth Purni Larthi Rauphesa." The relief displays a scene which may be interpreted as Electra and her brother Orestes at the tomb of Agamemnon, although no sepulchre is visible. She stands naked, yet wearing the usual adornments of her sex, in an attitude of deep dejection; Orestes, also without drapery, sits weeping below her; Pylades sits by his side; a female attendant brings a wine-jar and a plate

[1] Count Giancarlo Conestabile (Bull. Inst. 1864, p. 231) takes the veiled figure for a woman, but does not attempt to put another interpretation on the scene. If it be a male, as it appeared to me, it may well be intended for Agamemnon. It certainly does not agree with the description given by Homer, who (Odys. XI. 410) represents "the king of men" as treacherously slain at a banquet by Ægisthus and Clytæmnestra. Cf. Soph. Electra, 204. It is more accordant with the version of Æschylus, who represents him as slain by his treacherous wife, who threw a net over him when in the bath, and despatched him with a double-edged weapon (Agam. 1492, 1496, 1516, 1539). Euripides (Orest. 26) does not specify a net, but describes her as using a garment from which he could not escape.

of fruit, an offering, perhaps, to the *manes* of the deceased. Two horses are held by warriors behind, and two armed men, one at each end, complete the scene.

VI. Another urn shows the oft repeated subject of the Theban Brothers, here told in a novel manner. The combatants are preparing for the encounter, each being held back by a female figure, who in this case may represent their good genius, but the winged Fury, who with a monstrous serpent bound round her waist, springs from an altar in the midst, shows herself as their *Ker*, or the demon of their doom, although without the teeth and claws of a wild beast, as she was represented in a similar scene on the Chest of Cypselus.[2] At one end of the urn stands Charun, leaning on his mallet; at the other sits a hideous she-demon, with two fearful snakes springing from her shoulders. This urn retains many vestiges of the colour with which it was decorated.

VII. An alabaster urn with a headless male figure, named "Arnth Purni Kurkesa." The principal figure in the relief is a young man with dishevelled hair, and without drapery, though he wears a long necklace of *bullæ* and tiny vases strung together alternately, who sits, resting a lyre on his thigh, as though he were about to strike its chords. Behind him is the head of a horse, whose bridle is held by a bearded and armed warrior. In the foreground are two female figures, one of whom, though on her knees, is armed with a sword. A warrior at each end completes the scene. It is not easy to interpret this singular subject.

VIII. Another man of the same family—"Larth Purni Alpha"—reclines on the lid. The relief shows two young warriors about to engage in combat for a girl who sits half-draped on the ground between them. A Lasa, with a scroll in one hand, holds a horse by the bridle with the other.

Other urns display combats between warriors on foot or on horseback, but have nothing sufficiently remarkable, either as regards the art or the subject of the reliefs, to require a particular notice.

The antiquities in this collection were found some five or six years since, in the plain below Città la Pieve to the west, or rather in a wooded hill called "Il Butarone," which forms the further extremity of "Poggio Lungo," the long range of oak-covered heights, which stretch southward from the railway station at Chiusi. The tombs which yielded them doubtless belonged to the necropolis of Clusium.

[2] Pausan. V. 19. 6.

CHAPTER LIX.

AREZZO.—*ARRETIUM.*

Sic tempora verti
Cernimus, atque illas adsumere robora gentes;
Concidere has.

OVID.

"CAN any good come out of Nazareth?" was asked of old. "Can any good come elsewhere than from Arezzo?" one is ready to inquire, on beholding the numerous tablets in the streets of that city, recording the unparalleled virtues and talents of her sons. Here dwelt "the monarch of wisdom,"—there "an incomparable pupil of Melpomene,"—this was "the stoutest champion of Tuscany, the dread and terror of the Turks,"—and that,—the world ne'er saw his like,—for

"Natura il fece, e poi ruppe la stampa"—[1]

no unapt metaphor for a city of potters, as this was of old. Verily may it be said, "*Parlano in Arezzo ancora i sassi*"—the very stones are eloquent of the past glories of Arezzo, and of her maternal pride. Yet some of her children's names have filled the trump, not only of Tuscan, but of universal fame; and the city which has produced a Mæcenas and a Petrarch may be pardoned for a little vanity.[2]

It is not for me to set forth the modern glories of Arezzo—her Cathedral with its choice monuments of sculpture and painting—the quaint-fashioned church of La Pieve—the localities immortalised by Boccaccio—the delightful promenade on her ramparts

[1] This idea has been beautifully rendered by Byron—

"Sighing that Nature made but one such man,
And broke the die, in moulding Sheridan."

[2] Even Mæcenas, who, having found his bard, might well have dispensed with it, has his monument in Arezzo. On the grass-plot by the Duomo is a granite column to his memory.—"C. Cilnio Mæcenati Arretino, Concives tanto nomine decorati, P. C. Prid. Idus Mai 1819, L. D. S. C."

—the produce of her vineyards, renowned in ancient times,[3] and sung at the present day, as the juice which

> Vermigliuzzo,
> Brillantuzzo,
> Fa superbo l' Aretino.

But I may assure the traveller that nowhere on his journeyings in Etruria will he find better accommodation than at La Vittoria, or the Locanda Reale d' Inghilterra, at Arezzo.[4]

This large and lively city is the representative of the ancient Arretium or Aretium,[5] a venerable city of Etruria, and one of the Twelve of the Confederation. Of its origin we have no record.[6] The earliest notice of it is, that with Clusium, Volaterræ, Rusellæ, and Vetulonia, it engaged to assist the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus.[7] We next hear of it in the year 443 (B.C. 311) as refraining from joining the rest of the Etruscan cities in their attack on Sutrium, then an ally of Rome;[8] yet it must have been drawn into the war, for in the following year, it is said, jointly with Perusia and Cortona, all three among the chief cities of Etruria, to have sought and obtained a truce for thirty years.[9]

In the year 453 (B.C. 301) the citizens of Arretium rose against their leading family, the Cilnii, whose great wealth had excited their jealousy, and drove them out of the city. The Romans espoused the cause of the exiles, and Valerius Maximus, the dictator, marched against the Arretines and the other Etruscans who had joined them; but during his absence from the army, in order to reconsult the auspices at Rome, his lieutenant in command fell into an ambuscade, and met with a signal defeat. The Etruscans, however, were eventually overcome in the fields of Rusellæ, and their might was broken.[1]

[3] Arretium had three sorts of grapes—"talpana, et etesiaca, et conseminia"—whose peculiarities are set forth by Pliny, XIV. 4, 7.

[4] Arezzo is 18 miles from Cortona, 31 from Montepulciano, more than 40 from Chiusi, nearly as many from Siena, and 51 from Florence.

[5] It is spelt both ways by classic writers; but ancient inscriptions always give Arretium. Cluver. II. p. 571.

[6] Cluver considered it to have been prior to the Trojan War, and to have been founded either by the Umbri or Pelasgi. But there is no statement to that effect in ancient writers.

[7] Dion. Hal. III. c. 51. This, as already stated with reference to the other four cities, is a proof of the rank Arretium took as one of the Twelve; which is fully confirmed by Livy.

[8] Liv. IX. 32.

[9] Liv. IX. 37; Diodor. Sic. XX. p. 773.

[1] Liv. X. 3–5. Some authorities, adds Livy, state that there was no warfare consequent on the insurrection of the Arretines, but that it was peaceably suppressed, and the Cilnian family restored to the favour of the people. It was of this "royal" house that Mæcenas came.

In the war which the Etruscans, in alliance with the Gauls and Umbrians, waged against Rome in the years 459 and 460, Arretium took part, and with Perusia and Volsinii, the mightiest cities of the land, sustained another defeat in the neighbourhood of Rusellæ, and was forced to sue for peace.[2]

The last mention we find of Arretium, in the time of national independence, is that it was besieged by the Gauls about the year 469, and that the Romans, vainly endeavouring to relieve it, met with a signal defeat under its walls.[3] There is no record of the date or the manner of its final conquest by Rome. It was at Arretium that the consul Flaminius fixed his camp before the fatal overthrow on the shores of the Thrasymene.[4] The city did not remain faithful during the Punic War, but made several efforts to throw off the yoke, and the Romans were compelled to make hostages of the sons of the senators, and put new keys on the city-gates.[5] Yet towards the close of the war, Arretium furnished her quota of supplies—corn, weapons, and other munitions of war—for Scipio's fleet.[6] In the civil contests of Sylla and Marius, she sided with the latter, and would have suffered from the victor the loss of her lands and citizenship, but for the eloquence of Cicero, who pleaded her cause.[7] Many of the colonists afterwards espoused the cause of Catiline.[8] In the war between Cæsar and Pompey, Arretium was one of the first places seized by the former.[9] Her fertile lands were three times partitioned among the soldiers of the Republic, and the colonies established were distinguished by the names of Arretium Vetus, Fidens, and Julium.[1] The former was still one of the chief

[2] Liv. X. 37.—Tres validissimæ urbes, Etruriæ capita, Volsinii, Perusia, Arretium, pacem petiêre.

[3] Polyb. II. 19. Orosius (III. 22) refers this event to the year 463, but if he is correct in stating that it was in the consulate of Dolabella and Domitius, it occurred in 471 (B.C. 283).

[4] Liv. XXII. 2, 3; Polyb. III. 77, 80; Cicero (de Divin. I. 35) tells us that the Consul and his horse here fell suddenly to the ground before a statue of Jupiter Stator, yet he neglected the omen; and when he consulted the auspices, though the holy chickens would not feed propitiously, he refused to regard the warning, and marched out to his own destruction.

[5] Liv. XXVII. 21, 22, 24.

[6] Liv. XXVIII. 45.

[7] Cicero, pro Cæcinâ, 33; ad Attic. I. 19.

[8] Cicero, pro Murenâ, 24.

[9] Cicero, ad Divers. XVI. 12; Cæsar, Bell. Civ. I. 11.

[1] Plin. III. 8. Repetti (I. p. 113) refers the colony of Arretium Fidens to Sylla; yet Cicero (ad Attic. I. 19) expressly states that though Sylla had confiscated the lands of the Arretini, he was prevented by himself from dividing them among his legions. The Arretium Julium was established under the Triumvirate, as Frontinus (de Coloniis) assures us. Arretium is also mentioned as a colony by Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert,), and as a *municipium* by Isidor (Orig. XX. 4), and by inscriptions. Dempster, II. p. 311. Cluver (II. p. 572) thinks it must have been a *municipium* of

cities of Etruria under the Empire.[2] Though said to have been destroyed by Totila, the Vandal, Arretium rose from her ashes, withstood all the vicissitudes of the dark ages, which proved so fatal to many of her fellows, and is still represented by a city, which, though shorn of her ancient pre-eminence, takes rank among the chief of Tuscany.

The walls of Arretium were renowned of old for the peculiarity and beauty of their construction, being formed of brick[3]—the only instance on record of such a material being employed in an Etruscan town. It has been asserted that those ancient fortifications still inclose the modern city; but after a careful examination, I am convinced that not a fragment of the existing walls can lay claim to an Etruscan origin.[4] In truth, it appears to me extremely questionable if Arezzo occupies the site of the original city.

Signor Gamurrini, however, to whose courtesy I am indebted for much valuable information respecting this his native city, is of the contrary opinion, and though he does not claim the existing fortifications to be of Etruscan construction, he assures me that the line of the original walls can be clearly traced, and that fragments of them are to be seen in the Via Colcitrone, the Borgo Unto, and Borgo degli Orti, all of *isodomon* masonry. I

the third kind described by Festus (*sub voce*), of which the inhabitants enjoyed the citizenship of Rome, together with the internal administration of their own city.

[2] Strabo, V. p. 226. He states that it was the most inland city of Etruria, and a thousand *stadia* (125 miles) from Rome; which is less than the real distance. The Antonine Itinerary is nearer the truth in making the distance 139 miles. See pp. 313, 374.

[3] Vitruv. II. 8.—E latere . . . . in Italiâ Aretii vetustum egregie factum murum. cf. Plin. XXXV. 49. It may be remarked that both Vitruvius and Pliny speak of this wall in the singular number. From this Signor Gamurrini concludes that they do not refer to the fortifications of the city, but to some particular piece of walling of that peculiar construction, and he thinks he has found vestiges of this wall at two points within Arezzo, constructed of bricks nearly a yard long. Yet the singular number is frequently used by the Roman historians when speaking of the fortifications in general of a city, and we see no reason to doubt that Vitruvius and Pliny so used it in this instance.

[4] So far are the walls of Arezzo from being of Etruscan construction, that there is not a fragment of such antiquity in the entire circuit. I have fully satisfied myself on this point. The walls are for the most part of squared stones, not unlike bricks, in size and form, put together with cement; and they are patched here and there with larger masonry also cemented, and of yet more recent date—all undoubtedly the work of the middle ages, and of no remote period. In the walls in the higher part of the town, around the Cathedral, there are fragments of earlier construction, of brick-work, possibly Roman, for it is like that in buildings of late Imperial times. The best fragments are near the Porta del Casentino. The brickwork of the Etruscans, the preceptors of the Romans in architecture, may be supposed to have resembled the fragments found at Veii (Vol. I. p. 13), or the earlier structures of the Romans, rather than any later style of that people.

regret that since the receipt of this information, I have not been able to revisit Arezzo.

In the garden of the Passionist Convent, in the lower part of the town, are some Roman ruins, of *opus reticulatum*, commonly called the Amphitheatre, but not a seat remains in the *cavea* to indicate that such was the purpose of the structure. Like the amphitheatre of Volterra, and the theatre of Fiesole, this building was long considered to be Etruscan, but its Roman origin is most manifest.[5]

Arretium was celebrated of old for her pottery, which was of red ware.[6] Pliny speaks of it in connection with that of Samos, Surrentum, Saguntum, and Pergamos, and says it was used for dry meats as well as for liquids, and was sent to various parts of the world.[7] It was much employed for ordinary purposes, and on this account is sneered at by Martial.[8]

In excavations made at various times within the walls of Arezzo, generally in laying the foundations of buildings, much of this pottery has been brought to light; in one place, indeed, the site of a factory was clearly indicated.[9] This ware is of very fine clay, of a bright coral hue, adorned with reliefs, rather of flowers than of figures, and bearing the maker's name at the bottom of the vase. In form, material, decoration, and style of art, it is so totally unlike the produce of any Etruscan necropolis, that it scarcely needs the Latin inscriptions to mark its origin.[1]

[5] Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. p. 55, cl. I. tab. 7) took it to be Etruscan. Did not remains of seats, steps, and *præcinctiones*, exist beneath the soil, as Gori affirms, I should take the ruin for a bath, as it bears more resemblance to certain structures of that description, than to an amphitheatre.

[6] Isidor. Orig. XX. 4.

[7] Plin. XXXV. 46.—Samia etiamnum in esculetis laudantur. Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italiâ; et calicum tantum, Surrentum, Asta, Pollentia; in Hispania Saguntum, in Asia Pergamum . . . . sic gentes nobilitantur. Hæc quoque per maria terrasque ultro citroque portantur, insignibus rotæ officinis.

[8] Mart. I. epig. 54, 6—

Sic Aretinæ violant crystallina testæ.

And again, XIV. 98—

Aretina nimis ne spernas vasa, monemus;
Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus.

That the pottery of Arretium was used for ordinary purposes is also shown by Persius (I. 130), who speaks of an ædile breaking those pots which were not of just measure.

[9] In laying the foundations of the new theatre a quantity of this ware was found, together with moulds for casting the reliefs, and remains of vitrified earth—marking the site of a pottery. Bull. Inst. 1830, p. 238. In very recent excavations, Signor Gamurrini has brought to light an abundance of this red ware, all in fragments. It is now in the house of his relative, Signor Giudice.

[1] The inscription is generally the maker's name alone, though his business and the site of the manufacture are sometimes added, thus—

A . TITI .
FIGVL
ARRET .

Bull. Inst. 1834, pp. 102, 150. For the names stamped on these vases, see Fabroni, Vasi Fittili Aretini, tav. 11; Bull. Inst.

Moreover, the decorations betray a late period of art—the elegance and finish of Augustan times, not the simplicity and severity of the purely Etruscan style—very unlike the quaint reliefs on the pottery of the neighbouring district of Chiusi. The subjects, too, are not the strange chimæras of the early monuments of Etruria, nor the scenes of Etruscan and Greek mythology on the urns, on the walls of tombs, and on the painted vases; but in general unmeaning arabesques, like those of Pompeii, though figures are occasionally introduced. None of this ware, so far as I can learn, has been found with Etruscan inscriptions or devices; nor ever in Etruscan tombs, though often in Roman ones of the early Empire.[2] Therefore, though it were too much to assert that the Etruscans never formed such a ware, it is probable that all hitherto found is of Roman times. It is discovered chiefly, but not exclusively, at Arezzo. Specimens of it are occasionally brought to light on other sites in Etruria; it is found also, and in abundance, at Modena.[3]

From the excavations made at various periods within and around the walls of Arezzo, it is pretty evident that the Etruscan necropolis, though not the Etruscan city, occupied the site of the modern town. On the low ground, near the railway station, at a spot called Pratello del Poggio, to the left of the circular Piazza, which you cross on the way from the station to the town, numerous Etruscan tombs have been found, which have yielded pots of black *bucchero*, together with some painted vases, and

1834, pp. 102, 150. Some of these names are Greek, which Inghirami regards as a proof that the Etruscans employed Greek artists. Mon. Etrus. V. p. 11.

[2] The only instance, I believe, in which this pottery has been found in connection with Etruscan articles, is where a small marble urn with a bilingual inscription, now in the Museum, was discovered in a niche in a rock, half a mile from Arezzo, surrounded by these red vases. Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 149. But from this we can only deduce that the Etruscan character had not wholly fallen into disuse at the period of the manufacture of this ware. Müller (Etrusk. IV. 3, 1) regarded this pottery as Etruscan; but his opinion appears to be formed rather on the notices of the ancients than on practical acquaintance.

[3] In the British Museum is a *tazza* of this red ware, with the word "LAPI" on it, found, with others of the same description, at Toscanella. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 28. The same pottery has been discovered in some quantity at Cervetri. Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 20. I have found many fragments on the Ara Regina at Tarquinii. The red ware, found in abundance at Modena, is precisely like this of Arezzo, even to the names and seals of the potters, which are often identical (Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 14; 1841, p. 144)—a fact, which as Mutina had also its peculiar pottery (Plin. loc. cit. —habent et Tralles opera sua, et Mutina in Italiâ) must be explained by the commerce which existed in such articles.

For an account of the Arretine pottery see Dr. Fabroni's work, "Storia degli Antichi Vasi Fittili Aretini," 1841, 8vo, pp. 78. Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. V. pp. 1–12, tav. I. And besides the notices in the publications of the Archæological Institute, already cited, see Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 105.

little figures and mirrors in bronze. Etruscan inscriptions have been found in the river as well as beneath the walls on that side of the city. In the spring of 1869, at a very short distance from the walls, Signor Gamurrini found 180 idols of bronze, with many votive offerings, intaglios with oriental figures, gold and silver rings, some early black ware, and specimens of the *æs rude* in very large quantities, but no other ancient money. He would refer all these objects to the period between the fourth and fifth centuries of Rome. At the same time, within the walls, he discovered an ancient Etruscan cemetery, from which he brought to light two large painted vases of very archaic character, one of them showing two winged Furies running, the other the contest of the Centaurs with the Lapithæ. In both cases the figures were painted black, on the natural colour of the clay, but the ground having been cut away, they were left in flat relief—a mode of decoration unique on figured vases.[4]

Museo Pubblico.

There were formerly two collections of antiquities at Arezzo—the Museo Pubblico, and the Museo Bacci. The latter was once of great renown, but after being much reduced by sales, it was incorporated some years since with the Public Museum.

Every article in this collection is labelled with the name of the spot on which it was found—an admirable system, which greatly facilitates the studies of the antiquary, and ought to be adopted in every museum. It is due to Professor Fabroni, the learned Director.

This collection is stored in three rooms.

The first room contains the bronzes. Here are numerous "simulacra Etrusca"—little figures of deities of all descriptions, but principally Lares and Genii, many Etruscan, some Roman; mirrors with mythological subjects, *pateræ* with figured handles, strigils, *fibulæ*, flesh-hooks, sacrificial knives, coins,[5] and a variety of objects in the same metal. Bronzes seem to

[4] Bull. Inst. 1869, p. 72.—Gamurrini.

[5] The coins which are commonly attributed to Arretium have a wheel on the obverse; and an anchor or the prow of a ship, on the reverse,—both equally inappropriate emblems for a city which was further removed from the sea than any in Etruria. Nor does the legend, in Etruscan letters, "VPN," bear any obvious relation to Arretium. More appropriate are those which, with the wheel on the obverse, have a vase on the reverse, either a *krater*, or an *amphora*. Marchi and Tessieri refer those with the former to Arretium Vetus, and those with the latter to the Roman colony of Arretium Fidens. Æs Grave, class. III. tav. 5, 6; Bull. Inst. 1839, pp. 123–4; Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 104.

have been particularly abundant in the Etruscan tombs of Arretium, Cortona, and Perugia, and bear a much larger proportion to the pottery, than in the cemeteries near the coast.

The celebrated bronze Chimæra of the Florence Gallery was found at Arezzo in 1534, beneath the walls to the north-west.[6] And the Minerva in the same Gallery, which is generally thought to be a work of early Greek art, but may possibly be Etruscan, was also discovered on this site.[7]

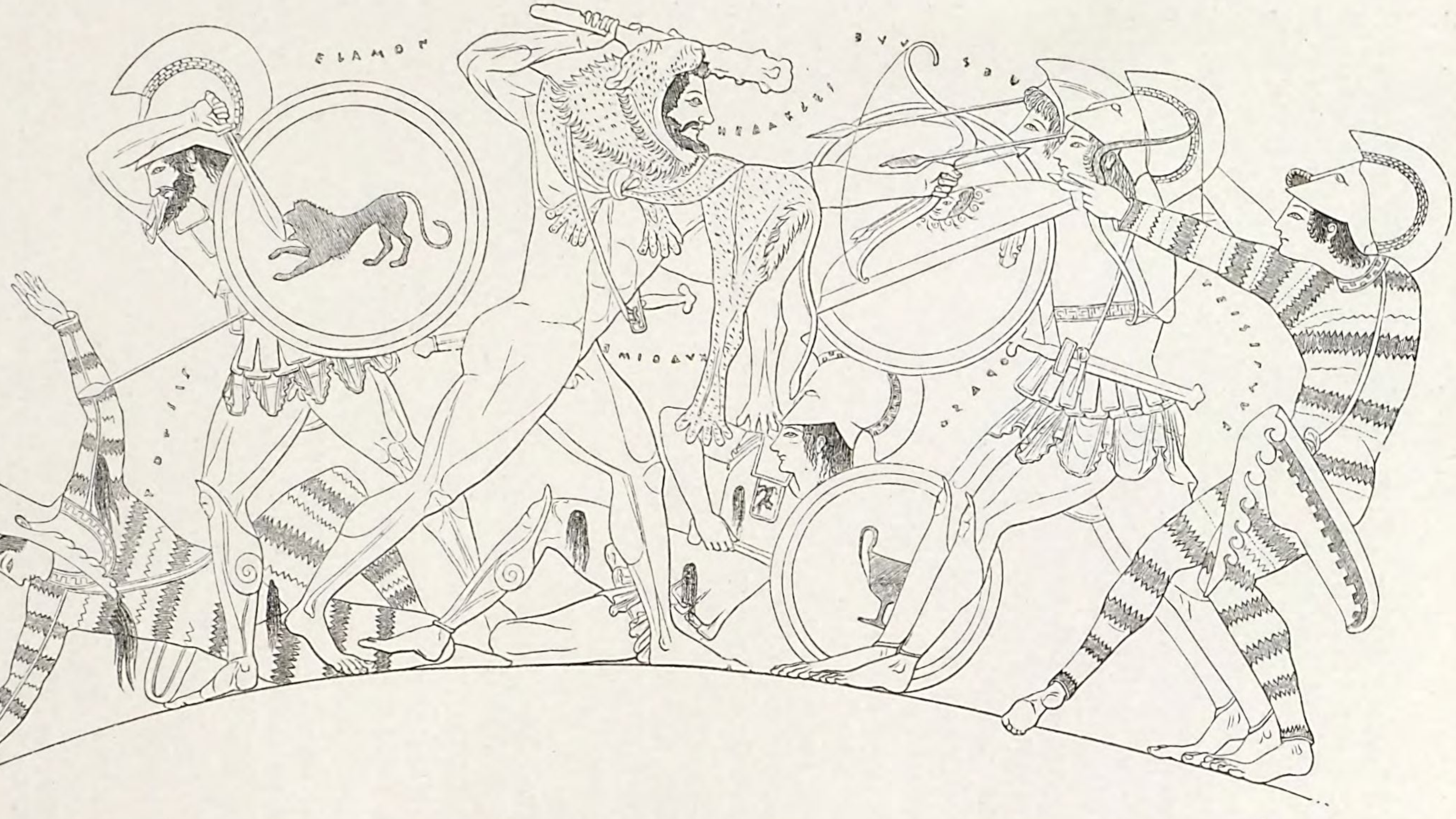
In the Second Room is the pottery. Here are two cases of black ware, of early and of late date. Many vases from Sarteano, of red as well as of black ware; a *canopus* with movable head and arms, from the same place; a covered pot from Radicofani, with an Etruscan inscription, "Pupli Tarlntia,"[8] which calls to mind the celebrated Ghibelline bishop, Guido Tarlati, whose tomb, so rich in storied reliefs, forms one of the chief ornaments of Arezzo Cathedral. Here is also an abundance of the local red ware, chiefly in fragments, and mostly found within the walls of Arezzo, with the pigments also, and moulds, in yellow ware or in white stone, and the instruments of bronze or ivory with points of different shapes, with which the moulds were fashioned. He who admires majolica may here revel in a splendid collection of plates, of which it is not my province to treat.

On a stand in the centre of this room is a vase of wonderful beauty. It is a *krater* of large size, with handles rising above the rim. Hercules is here represented combating the Amazons. In the centre the son of Alcmena, with his lion-skin over his head, and wrapt round his left arm, holds out his bow and arrow with the same hand, while he strikes with uplifted club at the three Amazons before him. Two of them named "LESYLE" and "THRASO," who are fully armed like *hoplitæ*, in helmets, cuirasses, greaves, and with swords by their sides, are aiming their lances at the hero, while protecting themselves with their Argolic shields, one of which shows a Gorgon's head as its device. A third called "TEISIPYLE," wears a similar helmet, but no other armour, her only weapon being a bow, with which she is speeding an arrow against the god. Her curiously formed quiver hangs at her left side, suspended by a strap from her neck. She

[6] *Ut supra*, pp. 74, 89.

[7] *Ut supra*, pp. 86, 87.

[8] Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 386, tav. LV. 6) reads it "Pupli Tarchntias," or Publius Tarchuntias. He may be right, for the addition of a small stroke would convert the L into CH. Yet the name of "Tarlnia" occurs on an Etruscan urn in one of the tombs of Perugia.



HERCULES AND TELAMON COMBATING THE AMAZONS. *From a Vase in the Museum of Arezzo*

is clad in *anaxyrides*, a garment fitting closely to her figure, and covering her whole body, save her head, hands, and feet, and strangely banded in every part, as shown in the woodcut on page 387. The demi-god has already vanquished one of his fair foes, "KYDOIME," who having received three fearful wounds apparently from his sword, which he has returned to its sheath, is sinking to the ground at his feet. The shield on her arm displays a *kantharus* as its device, and on her cuirass is the figure of a small lion. Behind "HERAKLES," is a Greek called "TELAMON," accoutred precisely like the three Amazons, and with a lion on his shield, cutting down his foe "TOKSIS," on whom he has already inflicted three wounds. She is dressed in the same harlequin costume as Teisipyle, but wears a Phrygian cap instead of a helmet. On the reverse of the vase, four other Amazons are rushing up to assist their comrades—three of them armed like Greeks, with large circular shields, bearing devices of a scorpion, a raven, and a *kantharus*, and the fourth in a banded dress, wearing a Phrygian cap, and armed with bow and arrows. The neck of the vase shows a Bacchic dance of some twenty figures of both sexes.[9]

Beneath this vase is another of the form called *stamnos*, representing the departure of a warrior, and his return from the field, discovered at Alberoro, nine miles from Arezzo on the road to Fojano,[1]—a beautiful vase in the Third Style.

The Third Room contains Etruscan sepulchral urns of travertine, alabaster, or marble, mixed with Roman cinerary urns of stone with Latin inscriptions. Most of the Etruscan urns are without recumbent figures, but all bear inscriptions; in one which was found at Lucignano, in the Val di Chiana, I noticed the historical name of Spurinna.[2] One urn of late date, found in the immediate vicinity of Arezzo surrounded by the red Aretine pottery, is remarkable for a bilingual inscription. The Etruscan is imperfect, but seems to run—

V. CASZI. C. CLANS.

The Latin is—

C. CASSIUS. C. F.
SATURNINUS.

[9] This vase is illustrated in Mon. Inst. VIII. tav. 6; and described Ann. Inst. 1864, pp. 239–246. (Otto Jahn.) Telamon, according to the legend, was the companion of Hercules in his expedition against Troy, and for the great valour he displayed the demi-god presented him with a cup. Peisander, ap. Athen. XI. 24. Cf. Panofka, Arch. Zeit. iv. p. 107.

[1] Bull. Inst. 1838, p. 74.

[2] In Latin letters the inscription would be "L. SPURINEI. TETINAI."

Saturninus finds no equivalent in the Etruscan. It is singular that the Velus of the Etruscan should be translated by Caius, but the same thing occurs in other bilingual inscriptions.[3] A few of the urns bear reliefs; among them one with a square altar surmounted by three obelisks, and with a man or woman on each side of it, is remarkable. Another shows a marine monster of unusual form, for it has three human bodies united, terminating in a pair of fish-tails. The central body flourishes an oar, the outer ones appear to be hurling rocks. There is also an Etruscan lion couchant, in stone.

In a case in this room are displayed a few urns of terra-cotta, bearing the usual subjects of the Theban Brothers, Cadmus, &c. One, however, shows an arched doorway, the gate of Orcus, on each side of which a winged Fury, with torch and buskins, sits upon a rock, in an attitude of expectation; one of them having just extinguished her torch. Here are some portrait-heads in the same material; and numerous little figures of babies, votive offerings, all from the same mould.

In the centre of the room is a beautiful *amphora*, in the Third Style, with a brilliant polish—from Casalta. "Pelops," crowned with laurel, and wearing a *chlamys* decorated with flowers, is driving a *quadriga* at full speed, his hair and drapery streaming behind him in the wind. His bride, "Ippodamea," whom he has won in the race, stands before him in the car. Myrtilus seems to lie beneath the horses' feet.[4]

Another vase represents the death of Œnomaus. A *quadriga* is driven, at full gallop, by the treacherous Myrtilus, by whose side stood his lord in complete armour, but he has just relaxed his hold on the *antyx*, or front rail of the chariot, and is falling out of it backwards. A tripod on a Doric column behind the car, marks the goal.

It has been stated that there were three Roman colonies of the name of Arretium, distinguished by the epithets of Vetus, Fidens, and Julium. The first was evidently the Etruscan city, and has generally been identified with Arezzo; the other two are supposed to be in the neighbourhood, but their sites are not satisfactorily determined.[5] I am persuaded, however, that Arezzo does not occupy the original site, though probably that of one of

[3] *Ut supra*, p. 306. See also Lanzi, II. p. 342; Bull. Inst. 1833, p. 51; 1834, p. 149; Caius is also used as the equivalent of Larth.

[4] Ann. Inst. 1864, pp. 83–94; Mon. Inst. VIII. tav. 3. Kekulé takes this fragmentary figure for a dolphin.

[5] Cluver (II. p. 571) did not attempt to

the colonies. Its position, for the greater part on the very level of the plain, only rising a little at the northern end,[6] is so unlike that of Etruscan cities in general, as to raise, at the first glance, strong doubts of its antiquity in my mind. Every other Etruscan town in this district is on a lofty height—Fiesole, Volterra, Cortona, Perugia, Chiusi—why should Arretium alone be in the plain? Moreover, the discovery of numerous Etruscan tombs and sepulchral objects on various spots within the walls of Arezzo, not only on the low ground near the railway station, as already stated, but also on the height called Poggio del Sole, and again on that of the Duomo Vecchio, seems decisive of the fact. Signor Gamurrini, who records these discoveries, is nevertheless of opinion that the actual town occupies the Etruscan site, and to reconcile these facts with his view, is induced to suppose that the former hill, at least, was originally outside the city-walls.[7] In this case I cannot bow to his authority, for all analogy is opposed to the supposition that Etruscan Arretium stood on the level of the plain. Necessity did not here, as at Pisa, dictate such a site, for there are high grounds suitable for a city in the immediate vicinity.

This view is confirmed by the discovery, of late years, of the walls of an ancient city in the neighbourhood of Arezzo,—discovery, I say, because though within sight of the town, and familiar perhaps for ages to the inhabitants, they were unheeded, and no one had made them known to the world.[8] They lie two or three miles to the south-east, on a height called Poggio di San Cornelio, or Castel Secco, a barren eminence of no great elevation, yet much higher than Arezzo, whose level summit is so strewn with fragments of rock and pottery, as scarcely to nourish a weed. On the brow of the hill, to the north-west, is a fragment of ancient walling of regular masonry.[9] More to the west are traces of a gate. Another portion of the walls has narrow

assign a site to either. Holstenius (Annot. ad Cluver, p. 72), however, placed the Julian colony at Subbiano on the Arno, some ten miles north of Arezzo, and the Fidens at Castiglion Fiorentino, on the road to Cortona. He is followed in this by Cramer, I. p. 213. Dempster (II. p. 423) placed the Fidens at Montepulciano.

[6] The height of the upper part of the city above the lower is said to be 74 *braccia*, or 142 feet (Repetti, I. p. 112); but it does not appear nearly so much.

[7] Bull. Inst. 1863, p. 54; 1869, p. 72.

[8] Repetti appears to have been the first to make them known in 1833 (I. p. 585). Even Alessi, who in the fifteenth century made diligent search for local antiquities, makes no mention of them in his Cronaca d' Arezzo, a MS. in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, at Florence. Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 410.

[9] In one part this masonry is as high as 12 feet, but in general it scarcely rises above the ground. The blocks are 2 or 3 feet long, by 18 inches high.

buttresses, only thirteen feet apart. But on the southern side of the hill the wall rises nearly thirty feet, and extends for two hundred, having eight massive buttresses at short intervals, seven or eight feet wide, and projecting about three feet. They might be taken for towers, were it not for the narrow interval of fifteen feet between them. Both walls and buttresses fall back slightly from the perpendicular. The masonry is horizontal; and though perhaps originally neatly cut and fitted, it has suffered so much from the weather, and the rock is naturally so friable, that it presents as rude an appearance as the towers in the Cucumella at Vulci, which were not intended to see the light of day.[1]

The circumstances under which I visited this site did not permit me to make a plan of it, or to determine its precise dimensions. But Signor Gamurrini assures me it is of very small size, square or nearly so, much too limited in extent for the Etruscan city of Arretium.[2]

These walls are very peculiar; as regards the buttresses, unique in Etruria. They have the appearance of great antiquity. Inghirami took them to be Roman, and to belong to one of the two colonies of Arretium, and thought the rudeness of the masonry might be the result of hasty construction. But he did not form his opinion from ocular inspection. To me this seems more likely to be an Etruscan than a Roman site.[3] It were contrary to all analogy to suppose that Arezzo was the original site, and that this, so much stronger by nature, was of subsequent settlement. *This* was just the position that would have been

[1] The size of the blocks is not extraordinary. One which was 8 ft. 2 in. long, by 1 ft. 8 in. high, was unusually large. But the tendency of the stone to split at right angles, makes it sometimes difficult to determine the size.

[2] He tells me that within his memory it was entirely surrounded by walls. Repetti (I. p. 585) says it is only 1240 *braccia* in circuit; Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 410) calls it 1300 *braccia*, or less than half a mile, round; and says it has the form of an irregular ellipse. To me it appeared of larger size. The hill may be but a portion of the ancient site, for it is connected with high grounds of considerable extent, apparently capable of holding a city of first-rate importance. But having had no opportunity of examining these heights, I cannot say if they retain vestiges of ancient habitation. For further notices of this site see Bull. Inst. 1837, p. 96.

[3] Müller, who visited these ruins in 1839 at Micali's suggestion, regarded them as Etruscan and the remains of the original city. Micali, however, sets no value on his opinion in the latter particular, and considers them to belong to an advanced or look-out post of Arretium, which he identifies with Arezzo, or to an outwork detached from the city. Yet he admits them to be of Etruscan construction. Mon. Ined. pp. 411–413. He gives a plan of the bastions and a view of the masonry (tav. LX.). Repetti (I. p. 585) also hints that this may be the Acropolis of Arretium, but says no excavations have ever been made to determine the fact.

chosen by the Etruscans; *that*, by the Romans. The cities of the former were founded at a time when the inhabitants had to struggle for existence with neighbouring tribes, warlike, restless, ever encroaching—semibarbarians who knew no law but that of sword and lance. It was necessary for them to select sites where nature would add to the strength of their fortifications. But with the Romans, the case was very different. At the time the latter, at least, of the two colonies of Arretium was founded, they were masters not only of all Italy but of the greater part of the known world. They had nothing to fear from foreign invasion, and it was enough for them to surround their cities with fortifications, without selecting sites which, though adding to their strength, would involve a great sacrifice of convenience. This was their practice much earlier than the establishment of these Arretine colonies, as is shown by the instances of Volsinii and Falerii, whose population, about the time of the First Punic War, was removed from the original city on the heights to a new one in the plain. This may have been the case also with Arretium.[4] Or if the original town were not deserted, there is every ground for concluding that the fresh colony was established on a no less convenient site. However this be, there can be no doubt that the Etruscan city, like all its fellows, stood on an eminence, and was fortified by nature as well as by art.[5] Whether it occupied this Poggio di San Cornelio, or some of the neighbouring heights, I do not pretend to determine; but hesitate not to assert my conviction that it cannot have stood on the site of modern Arezzo. In fact not only is all evidence of identity wanting, but history is opposed to the current opinion, for it is known that at least on three several occasions have the walls of Arezzo been enlarged;[6] and it is

[4] In the cases of Falerii and Volsinii, the fact is not mentioned by one of the earlier historians of Rome, only by Zonaras, a Byzantine writer of late date. The original town of Arretium, however, was still extant in Pliny's day; but it may have been inhabited, like Falerii and Veii, by a fresh colony.

[5] Silius Italicus, a writer of more accuracy than imagination (Plin. epist. III. 7 —scribebat carmina majore curâ quam ingenio), in speaking of the Second Punic War, notices "the lofty walls of Arretium" (V. 122)—a description which, by *hypallage*, probably refers rather to the site of the city than to the character of the fortifications.

[6] Totila, the Vandal, is said to have completely destroyed the ancient walls, but as this rests on tradition, rather than on history, it is subject to doubt. Yet it is certain that the walls of the city were destroyed in the year 1111 by the Emperor Henry V., and were not restored for more than a century, being in 1226 rebuilt with a more ample circuit. These were replaced by a fresh and still more extended line, commenced in 1276, and completed in 1322 by Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Pietramala. And lastly the walls were rebuilt and altered, from 1549 to 1568, by Cosimo I., who erected the bastions and curtains which meet the eye at the present day. Repetti, I. p. 114.

quite impossible, supposing the modern town to occupy the site of the Etruscan city, that the original site, which in that case must have been the circumscribed height on which the Duomo stands, could have held a first-rate city, like the Arretium of the Etruscans.

In a word, there is every reason to believe that the illustrious city of Arezzo does not occupy the site of the Etruscan Arretium, but of one of the Roman colonies of the same name ;[7] and as all analogy marks the town on the Poggio di San Cornelio to be of earlier date than this in the plain, the question turns upon that town. If it be proved an Etruscan site,[8] Arezzo may be the Arretium Fidens; but if the town on the heights cannot be identified with the original city, it must be the Fidens, and Arezzo the later colony of Arretium Julium; and the site of the Etruscan city has yet to be discovered.

[7] That Arezzo occupies a site that was once Roman is abundantly proved by its extant remains. The fragments of brickwork around the higher part of the city, may belong to the Roman walls, which, if this be the site of the Julian colony, are those mentioned by Frontinus, — "Arretium, muro ducta colonia lege Triumvirali." Or the fragments of *isodomon* masonry, which Signor Gamurrini mentions as existing at various spots within the actual walls (see p. 382), may be portions of the earlier fortifications raised by the Aretini Fidentes. Plin. III. 8.

[8] It may be urged as an objection to this being the Etruscan site, that the masonry is of stone, whereas the ancient walls were of brick. But we have no positive assurance that the brick walls, mentioned by Vitruvius and Pliny, were of Etruscan construction. If on the capture of the city by the Romans, a fresh town was built, as was the case with Falerii and Volsinii, it may have been that which had the walls of brick ; for as nearly three centuries intervened to the time of Vitruvius, they would have been entitled to his designation of "ancient." Were it even certain that Vitruvius and Pliny refer to the Etruscan walls, it may be that in these ruins we see but a small portion of the ancient fortifications, and just that portion which from the massiveness of the masonry has escaped destruction. If the brickwork were not strongly cemented it would soon be pulled to pieces by the peasantry, for the sake of the materials.



SATYRS AND HARPY, FROM THE ETRUSCAN LAMP, CORTONA MUSEUM.

CHAPTER LX.

CORTONA.—*CORTONA.*

Corythum, terrasque requirat
Ausonias !—VIRGIL.

Clara fuit Sparte ; magnæ viguêre Mycenæ ;
Vile solum Sparte est ; altæ cecidêre Mycenæ.—OVID.

TRAVELLER, thou art approaching Cortona ! Dost thou reverence age—that fulness of years which, as Pliny says, "in man is venerable, in cities sacred?" Here is that which demands thy reverence. Here is a city, compared to which Rome is but of yesterday—to which most other cities of ancient renown are fresh and green. Thou mayst have wandered far and wide through Italy—nothing hast thou seen more venerable than Cortona. Ere the days of Hector and Achilles, ere Troy itself arose—Cortona was. On that bare and lofty height, whose

PLAN

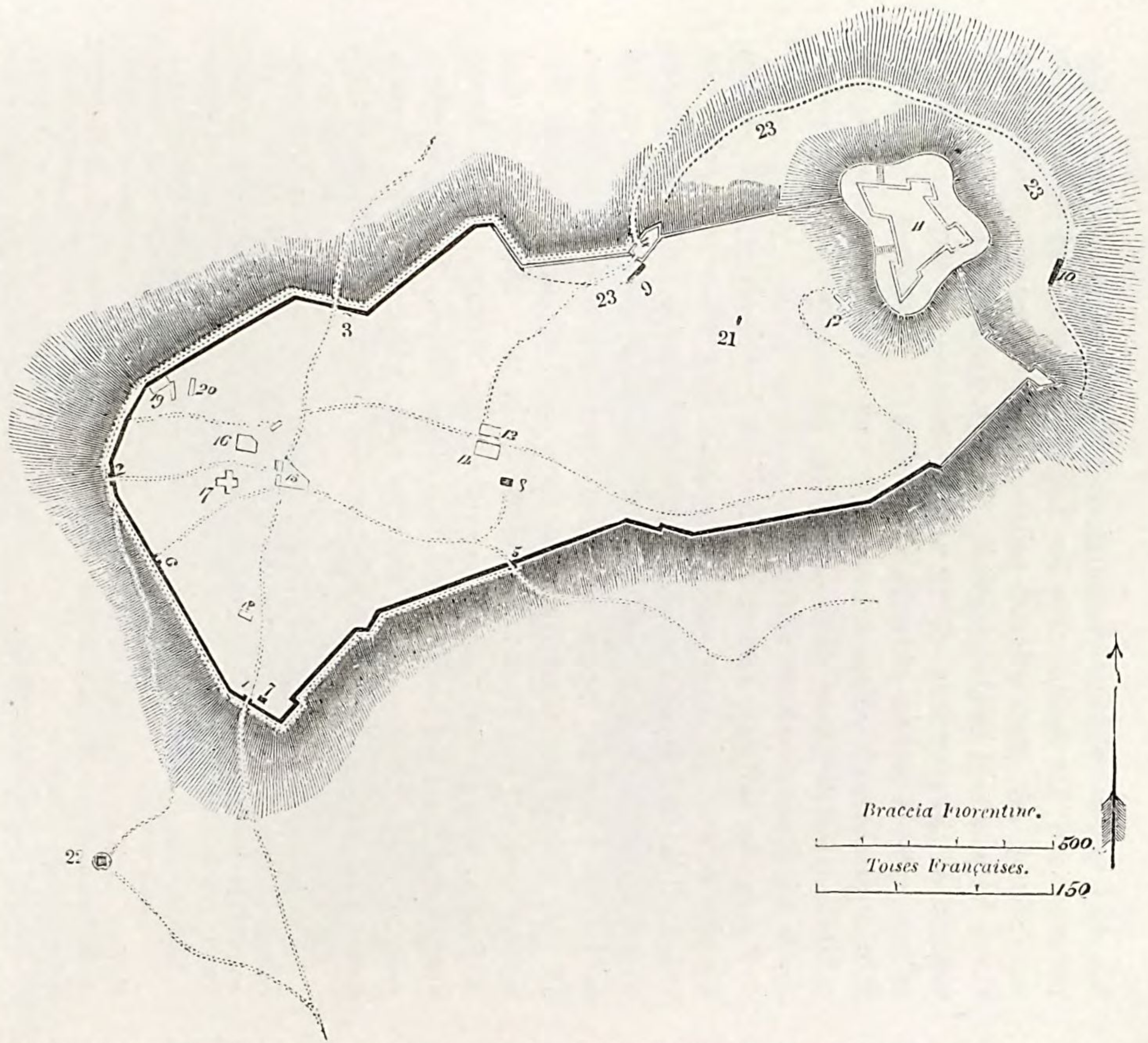
OF

CORTONA,

ADAPTED FROM MICALI.

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1 Porta S. Agostino.
2 Porta Sta. Maria.
3 Porta Colonia.
4 Porta Montanina.
5 Porta S. Domenico.
6 Ancient Gate, now blocked up.
7 Casa Cecchetti.
8 Ancient Walling under the Palazzo Facchini.
9 Do. do. within the modern walls.
10 Do. do. at the Terra Mozza.
11 The Fortress.
12 Church of Sta. Margherita.
13 Church of S. Francesco.
14 Spedale, or Hospital.
15 Piazza.
16 Palazzo del Governo.
17 Church of S. Filippo.
18 ,, S. Agostino.
19 Duomo.
20 Seminario.
21 Roman Baths.
22 Tanella di Pitagora.
23 Line of the ancient walls, where they do not correspond with the modern.
Ancient walls, beneath the modern.
Modern walls.



towered crest holds communion with the cloud, dwelt the heaven-born Dardanus, ere he left Italy to found the Trojan race; and on that mount reigned his father Corythus, and there he was laid in the tomb.[1] Such is the ancient legend, and wherefore gainsay it? Away with doubts!—pay thy full tribute of homage—*acceptam parce movere fidem!* Hast thou respect to fallen greatness?—Yon solemn city was once the proudest and mightiest in the land, the metropolis of Etruria, and now—but enter its gates and look around.

From the railway station it is half an hour's drive to the town, for the ascent is steep and toilsome. Nor when the gates are reached is the labour over, though the vehicle will take you to the "Locanda Nazionale," a very decent *hospitium*, where you will meet with cleanliness, attention, and very moderate charges. If you would see Cortona, you have still a long climb to the upper end of the town; for Cortona is not, like Fiesole and Volterra, spread over the summit of the mountain, but hangs suspended from its peak, down its western slope. Steep, winding, narrow and gloomy streets, sombre rather than shabby houses, here and there even showing traces of mediæval grandeur,

[1] This is the Italian tradition. It is because Dardanus, the founder of Troy, was believed to have come from Cortona that Virgil (Æn. I. 380) makes Æneas say—

> Italiam quæro patriam, et genus ab Jove summo.

Servius (in loc.) thus explains it, and shows that elsewhere (Æn. VII. 122) Æneas is made to say of Italy—

> Hic domus, hæc patria est.

cf. Æn. III. 167; VII. 206, *et seq.* The original name of Cortona was Corythus, or Corithus, so called from its *heros eponymos*, Corythus, the reputed father of Dardanus. The legend states that Corythus, who ruled also over other cities of Italy, was buried on this mount. His wife Electra bore a son to Jupiter, called Dardanus, who, being driven out of Italy, went to Phrygia and founded Troy. Another tradition records that Dardanus, repulsed in an equestrian combat with the Aborigines, lost his helmet, and rallying his men to recover it, gained the victory; to celebrate which he built a city on the spot, and named it from his helmet—*κόρυς*. A third legend refers the origin of the city to Corythus, son of Paris and Œnone. Virg. Æn. III. 167; VII. 206–211; IX. 10; X. 719; Serv. in loc. and ad Æn. I. 380; III. 15, 104, 170. All this belongs to the purely mythical period, yet may be received as evidence of the very remote antiquity of this city.

It is generally believed that Corythus was really the ancient name of Cortona, but Müller (Etrusk. IV. 4, 5) questions this, and thinks that it is a mere Greek tradition, arbitrarily referred to that city. Yet there can be no doubt that it was so regarded by the Romans. Besides the evidence of Virgil and his commentator, the identity is made perfectly clear in a passage of Silius Italicus (V. 122) which Niebuhr (I. p. 33) pronounced decisive—

> Pœnus nunc occupet altos
> Arretî muros, Corythi nunc diruat arcem?
> Hinc Clusina petat? postremo ad mœnia Romæ, &c.

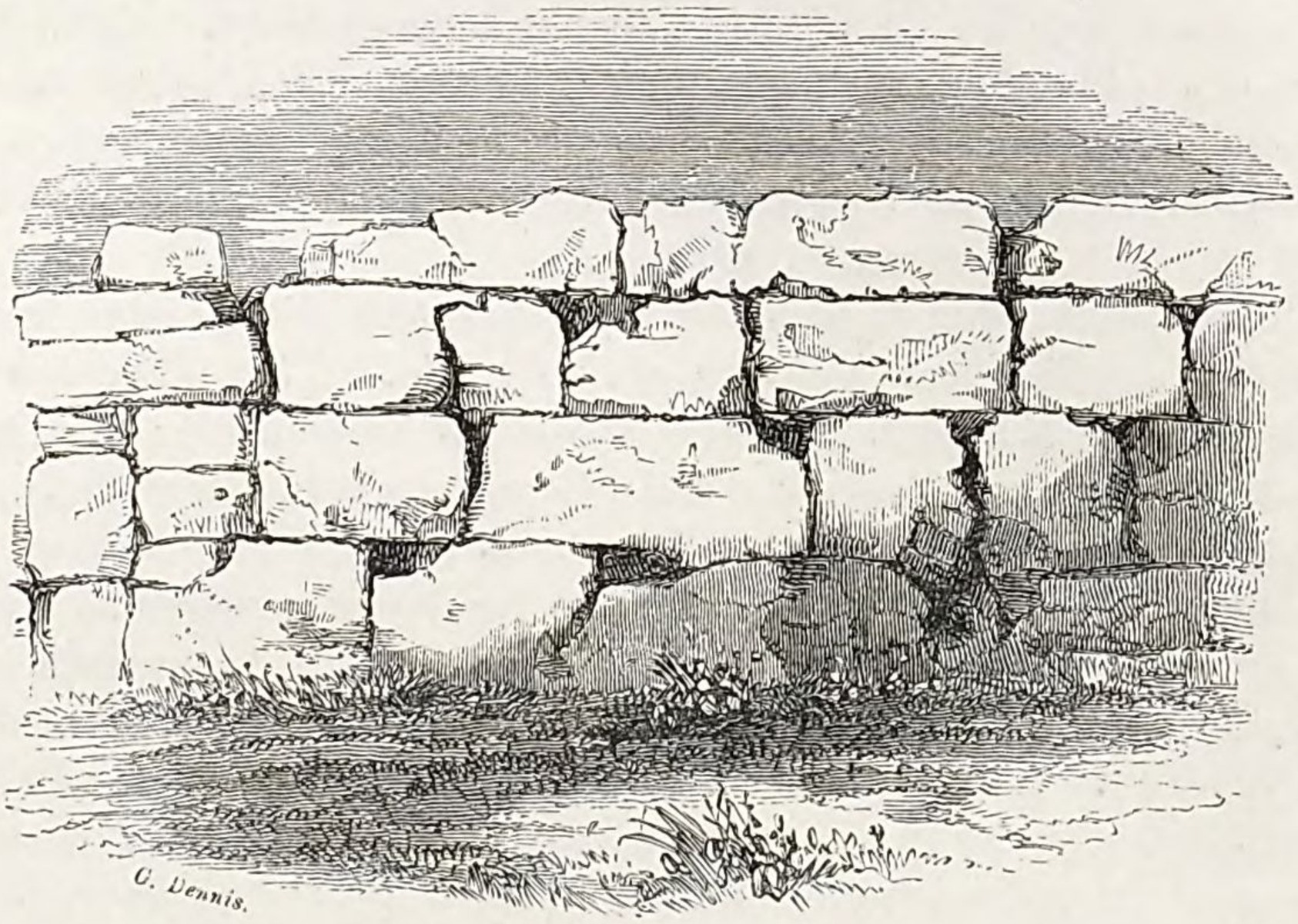
The poet uses the ancient name for the sake of the verse, as elsewhere (IV. 721)—

> sedemque ab origine prisci
> Sacratam Corythi.

There is no reason to believe that it was retained to Annibal's time, to which the poem refers, much less to his own.

tracts of corn, and garden ground, and naked rock, within the walls—such is modern Cortona. She has made progress during the past generation, and is no longer to be accused of filthy, ill-paved streets, nor of mean and squalid houses.

Modern Cortona retains the site of the ancient city, which was of oblong form, and about two miles in circumference. The modern walls are in most parts based on the ancient, though at the higher end of the city the latter made a much wider circuit.[2] They may be traced in fragments more or less preserved for a



ANCIENT WALLS OF CORTONA.

great part round the city; and are composed of rectangular blocks of great size, arranged without much regularity, though with more regard to horizontality and distinct courses than is observable in the walls of Volterra or Populonia, and often joined with great nicety, like the masonry of Fiesole. At the lower part of the city, they stretch for a long distance in an unbroken line beneath the modern fortifications.[3] But the finest

[2] Micali's Plan (Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. VI.) makes Cortona about 10,000 feet in circumference, but taking into account the wider circuit of the ancient walls round the Fortress, which he has not indicated, the city cannot have been less than two miles round. Thus it would be scarcely larger than Rusellæ, and among the smallest of the cities of the Confederation.

[3] The finest portions at this end are about Porta Colonia on the north of the city, where the blocks are from 9 to 13 feet in length by more than 3 feet in height, hewn to a smooth surface and very neatly joined; and about Porta S. Domenico on the south, where they measure 12 or 14 feet by 2. One, at the height of ten or twelve feet from the ground, is 10 feet by 5.

relic of this regular masonry at Cortona, and perhaps in all Italy, is at a spot called Terra Mozza, outside the Fortress, at the highest part of the city, where is a fragment, one hundred and twenty feet in length, composed of blocks of enormous magnitude. A portion of it is shown in the woodcut on the preceding page.[4]

The masonry is of a greenish sandstone, very like that of Fiesole, in parts flaky and brittle, but generally very hard and compact; it is sometimes hewn to a smooth surface, at others left with a natural face; in no part is it cemented, though the blocks are often so closely fitted together as to appear so, not admitting even a penknife to be thrust between them. The joints are often diagonal, and small pieces are inserted to fill up deficiencies, as in the walls of Fiesole, to which in every respect this masonry bears a close resemblance, though more massive, and on the whole more regular.[5]

These walls bear evidence of very high antiquity, certainly not inferior to those of Volterra and Fiesole. That they are as early as the Etruscan domination cannot be doubted; nay, it is probable they are of prior date, either raised by the Pelasgi, or by the yet earlier possessors of the land.[6]

But this leads us to consider the history of Cortona. First, however, let us mount to the summit of the hill, and take a seat on the cypress-shaded terrace in front of the Church of Sta Margherita. Should it be the hour of sunrise, the scene will not lose interest or beauty. A warm rosy tint ruddying the eastern sky, and extending round half the horizon, proclaims the coming day. The landscape is in deep gloom—dark mountain-tops alone are seen around. Even after the sun is up, and the rosy red has brightened into gold, the scene is purpled and obscured by the shadow of the mountains to the east. But presently a ray wakens the distant snow of Monte Cetona, and sparkles on the

[4] In one part it rises to the height of nine courses, or about 30 feet high, but the general height is about 15 or 16 feet, which is that of the fragment delineated. The blocks vary from 2 ft. 6 in. to 5 ft. in height, and from 6 or 7 feet to 11 or 12 in length; and sometimes are as much or more in depth, as the smallest end is seen in the face of the wall. Here as at Volterra and Rusellæ, the smallest blocks are often below, to fill up the inequalities of the ground, and make a level basement for the larger.

[5] The principal variety observable is within the Porta Montanina, where the blocks are 10 or 12 feet in length, but shallow, with smaller pieces in the interstices. Here the line of the ancient wall was rather within that of the modern, as shown in the Plan.

[6] According to Dionysius (I. c. 20), the city was well fortified in the time of the Umbri, and the Pelasgi only took it from them by a sudden assault. Lepsius regards the existing walls as the work of the Pelasgi (Tyrrhen. Pelas. p. 10); and there can be little doubt that they have at least that antiquity. Cf. Müller, Etrusk. I. 3, 1.

yet loftier peak of Amiata beyond it. Then the dark mass of Montepulciano, rising on the further side of the wide plain, like a second Cortona, is brightened into life. Anon the towers, battlements, and roofs of the town at our feet are touched with gold—and ere long the fair face of the Thrasymene in the south bursts into smiles—and the beams roll over the mountain-tops in a torrent, and flood the vast plain beneath, disclosing regions of corn and wood, of vines and olives, with many a glittering farm and village and town—a map of fertility and luxuriance, in which the eye recognizes Castiglione, Chiusi, La Pieve, and other familiar spots in the southern horizon.

The origin of Cortona, it has been said, is very ancient—so remote indeed that it is necessarily involved in obscurity.[7] The legend that makes it the city of Dardanus and elder sister of Troy has already been mentioned. Tradition asserts that long ere the establishment of the Etruscan State, Cortona was "great and flourishing"— "a memorable city of the Umbrians,"[8]—and that it was taken from them by the Pelasgi and Aborigines, who used it as a bulwark against them, seeing it was well fortified, and surrounded by good pastures.[9] Subsequently, with the rest of the land, it fell to the Etruscans,[1] and under them it appears to have been a second metropolis—to have been to the interior and mountainous part of the land what Tarquinii was to the coast.[2] Even under the Etruscan domination it seems, like Falerii, to have retained much of its Pelasgic character, for Herodotus says

[7] This obscurity is increased by the different names by which the city was known—Corythus, Croton, Crotona, Cyrtonion, Creston, Gortynæa, Cothornia, or Cortona. The latter name, if we may believe Dionysius (I. c. 26), was only given when the city was made a Roman colony, not long before his day, taking the place of the old appellation, Croton. Of Corythus, we have already spoken. Cyrtonios, or Cyrtonion, is the name used by Polybius (III. 82), and Stephanus of Byzantium. Creston is found only in Herodotus, and will be further mentioned presently. Gortynæa is used by Lycophron (Cass. 806), and by Theopompus (ap. Tzetz. ad Lycoph. loc. cit.), who records a tradition that Ulysses, called by the Etruscans Nanos (cf. Lycoph. 1244; Tzetzes in loc.), sailed to Etruria, took up his abode at Gortynæa, and there died. This, says Müller, is the Hellenised form of Cortona, for no other Etruscan city can be here intended. Etrusk. IV. 4, 1.

[8] Dion. Hal. I. c. 20, 26.

[9] Dion. Hal. I. c. 20. cf. Hellanicus of Lesbos ap. eund. I. c. 28. The Pelasgic character of Cortona is also intimated by the legend, which represents Jasius, son of Corythus, king of this city, settling in Samothrace, when his brother Dardanus founded Troy. Serv. ad Æn. III. 15, 167; VII. 207.

[1] Dion. Hal. I. c. 20.

[2] This seems to be implied by the designation of it by Silius Italicus (VIII. 474) "superbi Tarchontis domus." Stephanus of Byzantium (*v.* Κρότων) calls it "the metropolis of Etruria, and the third city of Italy." Lepsius is of opinion that this is also proved by its coins, for the entire system of Etruscan, indeed of ancient Italian coinage, proceeds from Cortona. Tyrrhen, Pelasg. p. 10.

that in his day it was still inhabited by a Pelasgic population, speaking their peculiar language, unintelligible to the people around them, though identical with that of Placia on the Hellespont, another colony of the Pelasgi.[3] Niebuhr suggests that Cortona may have continued distinct from the Etruscans, as he thinks Falerii was.[4] But that she was included in the great Etruscan Confederation, and one of the Twelve chief cities, is unquestionable. Livy describes her as one of the "heads of Etruria," in the year of Rome 444, when with Perusia and Arretium she was forced to sue for peace.[5] It is singular that this is the only record we find of Cortona during the days of Etruscan independence. She is referred to again incidentally in the Second Punic War when Hannibal marched beneath her walls and laid waste the land between the city and the Thrasymene.[6] Yet when a few years later all the principal cities of Etruria sent supplies for Scipio's fleet, Cortona is not mentioned among them;[7] which is not a little strange, as but a century before she had been one of the chief in the land. Yet she did not cease to exist, for we find her mentioned as a Roman colony under the Empire.[8] What was her fate in the subsequent convulsions of Italy we know not, for there is a gap of a thousand years in her annals, and the history of modern Cortona commences only with the thirteenth century of our era.[9]

Within the walls of Cortona are but few local remains of high antiquity. There is a fragment of walling under the Palazzo Facchini, composed of a few large blocks, apparently of the same date as the city-walls.[1] Another relic of Etruscan times within the walls is a vault beneath the Palazzo Cecchetti, just within the gate of S. Agostino. On my begging permission to see the monument, the owner courteously proposed to show it in person.

[3] Herod. I. 57. Herodotus' statement is repeated by Dionysius (I. c. 29), but with this difference, that in the text of Herodotus the city is called Creston, in that of Dionysius, Croton. That they were identical is maintained by Niebuhr (I. p. 34, n. 89), by Cluver (II. p. 574), and Mannert (Geog. p. 418); but opposed by Müller (Etrusk. einl. 2, 10), by Lepsius (Ueber die Tyrrhenischen Pelasger in Etrurien, pp. 18 *et seq.*), and by Grote (History of Greece, II. p. 348). Müller and Lepsius consider Herodotus to refer to a Creston in Thrace, beyond Mount Athos. It is not possible here to state the arguments on both sides. They will be found in the above named works, especially in that of Lepsius.

[4] Niebuhr, I. p. 119.

[5] Liv. IX. 37.

[6] Polyb. III. 82; Liv. XXII. 4.

[7] Liv. XXVIII. 45.

[8] Dion. Hal. I. c. 26; Plin. III. 8. She is mentioned also by Ptolemy, Geog. p. 72.

[9] Repetti, I. p. 812.

[1] Inghirami speaks of a fragment, 21 feet long, and 32 feet high, in the foundations of the Palazzo Laparelli, in the Piazza S. Andrea. Mon. Etrus. IV. p. 77. I have sought it in vain.

He led me into his coach-house, raised a trap-door, and descended into a wine-cellar; where I thought he was about to offer me the juice of his vineyards, but on looking around I perceived that I was in the very vault I was seeking.

It is of no great size, about thirteen feet in span, rather less in length, and nine in height, lined with regular masonry, uncemented, neatly cut and arranged, and in excellent preservation.[2] It is so like the Deposito del Gran Duca, and the Vigna Grande, at Chiusi, and the Grotta di San Manno, near Perugia, that it is difficult to deny it an Etruscan origin. Analogy thus marks it as a tomb, yet its position within the ancient fortifications seems opposed to this view, and there is nothing beyond the bare walls to assist us in determining its original purpose. I am strongly inclined to regard it as a sepulchre. After the discoveries of Schliemann at Mycenæ, which have quite upset pre-existing theories, no instance of intramural sepulture on ancient sites ought to surprise us.[3]

The only other local antiquity in Cortona is a fragment of Roman *opus incertum*, commonly called the Baths of Bacchus, in the higher part of the town.

Cortona, for more than a century past, has been the seat of an antiquarian society, the Accademia Etrusca, which has published many volumes of archæological treatises. It has formed also a small Museum of Etruscan relics, found in the neighbourhood, which is preserved in the Municipal Palace, whose walls both within and without, are hung with armorial bearings, eloquent of the past glories of Cortona. There is little pottery here—no painted vases of beauty or interest; merely some ordinary red or black ware, the latter often with bands of small archaic figures in relief—a *focolare* of *bucchero*—a few idols, or *figurine*, as the Italians call them, of terra-cotta, from four to ten inches in height, votive offerings, or more probably the *Lares* of the lower orders, and sundry small lamps, some of them of grotesque character.

The Museum is more rich in bronzes than in pottery. The most remarkable are—a naked figure of Jupiter Tonans, about seven or eight inches high,—a female winged divinity with a cock on her head, and the figure of a boy, more than three inches high,

[2] The blocks are of the local sandstone, or *macigno*, as it is called. They vary from 3 to nearly 7 feet in length, and are 15 inches in height.

[3] Abeken regards it as undoubtedly a sepulchre (Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 39; Mittelitalien, p. 250), and I would cite, in confirmation of this opinion, the subterranean tombs within the Arx of Tarquinii. Vol. I. p. 428. The floor is the bare rock; the back wall of the vault has been pulled down to enlarge its dimensions.

with an Etruscan inscription of three lines carved on his shirt, as shown in the annexed woodcut. In his right hand he holds up a fruit, in his left he has another. His hair is tied in a knot over his forehead. This figure was found about eight miles from Cortona on the road to Arezzo.[4]



BOY IN BRONZE. CORTONA MUSEUM.

Here are also two singular bronze figures, eleven inches and a half in height, nude, each holding a spear and wearing a torque and buskins, with a skin over his head. One of them has a face also behind his head, like a Janus. One is inscribed thus, in Etruscan characters: —

V. CVINTI. ARNTIAS. SELAN.—

The other

V. CVINTI. ARNTIAS. CULPIANSL AUPANTURCE

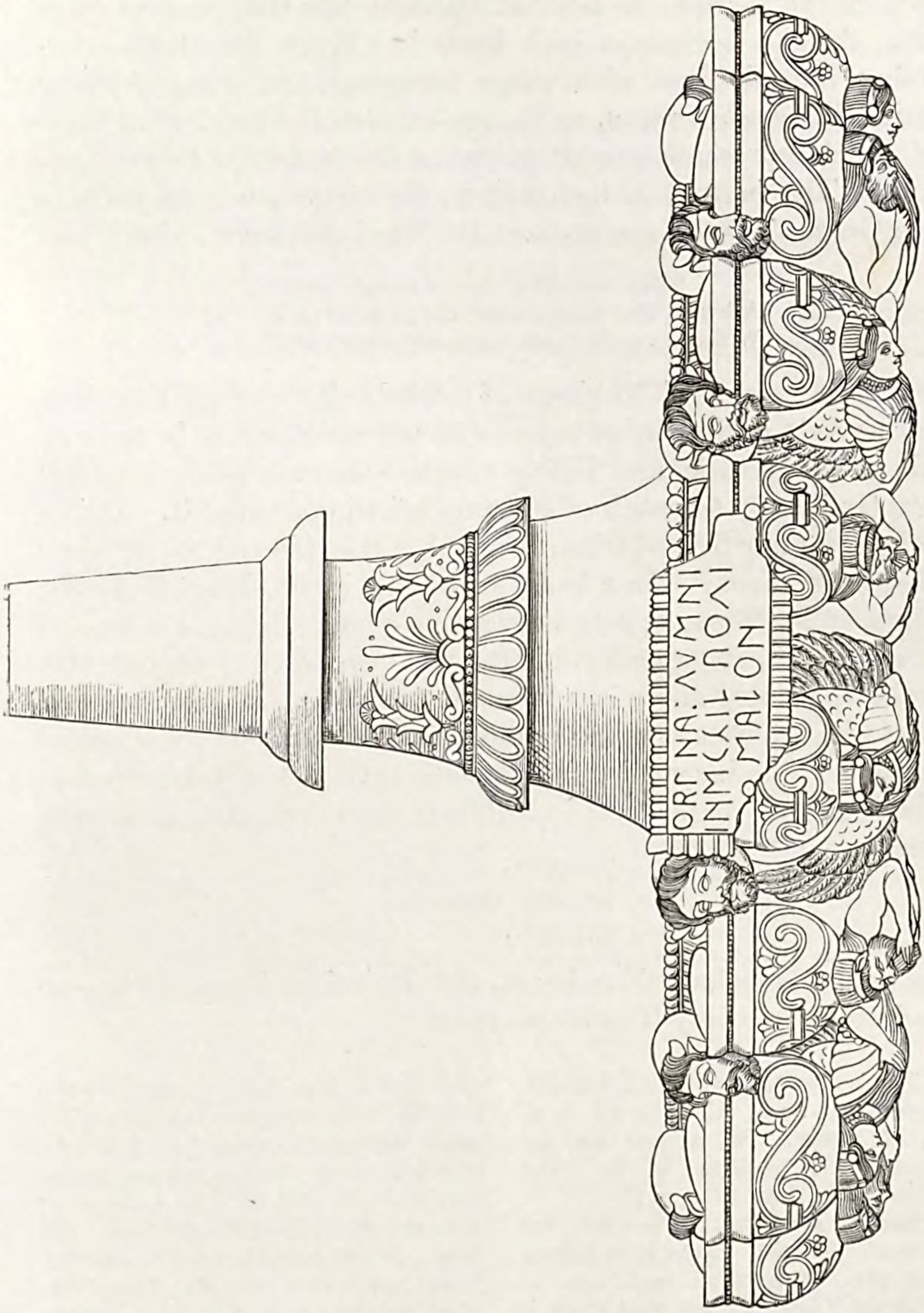
There are also many purely Egyptian idols, a few mirrors and other bronzes, and a collection of Etruscan coins.[5]

But the wonder of ancient wonders in the Museum of Cortona, is a bronze lamp of such surpassing beauty and elaboration of workmanship as to throw into the shade every toreutic work of this class, yet discovered in the soil of Etruria. Were there

[4] Ann. Inst. 1864, pp. 390–393.

[5] The coins attributed to Cortona are the most simple of all ancient Italian money. All twelve sides of the series, from the *as* to the *uncia*, bear one uniform type—a wheel. There is no legend to mark these coins as belonging to any particular city, but Marchi and Tessieri see in the wheel the symbol of Cortona, whose original name they take to have been "Rutun" (instead of *K-rutun*)—*a rotâ*—and setting all history aside, they regard it as a colony of the Rutuli, who had a similar device on their coins. Æs Grave del Museo Kircheriano, cl III. tav. 3. Professor Lepsius, though condemning this explanation as erroneous, assents to the attribution of these coins to Cortona, and agrees with the worthy Jesuits in regarding Cortona as a most ancient mint, and as the metropolis of five other coining cities, which have a wheel on one side only. Ann. Inst. 1841, pp. 103, 109; Verbreit. d. Ital. Münzsyst. pp. 58, 69. See also Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 123.—Melchiorri; 1842, p. 126.—Genarelli. Abeken (Mittelitalien, p. 286) does not consider the wheel, or the other devices on Etruscan coins, to mark any particular sites, and he regards the distribution of these coins to a metropolis and its dependencies to be quite arbitrary.

nothing else to be seen at Cortona, this alone would demand a visit. It merits therefore a more detailed description than I have



ETRUSCAN LAMP, OF BRONZE, MUSEUM OF CORTONA.

generally given to individual articles. It is circular, about twenty-three inches in diameter, hollow like a bowl, but from the centre rises a sort of conical chimney or tube, to which must

have been attached a chain for its suspension. Round the rim are sixteen lamps, of classic form, fed by oil from the great bowl, and adorned with foliage in relief. Alternating with them are heads of the horned and bearded Bacchus (see the woodcut, page 403). At the bottom of each lamp is a figure in relief—alternately a draped Siren with wings outspread, and a naked Satyr playing the double pipes, or the *syrinx* (see the woodcut at page 394, which represents a small section of the bottom of this curious lamp.) The bottom is hollowed in the centre, and contains a huge Gorgon's face; not such as Da Vinci painted it, with

> "The melodious hue of beauty thrown
> Athwart the darkness and the glare of pain,
> Which humanise and harmonise the strain."

Here all is horror. The visage of a fiend, with eyes starting from their sockets in the fury of rage—a mouth stretched to its utmost, with gnashing tusks and lolling tongue—and the whole rendered more terrible by a wreath of serpents bristling around it. It is a libel on the fair face of Dian, to say that this hideous visage symbolises the moon.[6] In a band encircling it, are lions, leopards, wolves, and griffons, in pairs, devouring a bull, a horse, a boar, and a stag; and in an outer band is the favourite wave-ornament, with dolphins sporting above it. Between two of the lamps was a small tablet with an Etruscan inscription, marking this as a dedicatory offering.[7] The inscription is not perfect, the tablet being broken at both ends. As far as it is legible it would run thus in Roman letters:—

THAPNA. LUSNI
INSCVIL ATHLIC
SALTHN.

The lamp is of Corinthian brass, and its weight is said to be one hundred and seventy Tuscan pounds.[8]

[6] This is a well-known Orphic doctrine. Epigenes, ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. V. p. 676, ed. Potter. The serpents also are supposed to be emblems of the lunar hanges. Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 58.

[7] Some of the letters are peculiar; but one word, "inscvil," marks it as a dedicatory gift. It is in all probability intended for "Tinscvil," the word which is inscribed on the Chimæra in the Florence Gallery, on the Griffon at Leyden, on a bronze dog in the possession of Sr. Coltellini of Cortona, and also on a small pedestal in this same museum. Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 62. Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 80. Inscriptions like this, attached to monuments, are not of unfrequent occurrence. It was the custom to attach them to gifts, as now-a-days it is with us to write the name of the giver and gifted, in a presented book. We have a notable instance of this in the celebrated bronze *cista*, or casket, from Palestrina, preserved in the Kircherian Museum at Rome, which records in an inscription that it was presented by a Roman lady to her daughter.

[8] Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 165. Cf. Micali, Mon. Ined. p. 78.

From the elaborate decoration of the bottom of the lamp, and the comparative plainness of the upper part, as well as from the analogy of similar monuments, there is every reason to believe that it was suspended, perhaps in a tomb, perhaps in a temple, as a sacrificial lamp; which in truth its remarkable size and beauty seem to indicate.[9]

The style of art shows a certain degree of archaicism, yet at the same time betrays a strong Hellenic influence which precludes the idea of a very early date. It is undoubtedly of ante-Roman times, and I think it may safely be referred to the fifth century of Rome, or to the close of Etruscan independence.[1]

From this monument, so beautiful in art and elaborate in decoration, we can well understand how it was that the Etruscan *candelabra* and other works of toreutic art were so admired and prized by the Athenians, even in the days of Pericles.[2] Micali justly observes, that in mastery of art no other Etruscan work in bronze, except the larger statues, can rival this gem.[3]

This singular relic of Etruscan antiquity was discovered in 1840, at a spot called La Fratta, at the foot of the mountain of Cortona, to the west; not in a tomb, but in a ditch, at a slight depth below the surface. The fortunate possessor is the Signora Tommasi, of Cortona, whose husband is said to have given 700 dollars to the peasants who found it.[4]

[9] It is doubtless a *lychnus*, such as were hung from the ceilings of palaces or temples (Virg. Æn. I. 726; Plin. XXXIV. 8), and as have been found also suspended in sepulchres—even in Etruscan ones, as in the Tomb of the Volumnii, at Perugia. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 78) thinks it a sepulchral monument—a funeral offering to the great god of the infernal regions, consecrated by some lady of illustrious race, as the inscription seems to show. He suggests that it may have hung in the chamber, where the funeral feast was wont to be celebrated, as well as the annual *inferiæ* or *parentalia*. The use of sepulchral lamps by the ancients is well known, and gave rise, in the middle ages, to strange notions of perpetual fire; for it was asserted that some were found still burning in the tombs, though fifteen or twenty centuries had elapsed since they were lighted. It seems, however, that lamps were sometimes kept burning in sepulchres long after the interment, as in the case of the Ephesian widow described by Petronius (Satyr. c. 13), who renewed the lamp placed in her husband's tomb. Micali cites an extract from Modestinus (leg. 44, Mævia D. de Manumiss. testam.), which shows that a certain Roman gave freedom to his slaves at his death, on condition of their keeping a light burning in his sepulchre: "Saccus servus meus et Eutychia et Hiene ancillæ meæ omnes sub hâc conditione liberi sunto, ut monumento meo alternis mensibus lucernam accendant, et solemnia mortis peragant."

[1] Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 75) would refer it to the sixth or seventh century of Rome, which, according to the standard of the painted pottery, would be too late a date.

[2] Pherecrates, ap. Athen. XV. c. 18; Critias, ap. eund. I. c. 22.

[3] Micali, loc. cit.

[4] For illustrations and notices of this lamp see Micali, Monumenti Inediti, pp. 72, *et seq.* tav. 9, 10; Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 164 (Fabroni); Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 53, *et seq.* (Abeken); 1843, p. 354 (Braun); Mon. Ined. Instit. III. tav. 41, 42.

This collection boasts also of an ancient picture of the Muse Polyhymnia, with a garland of leaves round her head, and the fragment of a lyre by her side, painted in encaustic on a slate. It was found at a spot called Centoja, between Chiusi and Montepulciano, and, like the lamp, is the property of the Tommasi. It has been pronounced Greek, but from its resemblance to the frescoes of Pompeii, it may more correctly be designated Græco-Roman.

There is nothing more, so far as I am aware, of Etruscan interest within the walls of Cortona. I leave the traveller to his tutelar deities, the Guide-books, to steer him safely among the churches, the paintings, and such rocks as the sarcophagus in the Cathedral—said to be that of the Consul Flaminius, who lost his life by "the reedy Thrasymene"—on which inexperience and credulity have so often run aground; but I will resume the helm when we quit the Gate of S. Agostino, for the tombs of Cortona.

The height on which the city stands is of stratified sandstone, the same as composes the ancient walls—too hard to be easily excavated into sepulchral chambers, at least by the Etruscans, who had not the aqua-fortis tooth of the Egyptians, and rarely attempted to eat their way into anything harder than tufo or light arenaceous rocks. Here then, as at Rusellæ, Cosa, and Saturnia, tombs must be looked for on the lower slopes or in the plain beneath, rather than immediately around the city-walls. Yet on ledges in the slopes, where accumulations of soil from the high ground made it practicable, tombs were constructed. It was necessary, however, in such a case to construct the sepulchre of masonry, and that it might be subterranean, according to the usual practice, it was heaped over with earth. Of this description is the celebrated

Tanella di Pitagora,

or the "Cave of Pythagoras," so called from the vulgar belief that that celebrated philosopher dwelt and taught in this city, though it was at Croton in Magna Græcia, not at the Croton of Etruria, that he took up his residence.

This most remarkable sepulchre stands on the slope two or three furlongs below the city, between it and the railway station. It has been known for ages to the world, but had been neglected and half buried beneath the earth, till, in the year 1834, it was re-excavated; and it now stands in all its majesty revealed to the

sun, like a miniature temple of the Druids, amid a grove of cypresses.

The monument is now in such a state of ruin as at first sight to be hardly intelligible. The entrance is by a square-headed doorway, facing the South, and leading into a small chamber, surrounded by walls of massive rectangular masonry, in which sundry gaps are left for niches.[5] One side of this chamber is in utter ruin. It was roofed in by five immense blocks,[6] resting on two semicircular masses which crowned the masonry at the opposite ends of the chamber; forming thus a vault, which differs from ordinary vaults in this, that each course of voussoirs is composed of a single block. It is not easy to determine if the architect understood the principle of the arch. The blocks are of course cuneiform, or they would not fit closely, and be in harmony with the rest of the masonry. But their needless massiveness and length, and the mode in which they are supported, seem to indicate that they were not raised with a knowledge of the arch-principle. On the other hand, the semicircular blocks on which they rest, could not have been dispensed with, without destroying the symmetry of the tomb. Of these five cover-stones, one only retains its position, and serves as the key to the whole; a second has one end still resting on the lintel of the door, the other on the ground; and the remaining three have been broken to pieces. The walls of the chamber are of, immense thickness, and the whole is surrounded by a circle of masonry of the same massive description, four or five feet high, resting on a still larger basement, seventy-six feet in circumference and now almost level with the ground.[7]

The chamber has been closed in the same way as the Grotta Casuccini, at Chiusi; sockets for the stone flaps of the door being visible in the lintel and threshold. The sepulchral character of the structure is manifest from the niches, of which there are seven, evidently for cinerary urns or vases. No vestige

[5] The doorway is 5 ft. 8 in. high, by 3 ft. 6 in. wide. The chamber is only 8 ft. 6 in. by 6 ft. 6 in. Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. p. 75, cl. II. tav. 2) describes this tomb as if it had another entrance by a subterranean passage. What he mistook for such has been proved to be the entrance to another tomb. Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 197. — Castellani.

[6] These cover-stones are about 10 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 22 in. thick. The weight of one of them has been estimated at 10,000 lbs. Bull. Inst. loc. cit.

[7] The circling wall terminates above in a plain fascia—only a small portion of which is standing—the space between it and the walls of the chamber is filled with earth. For illustrations of this monument see Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. cl. II. tab. 2; Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. IV. tav. 11; Abeken, Mittelitalien, taf. V. 3.

now remains of such furniture, nor is there any record of what the tomb contained when first brought to light; but in recent excavations a great quantity of rude pottery was found around the monument. The most surprising feature is the freshness and careful finish of the masonry, especially of the interior. The slabs and blocks of sandstone seem newly brought from the quarry, and are put together, though without cement, with a neatness which might shame a modern mason. It is difficult to believe they have stood thus between two and three thousand years. The external circling wall shows the same sharpness and neatness. From the analogy of other monuments, and from the cover-stones of the roof being left undressed, there is no doubt that this wall was the basement to a mound of earth, forming a tumulus over the sepulchre.[8]

The Cyclopean massiveness of the blocks, akin to those in the city walls, the insertion of small pieces to fill the interstices, and above all, the simplicity of the vaulted roof, apparently prior to the invention of the arch, throw this monument back to a very remote period, earlier than the construction of the Cloaca Maxima, and perhaps coeval with the foundation of Rome. Nor do the sharpness and neatness of its masonry belie such an antiquity, seeing that other works of the earliest ages, as the Gate of Lions at Mycenæ, and the walls of Cortona and Fiesole, display no inferior skill and execution; though in this case much of the freshness is undoubtedly owing to the protection of the super-incumbent earth.

I am inclined to regard this monument as coeval with the walls of Cortona, and of Pelasgic origin. A slab, however, which was found near it in the late excavations, and from its precise correspondence in size, probably served to close one of the niches in the chamber, bears an inscription in Etruscan characters.[9] This, however, may show no more than an appropriation by the Etruscans.

It is singular that the dimensions of this Grotta di Pitagora agree almost precisely with the multiples and divisions of the modern Tuscan *braccio*, which there is good reason to believe is

[8] Abeken (Ann. Inst. 1841, p. 37) thinks this tumulus was a cone like those of Tarquinii, but truncated; and states that a square *abacus*, topt by a ball of stone, similar to what may be seen in the Museo Casuccini at Chiusi, was found near the monument, as if it had originally surmounted it.

[9] For this inscription see Ann. Instit. 1841, p. 37. In Latin letters it would run thus,—

V . CUSU . CR . L . APA
PETRUAL . CLAN.

It is preserved in the Museum of Cortona.

just double the ancient Roman foot. This confirms the opinion already stated, that the Romans took that measure from the Etruscans, and that the modern Tuscans use the very same measures as their celebrated forefathers.[1]

Near this, traces of other tumuli have been discovered, in rounded basements of rock. Baldelli, who wrote in 1570, states that in his time there existed three other sepulchres, one precisely similar to this, and close to the road leading to Camuscía; a second beneath the church of S. Vincenzio; but both had been almost destroyed by a certain man who dreamed that treasure lay concealed within them; and a third on the site of the church of Sta. Maria Nuova, below Cortona to the north, removed to make room for that edifice.[2]

The said Baldelli states in his MS., which though frequently copied has never been printed, that the two last-named tombs were composed of five enormous stones, one forming each side of the quadrangle and the fifth covering it[3]—precisely resembling the sepulchres still extant at Saturnia, and the cromlechs of our own country.

Grotta Sergardi.

At the foot of the hill of Cortona, close to Camuscía and the railway station, stands a large mound or barrow, vulgarly called Il Melone, about 640 feet in circumference, and 46 feet high. This "Melon" had long been suspected of being sepulchral; and at length the proprietor, Signor Sergardi of Siena, determined to have it opened, and secured the services of Signor Alessandro François, the most experienced excavator in Tuscany. He commenced operations in the autumn of 1842, and the result was the discovery of a sepulchre of most singular character, bearing some analogy indeed to the Regulini tomb at Cære, but a strict resemblance to no other yet disclosed in the soil of Etruria. Unfortunately it had been rifled in previous ages, so that little of value was found within it; and its interest lies chiefly in its plan and construction, in which respects it remains uninjured.

[1] Bull. Inst. 1834, p. 198. *Ut supra*, p. 339.

[2] In this last tomb was found a large earthenware pot, containing a bronze vase, beautifully chiselled, with a smaller vase of the same metal within it, holding the ashes of the deceased; besides sundry weapons, much pottery, and many sepulchral lamps. This record is valuable, as throwing light on the character of the analogous tombs of Saturnia.

[3] Baldelli, ap. Gori, III. pp. 75, 76; ap. Inghirami, Mon. Etr. IV. p. 72.

The tomb has been closed of late, and the traveller must now content himself with an inspection of its contents, which are preserved at the Villa Sergardi hard by, and courteously exhibited to strangers. As it may be re-opened at some future time, I reprint the description I gave in the former edition of this work.

A long passage lined with masonry leads into the heart of the tumulus. For the last seven yards it widens, and is divided by a low thick wall into two parallel passages which lead to two entrances, now closed with wooden doors. The partition wall is terminated in front by a square mass of masonry, which probably served as a pedestal for a lion or sphinx; and the passage opens on either hand at its further end, into a small square chamber. Enter one of the wooden doors, and you find yourself in a long passage-like tomb, communicating by a doorway with an inner chamber. The other door opens into a parallel tomb precisely similar in every respect.[4]

The resemblance of this tomb to the Regulini at Cære will strike you immediately—not only in its passage form, but also in its construction, for it is roofed over on the same primitive principle of the convergence of the blocks to a centre, which, before they meet, are covered by large flat slabs. The difference consists in the double passage and in the size of the masonry, which, instead of being composed of regular, massive blocks, as in the tomb of Cervetri, is here of small pieces of schistose rock, not hewn, but rudely hammer-dressed into the shape of long shallow bricks; it is equally without cement, but the clayey soil here exuding through the interstices appears like a plaster of mud. Masonry of this description is not found elsewhere in Etruscan edifices. It seems an imitation of brickwork, and belies the assertion of a celebrated architect, that this sort of roof could not be formed of that material.[5] Nothing can be more unlike than this masonry and that of the Tanella di Pitagora, and at first sight you are ready to pronounce it impossible that both, little more than a mile apart, could have been raised by the same hands. Yet that this was Etruscan there can be no doubt, from the nature of its contents; and its construction proves it to

[4] The outer chambers are 14 ft. long, by 8 ft. wide; the inner, only 11 ft. in length. In the inner wall of one of these tombs is a hole, through which you can look into another chamber not yet opened.

[5] Canina, Cere Antica, p. 67. The bricks, or rather stones, in this case, are kept in their places by the weight of the superincumbent earth.

be of at least equal antiquity. The character of the masonry seems here determined by local circumstances. On the hill of Cortona the rock admits of being hewn into square masses; here at its foot, it is of that hard, brittle, flaky character, which renders vain the labour of the chisel, and prompted the adoption of a species of masonry but little consistent with Etruscan habits of neatness.

These parallel tombs are paved with large flagstones, and underneath them, in the rock on which they are laid, are channels to carry off the water that might percolate through the roof. The outer passages, now open to the sky, seem to have been covered in the same manner as the parallel tombs.

Though this "Melon" had been previously opened, perhaps more than once, it still contained a few pips; such as broken black pottery, a few remains in bronze and bone, and very small fragments of gold and silver. Everything that has been discovered in the mound, is now to be seen at the Villa Sergardi hard by.

Above this tomb, in the higher part of the mound, were discovered three very small chambers, one of which was unrifled, and contained a large covered pot of bronze, embossed, and a vase of black clay like the most ancient of Cære and Veii, with a procession of archaic figures in relief. Both contained human ashes. Besides these, there were—an elegant *tazza* with similar reliefs—a quantity of small black ware—*unguentaria* of ordinary clay—and a long slab of stone, apparently part of a sarcophagus, with reliefs of very archaic style, representing a number of figures kneeling. Here also were found sundry spearheads of iron, in one of which is a portion of the wooden shaft almost petrified; together with a hoe, a key, and part of a lock of the same metal, all much oxydised, a small sphinx of bone, and remains of heads in terra-cotta.[6]

This tumulus has not been half excavated, and it is believed with good reason that many more chambers lie within it. Yet, as the researches have proved so little profitable, owing to former riflings, it seems doubtful whether they will be continued. The "Melon" appears to be wholly artificial—not like the Poggio Gajella, at Chiusi, or the Monteroni, near Palo, a natural height honey-combed with sepulchral cells—and seems to have been raised

[6] A detailed description of this tomb and its contents, together with illustrations, has been published by Sr. Melchiore Missirini, Siena, 1843. For an account of the excavations see also Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 33, 49; 1864, p. 39.

over the masonry-built tombs, which stand on the very level of the plain. Another mound, not far off, offers a further field for excavating enterprise.

Cortona is a city of great interest. Its high antiquity, its mysterious origin, lost in the dim perspective of remote ages—the fables connected with its early history—the problem of its mighty walls—the paucity of tombs as yet discovered around them, and the singular character of those that stand open—combine to cast a charm over Cortona, a charm of mystery, which can only be fully appreciated by those who have visited the site.



BRONZE HEAD OF HYPNOS, FROM PERUGIA.

CHAPTER LXI.

PERUGIA.—*PERUSIA.*

The City.

Sint tibi Flaminius, Thrasymenaque litora testes.

Ovid.

E traversamo per veder Perugia,
Che come il monte, il sito è buono e bello.

Faccio degli Uberti.

Happy the man who with mind open to the influences of Nature, journeys on a bright day from Cortona to Perugia! He passes through some of the most beautiful scenery in all-beautiful Italy, by the most lovely of lakes, and over ground hallowed by events among the most memorable in the history of the ancient world. For on the shores of "the reedy Thrasymene," the fierce Carthaginian set his foot on the proud neck of Rome.

This used to be the upper post-road from Florence to Rome, *viâ* Perugia and Foligno, and it is still the line of the railroad, which, while it has greatly facilitated communication, has oblite-

rated certain characteristic features of Italian travel, familiar to those who knew the land before its political unification.

The day on which I last journeyed in *vettura* over this well-beaten road, is marked in my memory with a white stone. Before leaving the Tuscan State, I halted at the hamlet of Riccio to dine, for the worthy merchant, my chance-companion, was wont to make this his house of call. The *padrona* was not long in answering our demands, for we had not arrived at sunset, expecting all manner of impossibilities and unheard-of dainties, but had drawn on her larder at the reasonable hour of noon, and had left our appetites to her discretion. The sun shone warmly into the room—the hostess smiled cheerily—a glorious landscape lay beneath our window—and what mattered it that the dishes stood on the bare board; that the spoons and forks were of tin, and that the merchant's servant, and a bearded pilgrim in sack-cloth, Rome-bound for the Holy Week, whom, in his pious generosity, my companion had invited to partake, sat down to table with us? Travelling in Italy, for him who would mix with the natives, and can forget home-bred pride, prejudices, and exigencies, levels all distinctions.

At Monte Gualandro, we entered the Papal State. Here at our feet lay the Thrasymene,[1] a broad expanse of blue, mirroring in intenser hues the complexion of the heavens. Three wooded islets lay floating, it seemed, on its unruffled surface. Towns and villages glittered on the verdant shore. Dark heights of purple waved around; but loftier far, and far more remote, the Apennines reared their crests of snow—Nature's nobles, proud, distant, and cold, holding no communion with the herd of lowlier mountains around them.

Such was the scene on which the sun shone on that eventful day, when Rome lay humbled at the feet of Carthage, when fifteen thousand of her sons dyed yonder plain and lake with their blood. From the height of Monte Gualandro the whole battle-field is within view. At the foot of the hill, or a little further to the right, on the shores of the lake, Flaminius, on his way from Arretium, halted on the eve of the battle. Ere the sun had risen on the morrow he entered the pass between this hill and the water, and marched on into the crescent-shaped plain,

[1] The Lacus Thrasymenus, Thrasumenus, Trasymenus, or Trasumenus of antiquity. Polybius (III. 82) calls it Ταρσιμένη λίμνη, which Mannert (Geog. p. 416) takes to be correct, as probably taken from the oldest native dialect. Many of the ancients also called it Tharsomenus, instead of Thrasumenus. Quintil. Inst. Orat. I. 5.

formed by the receding of the mountains from the lake, unconscious that he was watched from these very heights on which we stand, by Hannibal's Balearic slingers and light-armed troops, and that the undulating ground at our feet concealed the enemy's horse. Seeing the foe in front, he marched on through the pass, till it widens into the plain, and there, enveloped by a dense mist which arose from the lake, he was suddenly attacked on every side by Hannibal's main force in front, and by the cavalry and other ambushers in the rear. Flaminius then saw that he was entrapped, but, nothing daunted, he made a more desperate struggle for victory; and so furious the contest that ensued, so intent were all on the work of destruction, that an earthquake which overthrew many cities in Italy, turned aside the course of rapid rivers, carried the sea up between their banks, and cast down even mountains in mighty ruin, was unknown, unfelt, by any of the combatants,—

> "None felt stern Nature rocking at his feet.
> An earthquake reel'd unheededly away!"

For three hours did the Romans maintain the unequal contest, till at length, when their leader Flaminius fell, they broke and fled, rushing, some to the mountain-steeps, which they were not suffered to climb, others to the lake, in whose waters they vainly sought safety. Six thousand, who had broken through the foe at the first attack, and had retired to a height to await the issue of the fight, effected their escape, only to be captured on the morrow. Ten thousand scattered fugitives carried the news to Rome.[2]

The railroad, for the greater part of the way to Passignano, skirts the very edge of the lake. But the carriage-road crosses the battle-plain—now overflowing with oil and wine, then steeped in a deeper flood, whose hue is traditionally preserved in the name of a brook, Sanguinetto—to the village of Passignano, where the mountains again meet the shore. Here the traveller may halt to taste the fish, which retains its ancient reputation;[3] but as he values skin and comfort, let him not tarry here the night, for legions of light-armed foes lie thirsting for his blood, and the powers also of air and water—"*mali culices, ranæque palustres*"—are in league to rob him of repose.

[2] For this battle see Liv. XXII. 4–7; Polyb. III. 82–84; Sil. Ital. V.; Appian. Reb. Hann. p. 319, ed. Steph.; Oros. IV. 15. Pliny (II. 86) states that in the same year the news of no less than fifty-seven earthquakes was brought to Rome.

[3] Sil. Ital. V. 581.

To set the Thames on fire is an achievement beyond our degenerate days, but the Thrasymene, if we may believe tradition, was of more inflammable stuff, and was once utterly burnt up by fire from heaven.[4]

On the summit of the hill beyond the lake, fresh objects of admiration meet the eye, in a vale of Italian richness below, and ruined towers of feudal grandeur above; but ere I had half studied the scene, I found myself in the little town of Magione. "The Mansion," which is the signification of this name, is the large square yellow building, like a fort, which crests the hill a little above the present railway station.

The road hence to Perugia traverses the rich vale of the Caina, a stream which seems to have retained its Etruscan name.[5] Perugia is seen at some miles' distance, crowning its lofty olive-girt height with a long level line of domes, towers, and palaces. About two miles before reaching it, a tower with a few houses about it, by the road-side, marks the site of one of the most interesting tombs in the necropolis of Perugia; which will be described in the following chapter. The site is called La Commenda, but is better known as the "Torre di San Manno."

Perugia is one of the very few Etruscan cities that retains anything like its ancient importance. One of the "heads of Etruria" of old, it still takes a prominent place among the cities of Central Italy. Its glory has not even greatly waned, for it is yet a large and wealthy city, with twenty-two thousand inhabitants.

At the railway station the traveller will always find conveyances to the town, where he has a choice of accommodation—the Grand Hôtel, outside the gates, kept by Brufani,—and the Posta, in the heart of the town, where he will find cleanliness and comfort at very moderate charges.

It is not for me to describe or even enumerate the manifold

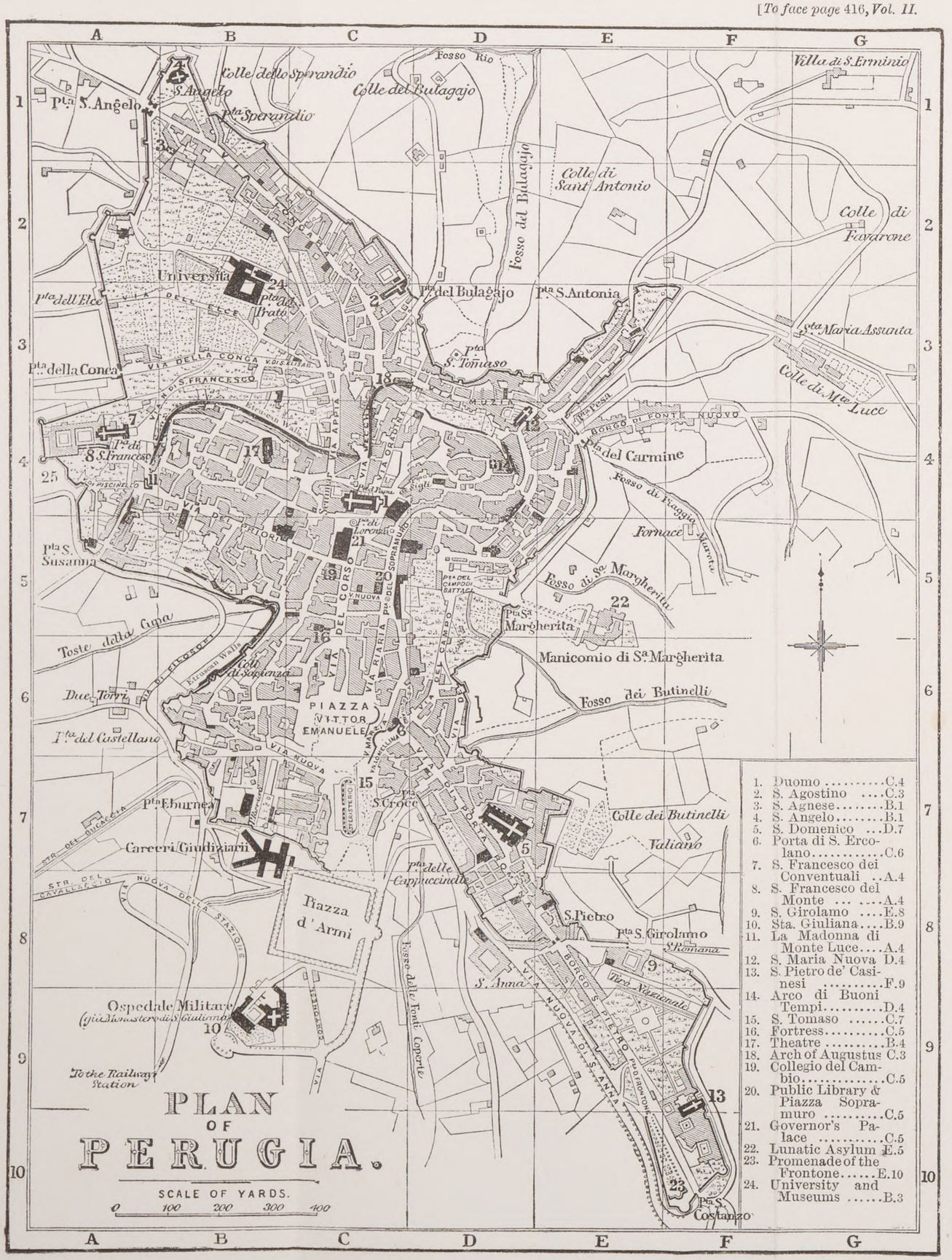
[4] Plin. II. 111.—Trasymenum lacum arsisse totum. . . . . Valerius Antias narrat. It is a pity to spoil a pretty tale; but in justice to the pure waters of the lake it must be said, that before Pliny's time, Valerius Maximus (III. 7, 6) had recounted it among Hannibal's great deeds—Trasimenum lacum dirâ inustum memoriâ. Silius Italicus (V. 70–74) also made Jupiter cast his bolts into its waters—

> Fulmina Tyrrhenas Trasymeni torsit in undas:
> Ictusque æthereâ per stagna patentia flammâ,
> Fumavit lacus, atque arserunt fluctibus ignes—

both making a mere metaphor of what Antias recorded as a fact. Strange that he should have found a Pliny to repeat his folly.

[5] Caina is an Etruscan family name, frequently met with at Perugia, and at Chiusi and its neighbourhood. It is the augmentative of Caie, or Caia (Caius).

[To face page 416, Vol. II.



1. Duomo C.4
2. S. Agostino C.3
3. S. Agnese.....B.1
4. S. Angelo.....B.1
5. S. Domenico ...D.7
6. Porta di S. Ercolano.....C.6
7. S. Francesco dei Conventuali ..A.4
8. S. Francesco del Monte A.4
9. S. Girolamo E.8
10. Sta. Giuliana....B.9
11. La Madonna di Monte Luce....A.4
12. S. Maria Nuova D.4
13. S. Pietro de' Casinesi F.9
14. Arco di Buoni Tempi.....D.4
15. S. Tomaso C.7
16. Fortress.....C.5
17. Theatre B.4
18. Arch of Augustus C.3
19. Collegio del Cambio.....C.5
20. Public Library & Piazza Sopramuro C.5
21. Governor's Palace C.5
22. Lunatic Asylum E.5
23. Promenade of the Frontone.....E.10
24. University and Museums B.3

objects of interest in Perugia, either in its picturesque streets, its cathedral and five-score churches, its grand feudal Palazzo Comunale, or in its treasures of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Those of the latter art alone, the works of Perugino and the Umbrian school, are so abundant as generally to absorb what little time and attention the traveller passing between Florence and Rome has to spare for a provincial city; so that few give an hour or even a thought to the antiquities in which Perugia is equally rich, or at the most pay a hurried visit to the Museum, and the Porta Augusta.

The walls of Perugia are in many parts ancient, agreeing in character with those of Chiusi and Todi, and composed, like them, of travertine—a material which preserves the sharpness of its edges in a remarkable degree, so as to give to a structure composed of it an appearance of much less antiquity than it really possesses. Some portions of these walls are fine specimens of ancient regular masonry. He who would make the tour of them should put himself under the guidance of Giovanni Scalchi, one of the most intelligent *ciceroni* I have met in Etruria. On the west of the city, especially round the verge of the deep hollow called La Cupa, the walls may be traced for a long distance, rising to the height of twenty or thirty feet, falling back from the perpendicular, and banded near the top with a projecting *fascia*. Then after passing the Porta di San Luca, you meet them again on the height above the church of San Francesco, from which point they continue to follow the line of the high ground, beneath the houses of the city, in a serpentine course, eastward to the Via Appia, below the Cathedral, and then northward round to the Arch of Augustus. Beyond this their line may be traced by detached fragments along the high ground to the east and south, at the Arco di Buoni Tempi, the Via della Viola, and the Via della Piazzetta, after which a wide gap occurs, till you meet them again at the Porta S. Ercolano, on the south of the city. Here is a portion forty or fifty feet high, in courses of eighteen inches, very neatly joined—the most massive masonry in Perugia. This gateway is of ancient construction as high as the imposts, which now support a Gothic arch. The same may be said of several other ancient gates of Perugia. Above the arch projects the figure of a lion *couchant*, the old emblem of the Guelphs.

The Arco di Bornia and the Porta Colonia are also ancient gateways, now surmounted by Gothic arches. The former was

originally spanned by a flat lintel of cuneiform blocks, like the gates of the Theatre of Férento, and has a fine fragment of ancient walling on either hand. On the right it flanks the approach to the gate, and is in receding courses; on the other hand it turns at right angles and sinks in about twenty courses beneath the modern buildings.[6] The mixture of ancient and mediæval masonry and architecture in this gateway renders it highly picturesque.

The Porta Colonia is skew or oblique, and has some ancient masonry in front.

The Porta di San Luca, in the Piscinello, is now spanned by a Gothic arch resting on much earlier foundations of travertine masonry, like the city-walls by its side. The imposts project, and show the sockets in which the gates originally worked.

The Arco di Buoni Tempi shows some ancient masonry below a Gothic arch, but as this masonry appears to have been rebuilt of earlier blocks, it is probably of Roman construction.

The best preserved and the grandest of all the ancient gates of Perugia is the

Arco d' Augusto,

so called from the inscription, AVGVSTA PERVSIA, over the arch. It is formed of regular masonry of travertine, uncemented, in courses eighteen inches high; some of the blocks being three or four feet in length. The masonry of the arch hardly corresponds with that below it, and is probably of subsequent date and Roman, as the inscription seems to testify, though the letters are not necessarily coeval with the structure. The arch is skew, or oblique; and the gate is double, like those of Volterra and Cosa.[7] Above the arch is a frieze of six Ionic colonnettes, fluted, alternating with shields; and from this springs another arch, now blocked up, surmounted by a second frieze of Ionic pilasters, not fluted. All the work above the lower arch is evidently of later date than the original construction of the gate-

[6] The largest block I observed was 5 feet by 2; very small in comparison with the colossal masonry of Cortona.

[7] The gate is 14 feet 6 inches wide, 20 feet 4 inches deep, and about 22 feet from the ground to the spring of the arch, the keystone of which will consequently be nearly 30 feet from the ground. There are 17 voussoirs. The moulding round it is very simple, not unlike that of the Porta di Giove at Falleri. In one of the spandrils there seems to have been a massive head, now quite disfigured; in the other a projecting stone, though not in a corresponding position. This head may have been the keystone of the original arch, which the architects of the existing structure did not choose to replace.



From a Photograph.

ARCO D' AUGUSTO, PERUGIA.

way.[8] The entire height of the structure, as it now stands, cannot be less than sixty or seventy feet.

This gate stands recessed from the line of the city-wall, and is flanked on either hand by a tower, projecting about twenty feet, and rising, narrowing upwards, to a level with the top of the wall above the gate. The masonry of these towers, to the height of the imposts of the arch, corresponds with that of the gate itself, and seems to be the original structure; all above that height is of a later period. The masonry is much sharper and fresher in appearance than it is represented in the opposite woodcut, which in other respects gives a faithful representation of the gate and flanking towers.[9]

This gate still forms one of the entrances to the city, though there is a populous suburb without the walls. Its appearance is most imposing. The lofty towers, like ponderous obelisks, truncated—the tall archway recessed between them—the frieze of shields and colonnettes above it—the second arch soaring over all, a gallery, it may be, whence to annoy the foe—the venerable masonry overgrown with moss, or dark with the breath of ages—form a whole which carries the mind most forcibly into the past.

Another ancient gate very like that of Augustus,[1] is, or rather was, the Arco Marziale or Porta Marzia; for what is now to be seen is the mere skeleton of the gate, which was taken down to make room for the modern citadel. But to preserve so curious a relic of the olden time from utter destruction, Sangallo, the architect, built the blocks composing the façade into a bastion of the fortress, where, imprisoned in the brick-work, they remain to be liberated by the shot of the next besiegers of Perugia, and seem as much out of place as an ancient Etruscan would be in the streets of the modern city.

[8] Canina, Arch. Ant. VI. p. 55. He says that though there are no valid documents to prove this gate older than the time of Augustus, to which the inscription would refer it, it is at least constructed in a manner similar to works of the most ancient times.

[9] Canina (Archit. Ant. V. p. 96) points out the similarity of this gate to an ancient one at Antioch, called the Gate of Medina.

[1] Like that it has a projecting head in one spandril, and the remains of another to correspond, besides a third on the top of the arch, which gives the whole a resemblance to the celebrated Gate of Volterra. All three heads are of dark grey stone, the arch itself being of yellow travertine. Above this is a frieze of six pilasters alternating with figures, instead of shields, three of men, and two of horses' heads, all manifestly Roman. Over this is the inscription—

COLONIA VIBIA;

and below the frieze is also the same inscription as on the other gate :—

AVGVSTA PERVSIA.

The Museum

is in the University of Perugia on the first floor, and is rich in Etruscan antiquities, especially urns, inscriptions and bronzes—the produce of the necropolis.

The passage leading to it is lined with copies of Etruscan inscriptions, presented in 1860 by that indefatigable and erudite explorer of the early antiquities of his native land, Count Gian-carlo Conestabile. The *custode* Giovanni Lupatelli, who is himself an antique, having guarded these ancient treasures ever since the year 1810, is to be found on the ground floor. On the grand staircase is an Etruscan sphinx, and at the top a pine-cone with female heads projecting from foliage.

The Etruscans of Perugia generally burned their dead, for very few sarcophagi are discovered on this site. The cinerary urns are similar to those of Chiusi, but mostly of travertine, though sometimes of *nenfro*, or a similar dark grey stone; and the urns, it may be, are of the latter, while the figures on the lids are of the former. He who has seen the ash-chests of Volterra and Chiusi, will not find much of novelty here; indeed the interest of these urns in general lies as much in their inscriptions, as in their beauty or singularity. Travertine being more durable than alabaster or *nenfro*, the urns of Perugia are generally in better preservation than those of Chiusi or Volterra. They are arranged in two long corridors. After the descriptions I have given of Etruscan urns in preceding chapters, it would be superfluous as well as tedious to describe at length those in this Museum. I shall, therefore, not attempt to do much more than to point out the subjects; and, to facilitate reference, I shall indicate the numbers with which many of the urns are marked. To the monuments of most interest, detailed descriptions are attached from the pen of the Count Conestabile.

The first urn that meets the eye shows Scylla contending with Ulysses and his companions (325). Another of this subject is numbered 347.

Achilles about to slay Troilus before the Scæan gates of Troy—the gates being at the ends of the urn; Priam endeavours to protect his son. The nymph of the fountain is thrown to the earth beneath the horse of Achilles.

Here you turn into a long corridor flanked on each side by urns.

The sacrifice of Iphigeneia, who is held over the altar by two

men, while the priest pours a libation on her, and a woman bears in her arms the fawn substituted by Diana. This subject appears to have been a favourite one at Perusia, and instances of it, showing great variety of treatment and of artistic excellence, abound in this Museum.

Combats between Greeks and Amazons (289, 295).

A winged Lasa seated on a hippogriff (323).

Scylla with wings holding two sea-monsters by the reins (329).

Combat between Centaurs and Lapithæ (324).

A lion *couchant* on a rock, crossing his paws (327).

Medusa's head, coloured to the life, with wings on her brows, and snakes tied under her chin, amid blue acanthus foliage (328). Another of the same subject, recalls Da Vinci's celebrated picture (342).

Hercules contending with Glaucus (331).

A boy bestriding a marine monster and belabouring it with a *pedum* (345).

Two naked youths riding a sea-horse, one playing the Pandean pipes, the other a lyre (333).

A man with a ploughshare, attacking a woman who defends herself with a footstool (334).

In the corridor which crosses this at right angles, you have, beginning from the window at one end, the following urns :—

A combat between men on foot and horseback (295).

The Sacrifice of Iphigeneia (285, 287, 294).

A man armed with a sword, slaying a woman ; probably Orestes and Clytæmnestra.

Combat between Greeks and Amazons. Two of the former, who have taken refuge at an altar, are defending themselves against their foes (291, 298, 299, 300).

A human figure with a bear's head rising from a well is contending with two armed men. A winged demon with a torch stands behind the monster, and holds him by a rope fastened round his neck (304).

A *puteal*, of travertine, made of the drum of a fluted column, retaining the furrows worn by the ropes of many ages, and bearing a Latin inscription, showing the well to have been sacred to Mars.

Two single combats ; each pair of warriors armed with *peltæ*, and fighting over a woman on her knees between them (289).

Pollux binding Amycus, King of Bithynia, to a tree, after vanquishing him with the *cestus* (288).

The head of Medusa, with wings on her brow, and a pair of snakes knotted on her head, and under her chin (310, 351, 358).

A woman seated on a throne between two men playing the lyre and double pipes (313).

The Chase of the Calydonian boar (337, 338).

Achilles on horseback pursuing Troilus, who rushes to Priam for refuge (297).

Scylla contending with Ulysses and his companions.

A banquet scene (301).

Paris at the altar defending himself from his brothers.

Telephus threatening to slay the young Orestes.

The Death of Œnomaus.

The contest over the body of Achilles.

This Museum affords proof that the Etruscan modes of burial were adhered to, after the city had become a dependency of Rome; for several urns, truly Etruscan in every other respect, bear inscriptions in Latin letters; though a native character is still conspicuous even in some of these.[2] One of them (304) at the end of the corridor shows a doorway flanked by two children, and is inscribed "L. Pomponius L. F. Notus."

Cabinet of Antiquities.

First Room.—Here is an inscription, celebrated as the longest yet known in the Etruscan character, having no less than forty-five lines. It is on a slab of travertine three feet and a half high, twenty-one inches wide, and ten deep; the inscription is on two of its sides, and the letters, which are coloured red, do credit to Etruscan carving.[3] It was discovered near Perugia in 1822. It is in vain to guess at the subject. Sundry attempts have been made at interpretation, among which is one which pronounces it to be written in choice Irish, and to be a notice to mariners about the voyage across the Bay of Biscay to Carne in Ireland![4] A notice attached to it states that Vermiglioli thought it had reference to agrarian boundaries; Orioli held nearly the same opinion; Secondiano Campanari took it for a religious ordinance prescribing certain rites and ceremonies; Migliarini

[2] Such as "Thania. Caesinia. Volumni."—"L. Pomponius Efarsiniæ Cnaius (Gnatus?) Pia"—"L. Volumni Lal. Theonius."

[3] A photograph of this monument is given by Count Conestabile, Mon. Perug. tav. 27.

[4] Etruria Celtica, I. pp. 377–387.

thought it must be funereal. It had been tested in vain by Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Erse, Armenian. All that Conestabile would venture to say was that it was of the latter end of the Roman Republic.[5]

Among the most ancient relics are two small square *cippi* of fetid limestone, like those of Chiusi, with archaic figures in low relief. On both of these a number of women are dancing to the music of a *subulo;* above one a lion is reclining on each side;[6] above the other a sphinx couches at each angle (281, 282).

A larger *cippus* of grey travertine, in the middle of the room, is circular, and displays a death-bed scene. A child is held to embrace the corpse of its parent—*præficæ* are beating their breasts and wailing the dead—many other figures stand with their hands to their heads in the conventional attitude of grief—priests and augurs with chaplets and *litui*, are gathering round an altar.[7] On this monument rests a tall fluted column, terminating in a pine-cone, and bearing a funeral inscription in Etruscan characters.[8] There are other singular pillars, *columellæ*, of travertine, two or three feet high, all bearing sepulchral inscriptions.[9] Around the room are suspended reliefs, among which one in marble, representing Europa on the bull, is most worthy of notice.

Second Room.—The walls of this room are hung with copies of the designs on the beautiful Ficoronian *cista* from Palestrina, the glory of the Kircherian Museum at Rome; copies of the paintings in the Tomba Golini at Orvieto; and of the decorations in the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cervetri; and on the shelves are casts of some of the most beautiful bronzes found in this neighbourhood in former years, such as that of the "Hypnos," or Sleep, discovered in 1856, near Civitella d'Arna, an ancient site, four miles from Perugia, a copy of which forms the heading to this chapter;[1] such as the bronze boy with a *bulla* round his

[5] See Conestabile, op. cit. pp. 511–535, for the various opinions that have been broached on this subject.

[6] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. tav. 58, 2.

[7] Conestabile, Mon. Perug. tav. 32–38.

[8] Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. Z 2. Conestabile, op. cit. tav. 31.

[9] These are all phallic. Such monuments abound in this district, especially at Chiusi. That they were sepulchral there is no doubt; it is proved both by the inscriptions on them, and by their discovery in tombs. In Lydia, the traditional mother-country of Etruria, they may have had a similar application; for the solitary *terminus* of the five which Herodotus (I. 93) tells us surmounted the tumulus of Alyattes, at Sardis, is said, by Von Prokesch, to have that form, but I must confess I never could perceive the resemblance, although I have climbed the tumulus at least fifty times.

[1] Arna, where this beautiful head was found, is an ancient city, some four miles

neck, a dove in his hand, and an Etruscan inscription on his thigh, now in the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican; and such as the boy and dove found at Cortona and now in the Museum of Leyden. Here are models also of two tombs in Sardinia, one circular, the other of passage-form; together with many celts and arrow-heads of the stone period.

The Third Room contains the bronzes. In a case in the centre are some *candelabra*, and other articles in this metal, together with wreaths and other ornaments in gold from the recent excavations at Orvieto. The case opposite the window contains numerous *laminæ* of bronze, with figures in relief in a very archaic style; some of them the adornments of a votive car, of which one boss of a wheel, surrounded with figures of lions and chimæras, is here preserved. Others are fragments of the decorations which covered articles of wooden furniture, probably of a sacred character, as portable altars, or *lectisternia*. Among them the following are particularly worthy of notice. A fragment beautifully chiselled in the best style of archaic art, representing Hercules drawing his bow on two warriors, probably Giants, with crested helmets, spears, and circular shields. A god, it may be Jove, or one of the nine great Etruscan deities who wielded the thunder, grasping a man by the hair who cries for mercy, and tries to stay the impending bolt. A Minotaur, or human figure with a bull's head. A woman in a long talaric *chiton*, and short tunic, wearing a pointed cap, and with her hair hanging behind to her waist, carries a bough over one shoulder, and an *alabastos* in the other hand. Hercules, distinguished by his lion's skin and bow, shaking hands with some divinity who bears a four-pronged sceptre. A fragment of a winged sphinx, with long hair, covered by a cap terminating in a tail, like a fool's cap. Another sphinx draped. A fragment representing a *biga*, the horses and charioteer being wanting.

There are also many little deities and other figures in bronze; some of very archaic, even oriental character. Such is the

from Perugia, on the Umbrian bank of the Tiber, which retains no remains of antiquity beyond fragments of its walls, and some ruins of Roman times. It stands on a hill, near the Tiber, east of the Ponte di Val de' Ceppi, where is the hamlet called Civitella d'Arna. The hill is washed by the Rio Pilonico, a torrent in whose bed objects of Etruscan antiquity are often found after heavy rains, brought down from the country inland. It was in this river-bed that the beautiful Hypnos was discovered, and here also have been found many curious objects in coral and amber, now preserved in the collection of Signor Mariano Guardabassi, of Perugia. Bull. Inst. 1876, pp. 92–100.

goddess shown in the annexed woodcut, with two pairs of wings, a *tutulus* on her head, and a dove on her hand. Another has a single pair of wings springing from her bosom. A third is a mermaid, with but one fish-tail, instead of two as usual.



ETRUSCAN FOUR-WINGED GODDESS.

All these relics of Etruscan toreutic art, besides others now at Munich, and some reliefs in silver in the British Museum, were found in 1812, at a spot called Castello di S. Mariano, four miles from Perugia, a spot celebrated in Perugian annals for a victory obtained in the fifteenth century over a band of British *condottieri*. They were not found in a tomb; which makes it probable that they were buried for concealment in ancient times.[2] They are supposed to have been the decorations of sacred or sepulchral furniture.[3] There are also in this Museum, some fragments of a curule chair, turned in an elegant Greek style, resembling the representations of furniture painted or carved in Etruscan tombs.

Of other articles in bronze there are very massive handles, probably of censers or braziers—ponderous hinges—helmets, some with cheek-pieces, as represented on the native monuments —spears—a pair of greaves, with the inscription "TUTAS," in Etruscan letters, on each[4]—*pateræ,* pots and vases of various forms—strigils—ladles—strainers—armlets—*fibulæ*—and a collection of coins.[5]

[2] For descriptions and illustrations of these bronzes, see Vermiglioli's work, Saggio di Bronzi Etruschi, Perugia, 1813; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. pp. 27–41, tav. 28–31.

[3] They have been supposed to have all formed the adornments of a votive car, but Micali (Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 40) maintains that there is nothing in the form, size, or subjects of these articles to favour that view. Duplicates of many of them, and other works in bronze and silver, equally remarkable, discovered on the same spot, are preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich. The reliefs in silver with gilt adornments, now in the British Museum, have been illustrated by Millingen, Anc. Uned. Mon. plate 14; also by Micali, op. cit. tav. 45.

[4] Vermiglioli (Giorn. Scient. e Letter. di Perugia, 1840) interprets this by "defend me," deriving it from the old Latin verb *tuto* used by Plautus. Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 338) agrees with him.

[5] Some coins, with a wheel on one side, and a *bipennis* on the reverse, with an Etruscan V, are attributed to Perugia by the Jesuits, Marchi and Tessieri. Æs Grave, class. III. tav. 4.; cf. Melchiorri, Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 123. They think that the wheel shows the dependence of this city on Cortona, of which this is the sole type; and that the battle-axe is expressive of the ancient name, whose initial is also marked —"Verusia," or, as they write it, "Ferusia"—which they derive from the Latin *ferio;* just as they derive "Tutere," the inscription on the coins of Tuder, now Todi, from *tudes, a tundendo*—implied by the club, a constant device on those coins. But

A case by the window contains some beautiful mirrors and jewellery. The latter being more generally attractive, demands the first notice. Here is a necklace of gold, with some rings, and one magnificent earring of elaborate workmanship, found in 1869 near Perugia, the fellow to which was purchased by Castellani of Rome. A relief in ivory of Jason carrying off the golden fleece.

The gem of the mirrors here preserved is one found with the earrings and some beautiful vases in a little tomb at Sperandío, to the north of the city, outside the Porta S. Angelo. In the centre sits a majestic bearded figure wearing a wreath of ivy-leaves and a large necklace, the upper part of his body bare, and his sandalled feet resting on a footstool; and it hardly requires his elegant throne, and the long sceptre on which he rests his right hand, to mark him as a monarch. An Etruscan inscription designates him "Lamtun," or Laomedon. Resting familiarly against his knee, with her legs crossed in an attitude of graceful repose, stands a beautiful girl, wearing rich decorations, but without clothes, save where the skirt of her mantle covers her left thigh; and with her elbow on the king's knee and supporting her head on her hand, she turns towards the figure of an armed but semi-nude youth to the left of the scene. The epigraph "Elinei," shows her to be "the fair-cheeked" Helen, and that attached to the youth marks him as her brother "Kastur," while her other brother "Pultuke" stands opposite. Behind the king is the entablature of a temple or palace, supported by Ionic columns, above which peer the heads of a woman "Aur—," and of two horses, doubtless indicating Aurora, although that goddess is generally designated "Thesan" on Etruscan monuments. The introduction of Laomedon, the old king of Troy and father of Priam, into a scene with Helen and her brothers, can only be explained either by supposing a blunder on the part of the Etruscan artist, who confounded him with Tyndareus, or by regarding the epigraph to have reference not to the name but to the kingly rank (Laomedon, from λαός and μέδων) of that personage, who was clearly intended to be introduced into this scene. For there can be no doubt that this mirror represents Helen brought back to her father's house, after having been carried off

this system of referring the names of Etruscan cities to a Latin origin is more ingenious than well-founded. "Peruse," which occurs in an Etruscan inscription in the Museum Oddi, of Perugia, seems to be the original form of the word. Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. I. p. 140. That the coins with the legend "Peithesa," have been erroneously attributed to Perugia, has been already stated. *Ut supra*, p. 72.

to Athens by Theseus and Peirithous, and rescued by her brothers during the detention of those heroes in Hades.

Count Conestabile justly boasts that this is one of the most beautiful and interesting mirrors that have ever issued from the soil of Etruria—worthy of comparison with the exquisite mirror of Bacchus and Semele now in the Museum of Berlin, an illustration of which forms the frontispiece to this book; and as the work of an Etruscan graver, betraying the full influence of Greek art, he would assign it to the fifth century of Rome.[6]

Another beautiful mirror shows "HERCLE," when victorious over Cerberus, crowned with laurel by a semi-nude goddess, named "MEAN," attended by another named "LEINTH," draped to her feet. The figures are inclosed by a rich deep border of palmetto leaves and lotus flowers.[7]

There are other mirrors of inferior beauty, yet of great interest. One shows Venus ("TURAN") embracing Adonis ("ATUNIS"), who is here represented as a mere boy, looking up at her with intense affection. A draped female figure behind the goddess seems to be resting one hand on her shoulder. She is named "LASA," but has no attribute to distinguish her from an ordinary woman.[8]

Hercules with lion's skin and club, standing in earnest conversation with a youthful warrior, who sits on the edge of his shield, as he holds it beneath him with one hand, and grasps his spear in the other. This youth is named "PILE," which is supposed to be an Etruscan form of Iolaus;[9] but it is more probable that this figure is intended for Peleus, who with his brother Telamon, was associated with Hercules in his expedition against Troy.

"MENRVA" vanquishing the giant "AKRATHE." The goddess, who is armed with helmet, ægis, and spear, has just cut, or broken off, it is not clear which, the Giant's right arm close to the shoulder, and grasping it by the wrist, she brandishes it over his head, accompanying the action with a sardonic grin at her foe, who sinking to his knees, looks up at her with an expression rather of astonishment at her cleverness, than of pain or terror.[1]

[6] Mon. Perugia, IV. pp. 468–472, tav. 106. Bull. Inst. 1869, pp. 47–54.

[7] Mon. Perugia, IV. p. 465, tav. 102; Gerhard, Etrusk. Spiegel. II. taf. 141; Gotth. d. Etrusk. taf. 5, 4.

[8] Mon. Perugia, IV. p. 460, tav. 101.

[9] For this Count Conestabile is my authority, who states that "Vile" or "Vilae" has been found attached to the figure of Iolaus on other Etruscan monuments, and hence he infers that "Pile" on this mirror is but a variation of that name. Op. cit. IV. p. 464, tav. 102.

[1] Conestabile, op. cit. IV. p. 463, tav. 102.

A mirror without inscriptions, found in 1865, at the foot of the hill on which Perugia stands, shows Neptune, naked, sitting on a rock, trident in hand. Opposite him stands a beardless figure in an attitude of repose, holding a wand or sceptre tipped with a pomegranate, whom Conestabile takes to be Theseus, but Gerhard, Pelops.[2]

Here is a cast also of a most interesting mirror discovered in this necropolis in 1797, which has now passed to the Museum of Berlin. The scene it bears seems to set forth the perils of the wild-boar chase. In the centre, stands Atropos ("ATHRPA"), as a beautiful woman, naked, but with rich decorations, and open wings in the act of driving a nail into the wall over the head of Meleager ("MELIACR"), below whom sits the fair Atalante ("ATLENTA"), of whom he was enamoured, and to whom he presented the skin of the Calydonian boar, which hangs on the wall behind him. The driving of the nail is emblematical of his doom being decided. On the other side of the scene, Venus ("TU *ran*"), stands with one hand resting on the shoulder of Atropos, while with the other she caresses a youth, doubtless Adonis, who sits below her, and whom she appears to be charging to take warning from the fate of Meleager.[3]

The Fourth Room contains Vases and Terra-cottas. The eye is at once arrested by an extraordinary group of statuary of life-size in the centre of the room. An Etruscan of middle age is reclining, in the usual costume and attitude of the banquet, with a bossed *phiala* in his left hand, and his right resting on his knee. At his feet squats a hideous old woman, stunted and deformed, whose wings show her to be a demon. She seizes one of his toes with her right hand, and grasps his right wrist with her left, turning her head to look at him, yet he appears to be quite unconscious of her presence. She doubtless represents the Moira or Fate, whose touch deprives him of life. The monument is from Chiusi, and of the fetid limestone of that district. Both heads are movable, and the bodies hollow, proving that this, which looks like the mere lid of a sarcophagus, is itself a cinerary urn.[4]

This museum is much richer in bronzes than in pottery, yet it possesses a few figured vases worthy of notice. Such is an *amphora* of large size, five feet high, in the later style, though

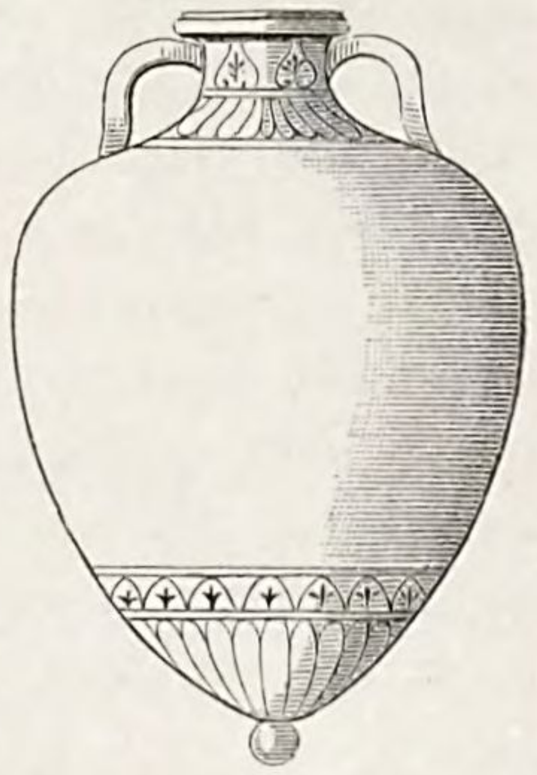
[2] Conestabile, op. cit. IV. p. 474. Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 63.

[3] Conestabile, op. cit. IV. p. 454, tav. 100. Gerhard, op. cit. III. taf. 176.

[4] Ann. Inst. 1860, pp. 346-8 (Conestabile); tav. d'agg. N.

without varnish. The subject is Penelope and her son Telemachus; the design betrays great beauty and freedom, particularly in the figure of a woman behind the chaste queen. Another vase in the same style represents a bridal-scene—a subject often found on vases, though rarely on urns or sarcophagi. A *stamnos*, with red figures, shows a youth victorious in the public games standing between Apollo as a *citharœdus*, and a nymph with the double-pipes. He carries a large vase of the same form in his hand, the reward of his victory. This was found in 1869, at Sperandio, in the same tomb with the gold earrings. Another *stamnos* represents Achilles among the Nereids, who bring him the armour and weapons wrought by Vulcan. Some exquisite little vases from Nola, presented by Signor Castellani of Rome. There are also some vases in the earliest style, with bands of animals, black and purple, on a pale yellow ground.

But the most beautiful vase in this collection is a Bacchic *amphora* with a pointed base, decorated with red figures. The youthful Dionysos is seated in the centre of the scene, half-draped, with *thyrsus* in hand, and a chaplet of ivy leaves round his brow. A beautiful woman, doubtless Ariadne, in a long talaric *chiton* girt about her waist, and with her hair falling loosely on her shoulders, though bound by a broad *stephane* over her forehead, stands by his side; she passes one arm round his neck, and regards him with looks of intense affection. On one side of this beautiful pair, a nymph, draped also to her feet, but with a *nebris*, or deer-skin, over her *chiton*, and crowned with a garland of ivy-leaves, is paying attention to a fawn. On the other side a Satyr, naked save that a *nebris* is tied about his neck, stands looking on, *thyrsus* in one hand, and *kantharos* in the other, resting one foot on an empty *amphora* with pointed base, of the same rare form as this beautiful vase.[5]



AMPHORA WITH A POINTED BASE.

As beautiful painted pottery, like that of Vulci and Tarquinii, is very rarely found at Perugia, it seems probable that it was not manufactured on the spot. The ware which is most abundant,

[5] For an illustration and description of this exquisite vase, see Mon. Inst. VI. and VII. tav. 70; Ann. Inst. 1862, pp. 244–265, Helbig.

is unpainted, of black or red clay, sometimes with archaic figures in relief, though not in the style peculiar to Chiusi and its neighbourhood.[6]

Here are a few cinerary urns of terra-cotta, and several heads, portraits of the deceased, among which we notice one of a woman, coloured, and very archaic, quite oriental in character; and a Gorgoneion full of expression. Here is also a large Roman amphora found in the sea at Sinigaglia and incrusted with shells.

The Fifth Room.—In the centre stands a very singular monument discovered in a tomb near Perugia, 1844. It is a sarcophagus of *cispo* with reliefs on three of its sides; those at the ends representing figures reclining at the banquet, one with a lyre and *plectrum*, attended by slaves; that in the front of the monument displaying a remarkable procession, which demands a detailed description. It is headed by a man with a wand, apparently a herald, preceding three captives or victims chained together by the neck, whose shaggy hair and beards distinguish them as a separate race from the rest—apparently ruder and more barbarous. Two of them carry a small *situla* or pail in one hand, and a burden on their shoulders, which looks like a wine-skin; the third has his hand fastened by the same rope which encircles his neck. They are followed by two women, with mantles on their heads, engaged in conversation with the man who leads the next group. This is composed of two horses or mules neatly laden, attended by three men, the first with a spear, the next with a hoe and a sword, and the third without weapons, but in an attitude of exultation. A large dog, with a collar round his neck, accompanies these figures. Then march three men with lances, one with a burden on his shoulder, followed by two others similarly armed, driving a pair of oxen and of goats. The subject, from its position on a sarcophagus, has been supposed to be funereal, and to represent a procession of victims to be sacrificed at the tomb. But other than funereal scenes are often found on such monuments; and there are great difficulties attending such an interpretation. It seems to me much more satisfactory to suppose that it is a return from a successful foray. There are captives bound, and made to carry their own property for the benefit of their victors; their women behind, not bound, but accompanying their lords; their

[6] Micali says the pottery of Perugia is so inferior, especially in the design of the figures, that it is not worthy of notice. Mon. Ined. p. 217.

faithful dog following them into captivity; their beasts of burden laden with their goods; their weapons and agricultural implements carried by one of their guards; and their cattle driven on by the rest.[5]

The style of art is very rigid, yet not deficient in expression. It has much of an oriental character, and the monument is evidently of very early date.[6] Dr. Brunn considers it to be contemporary with the earliest paintings in the tombs of Tarquinii. I would rather say there is nothing in those tombs that betrays so rude and primitive a period of art as these reliefs.

By the window stands a bust of the Cavaliere Giambattista Vermiglioli, an illustrious son of Perugia, who devoted his long life (1769—1848) and his eminent talents to the study and elucidation of her monuments, and whose mantle was most worthily worn by his biographer Count Giancarlo Conestabile, until he also was taken in this summer of 1877. I had the honour of making the acquaintance of the venerable Vermiglioli in the early days of my Etruscan studies, and retain a grateful remembrance of his amiable courtesy, and of his readiness to assist the researches of the young foreigner who displayed interest in those pursuits to which his life had been devoted.

On the shelves around this room are many urns of terra-cotta from the necropolis of Perugia, most of which show the trite subjects of Cadmus or Jason vanquishing the armed men, who sprung into being from the dragon's teeth he had sown; or of the mutual slaughter of the Theban Brothers. But a few display different scenes. One shows the final farewell of a married pair, standing one on each side of a column. Another, which has a pretty group of a man and woman reclining on its lid, gives a version of that mysterious subject, in which a bear or wolf is emerging from a well. Here the monster has a man's head covered with the skull of a bear, he wears a *chlamys* over

[5] It was supposed by Melchiorri that this relief represented a colony going forth to fulfil the vow of a "sacred spring," according to the ancient Italian rite. Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 42. Vermiglioli agrees with this opinion. Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 143. But this view has been ably shown by Dr. H. Brunn, to be untenable; yet his opinion that it represents a funeral procession, with human and other victims to be sacrificed at the tomb to the *manes* of the deceased, though ingeniously supported (Ann. Inst. 1846, pp. 188–202), does not solve every difficulty, and I therefore offer in the text what seems to me a more likely interpretation.

[6] For illustrations of this singular monument see Mon. Ined. Inst. IV. tav. 32; Conestabile, Mon. Perug. tav. 39.

his shoulders, but has the paws of a wild beast, with one of which he seizes a youth by the hair; the terror-stricken bystanders are defending themselves with stones; a priest, distinguished by his *tutulus*, is pouring a libation on his head; and a winged Lasa stands behind, and apparently holds the ropes which issue from two holes in the *puteal*.[7]

Against the wall are two fine Medusa's heads, with hair instead of snakes, and full of expression; a very singular archaic head; and some early *bucchero* ware from Chiusi.

Perusia, like Cortona, is of high antiquity. Justin calls it of Achæan origin;[8] while Servius makes it appear that it was an Umbrian settlement.[9] Its antiquity is as undoubted as its former splendour and importance.[1] That it was one of the Twelve cities of the Etruscan Confederation is established by abundant testimony.[2]

We have no record of its early history. The first mention made of Perusia is of the time of Fabius, who, after having crossed the dread Ciminian forest, is said by some traditions to have won a victory over the Etruscans, under the walls of this city—a battle which is more generally believed to have been fought at Sutrium. However that may be, as Livy remarks, the Romans won the day, and compelled Perusia, Cortona, and Arretium to sue for a truce, which was granted for thirty years.[3] This was in 444 (B.C. 310). In the following year, however,

[7] For an illustration see Conestabile, op. cit. tav. 75. The learned Count (IV. pp. 216–221) gives the different interpretations or suggestions advanced by Buonarroti, Passeri, Vermiglioli, Inghirami, Braun, Newton, and Brunn on this mysterious subject, and confesses that none are in every respect satisfactory.

[8] Justin. XX. 1. — Perusini quoque originem ab Achæis ducunt.

[9] Serv. ad Æn. X. 201.—Sarsinates qui Perusiæ consederant. The Sarsinates were an ancient Umbrian tribe, who inhabited the Apennines. Polyb. II. 24, 7; Strabo, V. p. 227; Plin. III. 19; Festus, *v.* Ploti. Cluver (II. p. 577) hence concludes that Perusia was built long prior to the Trojan war, because the Umbrians, when driven out of Etruria by the Pelasgi, built Sarsina beyond the Apennines. Servius seems to hint that Perugia was founded before the latter city. He (ad Æn. X. 198) records another tradition, that it was built by Aules, father or brother of Ocnus, who founded Mantua, as Virgil tells us. Æn. X. 200.

[1] Appian. Bell. Civ. V. 49.

[2] Appian (loc. cit.) expressly asserts it. And Stephanus also (*v.* Περῥαίσιον). Livy twice cites it among the chief cities of Etruria—capita Etruriæ—once (IX. 37) classing it with Cortona and Arretium, and again (X. 37) with Volsinii and Arretium; here calling the trio—urbes validissimæ.

[3] Liv. IX. 37. Diodorus (XX. p. 773) also places this victory at Perusia.

Perusia joined the rest of the Etruscans in opposing the power of Rome; and after the fatal rout at the Lake of Vadimon, it still held out till Fabius marched against it, defeated the Etruscan army under its walls, and would have taken the city by storm, had it not surrendered into his hands.[4]

We next find Perusia in conjunction with Clusium, in the year 459, opposing the proprætor Fulvius; but the confederates were routed by him with great slaughter. Yet this defeat did not break the spirit of the Perusians; for no sooner had the consul Fabius withdrawn his army, than they excited the rest of the Etruscans to revolt; but Fabius, quickly re-entering Etruria, overcame them anew, slew 4500 of the citizens, and captured 1740, who were ransomed at 310 pieces of brass each man.[5] Not yet even did they relinquish their struggle for independence, but in the following year, after sustaining two other defeats, one near Volsinii, the other near Rusellæ, they were compelled, in conjunction with Volsinii and Arretium, to sue for peace; when a truce for forty years was granted them, on the payment of a heavy fine.[6]

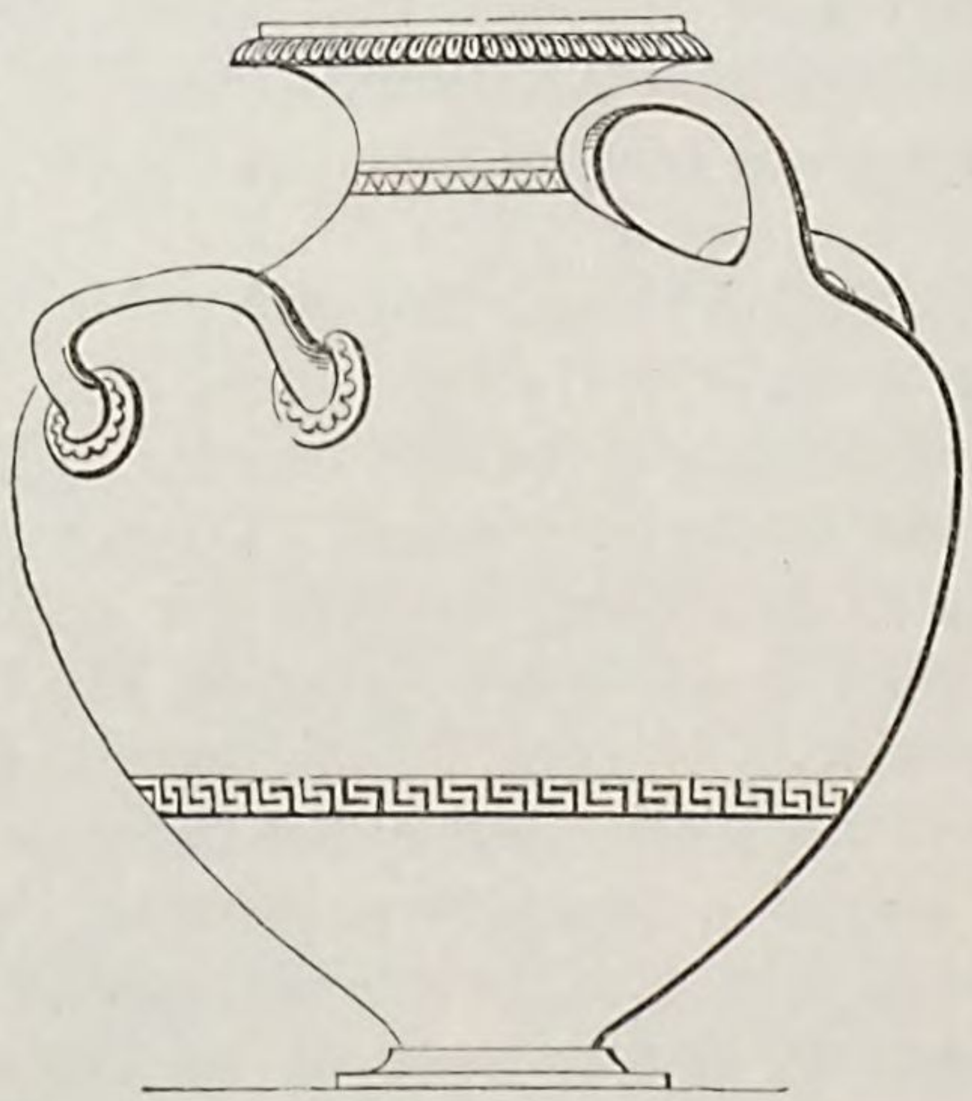
At what precise period Perusia fell under the Roman yoke does not appear, but it must have been soon after the events last recorded, as ere the close of the fifth century of Rome, the whole of Etruria had lost its independence. Perusia joined the other cities of Etruria in furnishing supplies for Scipio's fleet at the close of the Second Punic War; its quota, like that of Clusium and Rusellæ, consisting of corn, and fir for ship-building.[7] It is supposed to have been colonised about the year 711,[8] and a few years after, it played a conspicuous part in the civil wars of Rome; for Lucius Antonius, being hard pressed by Augustus, then Octavius Cæsar, shut himself up in this city, which the latter besieged, and starved into surrender. He gained little, however, by the capture; for one of the citizens, in despair, set fire to his house, and slew himself on the ruins; and the flames spreading, reduced the whole city to ashes.[9] It was afterwards

[4] Liv. IX. 40.
[5] Liv. X. 30, 31.
[6] Liv. X. 37.
[7] Liv. XXVIII. 45.
[8] This inference is drawn from the inscription "Colonia Vibia" on the ancient gate called Porta Marzia; because C. Vibius Pansa was consul in that year. Cluver, II. p. 578; Cramer, Ancient Italy, I. p. 219.
[9] Except a temple of Vulcan. The citizens had previously been accustomed to worship Juno, according to the rites of the Etruscans, but after this catastrophe they set up Vulcan in her place, as patron deity of Perusia. Appian. Bell. Civ. V. 49; Dio Cass. XLVIII. 14; Florus, IV. 5; Vell. Paterc. II. 74; Sueton. Aug. 9, 96; Lucan. I. 41 Serv. ad Æn. VI. 833.

rebuilt, and colonised afresh by Augustus,[1] as the inscriptions over its gateways testify, and it still maintained its rank among the chief cities of Etruria, even in the latter days of the Roman Empire, when it sustained a siege by the Goths, and was ultimately taken by Narses.[2]

[1] Dion Cass. loc. cit. It is subsequently mentioned as a colony by Strabo (V. p. 226), Pliny (III. 8), Ptolemy (p. 72, ed. Bert.), and is placed by the Peutingerian Table on the Via Amerina. See Vol. I. p. 111.

[2] Procop. Bell. Goth. I. 16 ; IV. 33.



KALPIS, OR WATER-JAR.



KRATER WITH DECORATIONS IN RELIEF.

CHAPTER LXII.

PERUGIA.—*PERUSIA.*

The Cemetery.

Hic maxima cura sepulcris
Impenditur. PRUDENTIUS.

Più che non credi son le tombe carche.—DANTE.

The necropolis of Perusia offers a rich field for research; and since attention has been directed to excavations in Etruria, numerous tombs have been brought to light. This is principally owing to the archæological zeal of the late Cavaliere Vermiglioli, to whom it is also due that many of these sepulchres, fortunately for the student of antiquity, long remained *in statu quo*, with all their urns, just as they were discovered.

Grotta de' Volunni.

First and foremost in magnitude and beauty, and rivalling in interest the most celebrated sepulchres of the land, is the "Tomb of the Volumnii," which no one who visits, or even passes through Perugia, should omit to see. It is easy of accomplishment, for the high road to Rome, as well as the railway, passes the very door. It lies about three miles from Perugia, in the slope of a low eminence, which rises at the base of the lofty height on which

the city stands. The keys are kept at a house not far from the Grotta.

You descend a long flight of steps to the tomb, now closed by a door of wood: the ancient one, a huge slab of travertine, which was placed against it—a mere "stone on the mouth of the sepulchre,"—now rests against the rock outside. You enter,—here is none of the chill of the grave, but the breath of the scirocco,—you are in a warm, damp atmosphere; that is, in winter, when it is most visited; in summer it is of course cooler than the external air. On one of the door-posts, which are slabs of travertine, a vertical inscription of three lines in Etruscan characters catches your eye; and so sharply are the letters cut, and so bright is the red paint within them, that you can scarcely credit this epitaph to have an antiquity of anything like two thousand years.[1]

Daylight cannot penetrate to the further end of the tomb; but when a torch is lighted you perceive yourself to be in a spacious chamber with a very lofty roof, carved into the form of beam and rafters, but with an extraordinarily high pitch; the slopes forming an angle of 45° with the horizon, instead of 20° or 25°, as usual.[2] On this chamber open nine others, of much smaller size, and all empty, save one at the further end, opposite the entrance, where a party of revellers, each on a snow-white couch, with garlanded brow, torque-decorated neck, and goblet in hand, lie—a petrifaction of conviviality—in solemn mockery of the pleasures to which for ages on ages they have bidden adieu.

There are seven urns in this chamber, five with recumbent figures of men, one with a woman in a sitting posture, and one of a peculiar character. All, except the last, are of travertine, coated over with a fine stucco; they are wrought, indeed, with a skill, a finish, and a truth to nature by no means common in Etruscan urns. The inscriptions show them all to belong to one family, that of "Velimnas," or Volumnius, as it was corrupted by the Romans.[3] Four of the urns are very similar, seeming to differ

[1] The inscription on the doorpost seems to be a general epitaph to the tomb. It would be thus written in Latin letters—"Arnth Larth Velimnas Aruneal Thusiur Suthi Akil Theke." It seems to imply that the sepulchre was made by the two brothers Arnth and Larth Velimnas. Of the rest of the inscription it were vain, in our present ignorance of the language, to give an interpretation; though analogies readily suggest themselves. The initial of the fifth and last words may possibly be a "Ph." See Conestabile's learned disquisition on this inscription. Mon. Perug. II. pp. 9–35.

[2] The dimensions of this central chamber are 24 feet long, 12 wide, and about 16 high—*i.e.*, 10 feet to the top of the cornice, and 6 in the pediment.

[3] Müller (Etrusk. II. p. 62) thinks the Volumna mentioned by Augustin (de Civit.

in little beyond the ages of the men, each of whom is reclining, in half-draped luxury, on his banqueting-couch; but here it is not the sarcophagus or urn itself which represents the couch, as is generally the case; but the lid alone, which is raised into that form, hung with drapery, and supported by elegantly-carved legs, while the receptacle for the ashes forms a high pedestal to the couch. On the front of each of these ash-chests are four *pateræ*, one at each angle, with a Gorgon's head in the centre—no longer the hideous mask of the original idea, but the beautiful Medusa of later art—with a pair of serpents knotted on her head, and tied beneath her chin, and wings also springing from her brows.[4]

The fifth male, who occupies the post of honour at the upper end of the feast, lies on a couch more richly decorated than those of his kinsmen, and on a much loftier pedestal. His urn is the grand monument of the sepulchre. In the centre is represented an arched doorway, and on either hand sits, at the angle of the urn, the statue of a winged Fury, half-draped, with bare bosom, and a pair of snakes knotted over her brows. One bears a flaming torch on her shoulder; and the other probably bore a similar emblem, but one hand, with whatever it contained, has been broken off. They sit crosslegged, with calm but stern expression, and eyes turned upwards, as if looking for orders from on high, respecting the sepulchre they are guarding. The

Dei, IV. 21) is identical with Voltumna, the celebrated goddess of Etruria; so also Gerhard, Gottheiten der Etrusker, p. 35. It is certain that this is a very ancient Italian name, and it is probably Etruscan. Varro (Ling. Lat. V. 55) speaks of a "Volumnius" who wrote Etruscan tragedies, though Niebuhr (I. p. 135, Eng. trans.) says that the reading of the Florentine MS.—"Volnius"—is the correct one; and this is followed by Müller in his edition of Varro. A Lucia Volumnia is mentioned in the songs of the Salii (Varro, op. cit. IX. 61). The wife of Coriolanus is well remembered. Liv. II. 40. The goddess Velinia, who is said by Varro (V. 71) to have derived her name from the lake Velinus, may have taken it from the same source.

[4] The character of these heads is sufficient to prove the late date of the urns, for in the earlier works of art, whether Greek or Etruscan, the Gorgon was represented as carefully hideous as the imagination of the artist could conceive her. See the woodcuts at pages 128, 221. But in after times it became customary to represent her as a "fair-cheeked lass;" indeed, as extremes meet, it was believed that it was her marvellous beauty, not her hideousness, that turned beholders into stone. Serv. ad Æn. II. 616.

One of the most noble Medusas of Greek art is that in high relief in the Villa Ludovisi, at Rome, where the Gorgon is represented as a woman of severe and grandiose beauty in her dying moments. No wings on her brows, no snakes about her head; her tresses lie in heavy snake-like masses on her neck and shoulders, her eyes are closed, but her last sigh has yet to escape from her unparted lips. For a description and illustrations of this beautiful monument of the Macedonian period of Greek art see Ann. Inst. 1871, pp. 212–238 (Dilthey); tav. d'agg. S. T.; Mon. Inst. IX. tav. 35.

archway is merely marked with colour on the face of the monument, and within it are painted four women—one with her hand on the doorpost, and eyes anxiously turned towards the Furies outside—wishing, it would seem, to issue forth, but not daring to pass the threshold through dread of the stern gaolers. The whole scene has a mysterious, Dantesque character, eminently calculated to stir the imagination.

The sixth urn belongs to a lady, who is distinguished from the lords of her family by her position; for she sits aloft on her pedestal like a goddess or queen on her throne; indeed, she has been supposed to represent either Nemesis, or Proserpine,[5] an opinion which the frontlet on her brow, and the owl-legs to the stool beneath her feet are thought to favour. This is more probably, however, an effigy of the lady whose dust is contained in the urn, and whose name is inscribed on the lid. Why she is represented in this position, when it was customary for the Etruscan women to recline at banquets with the other sex, I do not presume to determine.[6]

The last urn is of a totally different character from the rest, yet not less interesting. You are startled on beholding, among these genuine Etruscan monuments, one of marble, in the form of a Roman temple, with a Latin inscription on the frieze; more especially when from the character of its adornments you perceive it to be of no early date—apparently of Imperial times, or at least as late as the close of the Republic.[7] But while you are wondering at this, your eye falls on the roof of the urn, and beholds, scratched in minute letters on the tiles, an Etruscan inscription, which you perceive at once to correspond with the Latin—

P. VOLVMNIVS . A . F . VIOLENS
CAFATIA . NATVS .

The Etruscan, in Latin letters, would be "Pup. Velimna Au.

[5] Vermiglioli, Sepolcro de' Volunni, p. 42. Feuerbach, Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 120. Conestabile, Mon. Perug. II. pp. 97–99.

[6] There is doubtless an analogy to the sitting female statue in the Museo Casuccini at Chiusi, and to the few others of similar character, mentioned above. See pp. 299, 314, 376. She is robed in a long Ionic *chiton* reaching to her ankles. Her urn is precisely similar to that of her kinsmen.

[7] This little temple-urn has regular *isodomon* masonry marked in the front, with a panelled door in the centre, and fluted pilasters somewhat of the Corinthian order at the angles. On the sides and back are Roman emblems, such as *boucrania* or bulls' skulls, sacrificial *vittæ*, *pateræ*, *prefericula*; but the winged Medusa's heads

Caphatial."[8] That is, Publius Volumnius, son of Aulus, by a mother named Cafatia. So that here is a precise correspondence between the inscriptions, save the omission of "Violens," the Etruscans not having *cognomina*, or at least never using them in their epitaphs.[9]

But look at the ceiling of this chamber. It has one large coffer in concentric, recessed squares, as in certain tombs of Chiusi, and in the centre is an enormous Gorgon's head, hewn in the pediments, and the sphinxes on the roof, as *acroteria*, mark rather an Etruscan character.

[8] "Pup" is a contraction of "Pupli," or Publius. Cafatia, written "Caphate," or "Caphates" in Etruscan, is of frequent occurrence at Perugia. Lanzi thinks it bears an analogy to Capua. Sagg. II. p. 358 ; cf. Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 16.

[9] The Latin inscription on this urn has been pronounced a forgery by the author of "Etruria-Celtica," on no other ground than that it contradicts his fanciful theories of the identity of the Etruscan and Irish languages. "Velimnas," according to his interpretation, would mean "lamentations of women ;" and when he finds a bilingual monument which shows it to be merely the Etruscan form of Volumnius, rather than renounce his theory, he attempts, in the most unwarranted manner, to overcome the obstacle by declaring the Latin inscription to be a fraud, and expresses his surprise that so intelligent a scholar, and able an antiquary as Vermiglioli, could be deceived by so clumsy and palpable a forgery, the form of the letters being quite sufficient to declare its modern origin. Etruria-Celtica, II. p. 239. An assertion so groundless, made too without a personal acquaintance with the monument, naturally excited the indignation of those whose honour was thus gratuitously impugned, and called forth from Cavaliere Vermiglioli the following well-merited rebuke, which I give in his own words :—

"Non ometteremo allora un qualche esame sulle troppo vaghe, arbitrarie, e nuove interpretazioni date alle epigrafi de' Volunni da Sir W. Betham, nella sua Etruria-Celtica, pubblicata in Dublino, 1842; e che potrebbe segnare anche un' epoca assai rimarcabile ne' fasti delle letterarie stranezze. Noi stessi dovemmo fare delle grandi meraviglie, nel vedere come l' Autore di questa non nuova, ma speciosissima *Etruria-Celtica*, non avendo altro scampo da sostenersi, ne' suoi paradossi, ed in tanti assurdi, si decise a proclamare falsa, e modernamente inventata l' epigrafe latina della urnetta marmorea bilingue, ed aggiugnendo gentilezze a gentilezze, nutre facilmente qualche compassione per noi, che ci siamo così lasciati ingannare. Questo guidizio azzardato unicamente come a sostegno di assurdi chiarissimi, oltre esser falso, come mostreremo in altri tempi, offende gli scuopritori, ed i possessori eziandio di quell' insigne monumento, quelli che incopiarono l' epigrafe latina unitamente a tutte le epigrafi etrusche nello stesso istante del loro discuoprimento. —Guidizio, che non si legge in niun libro, in niuno scritto periodico che parlarono di quella tomba, e delle nostre esposizioni— guidizj inutili, per non dire mendicati sospetti, che niun ebbe mai fra tanti dotti, intelligenti, ed amatori italiani e stranieri, che visitarono e visitano frequentemente quel singolare oggetto e prezioso della veneranda antichità, che non mai vide il Sig. Betham ; ma nel libro di Sir W. Betham, fra tante bizzarrie, potea esser anche questa. Gli studj archeologici per meritarsi il nome di scienza devono diffidare di tutto ciò che non vien loro dimostrato ; ma la Tomba de' Volunni, i monumenti ivi collocati, rimasti sempre nella prima lor collocazione, e la piena lor integrità, ed il lor discuoprimento, di quali dimostrazioni andavano privi ? Testimoni oculari in grandissimo numero che vi si affollarono intorno penetrando impazienti, e nello stesso giorno della sua apertura, quasi negli stessi istanti di essa, e tosto che se ne divulgò la voce nella città e nei luoghi vicini ; onde alla nuova e classica scoperta fu data subito, ed all' istante una immediata, debita, e non mai sospetta pubblicità."—Scavi Perugini, 1843—1844 ; cf. Bull. Inst. 1844, p. 144.

from the dark rock, with eyes upturned in horror, gleaming from the gloom, teeth bristling whitely in the open mouth, wings on the temples, and snakes knotted over the brow. You confess the terror of the image, and almost expect to hear

"Some whisper from that horrid mouth
Of strange unearthly tone;
A wild infernal laugh to thrill
One's marrow to the bone.
But, no—it grins like rigid Death,
And silent as a stone."

Depending by a metal rod from the lintel of the doorway, hangs a small winged genius of earthenware, and to its feet was originally attached a lamp of the same material, with a Medusa's head on the bottom. A similar lamp was suspended from the ceiling of the central chamber.

Step again into this chamber, and observe the pediment over the inner doorway. Here is a large disk or circular shield, with a head in relief in the centre, set round with scales—a head which some take to be that of Apollo, surrounded with laurel leaves, though the scales are as likely to represent solar rays;[1] others, that of Medusa, on the scaly shield of Minerva.[2]

On each side of the shield, and forming with it a sort of trophy, is a curved sword, like a cimetar, with a bird perched on the hilt[3]—a figure doubtless of symbolical import, but not of easy explanation. Below, in the angles of the pediments, are two busts; one of a peasant bearing on his shoulder a *pedum*, or crooked staff, on which is suspended a basket; the stick terminating in a serpent's head. The face in the opposite angle is broken away, but the long flowing hair is still visible; and behind it is a lyre of elegant form, surmounted by a griffon's head. If the face on the shield be that of Apollo, these two busts may represent the same deity in his pastoral character, and as the god of music and poetry.[4]

[1] Vermiglioli, Sepolcri de' Volunni. p. 22. The sun is sometimes represented as a head in a disk set round with rays; as on a vase described in Ann. Inst. 1838, p. 270; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 55.

[2] Feuerbach, Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 119. This writer considers it to be rather the Moon, the Symbol of night, in contradistinction to the solar rays, decidedly marked in the opposite pediment. So thinks Abeken, Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 57. There is no other instance in Etruria of a shield or disk in the pediment of a tomb; but such are found sculptured in this position on the façades of the temple-tombs of Phrygia. See Steuart's Lydia and Phrygia.

[3] Swords of this form are rare in ancient monuments. Such a one, however, is represented in the hand of a figure on a vase from Chiusi. Mus. Chius. tav. 170. See also Vol. I. p. 201 of this work.

[4] Abeken (Ann. Inst. 1842, p. 59), who

In the pediment at the opposite end of this chamber, over the entrance door, is a corresponding disk, or shield, but with solar rays, instead of scales. It is too much broken to enable you to perceive if there has been a head in the centre. As in each angle of the pediment is a large dolphin, in relief, it seems to represent the sun rising from the waves—an apt emblem of resurrection. On the wall below, on one side of the entrance to the sepulchre, appears to have been carved a demon, whose sex, attributes, and attitude are matters of mere speculation, for nothing of it is left beyond an open wing—but, *ex pede Herculem.* There was probably such a figure on each side of the doorway, placed there to guard the sepulchre.[5]

On each side of the entrance to the inner chamber, a crested snake or dragon projects from the rocky wall, darting forth its tongue, as if to threaten the intruder into this sanctuary—

> Ardentesque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni
> Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.

These reptiles are of earthenware, but their tongues are of metal; and it has been thought that on these tongues lamps were suspended[6]—an unnecessary supposition. The place serpents held in the mythology of the Etruscans, as emblems of the Furies and infernal demons, explains their presence here. Below one of these snakes, just above the level of the pavement, is an Etruscan inscription, which, being on a stratum of sand-stone, is unfortunately almost obliterated.

It remains to notice the side-chambers, of which there are eight, four on each side. They seem never to have been occupied, as no urns were found within them. Some of them are still unfinished. They were intended, it would seem, for a long race of posterity, but the family may have become extinct, or they may have been merely for pomp, just as a palace contains many superfluous chambers.[7] The four inner rooms have, each a bench of

takes the Medusa's head here as a symbol of the Moon, sees in these figures, two Tritons, which correspond to the dolphins in the opposite pediment,—by no means a satisfactory explanation.

[5] Like the Charuns at the entrance of the painted tombs of Orvieto, and also of a tomb at Chiusi. *Ut supra*, pp. 51, 330.

[6] Vermiglioli, p. 16. Feuerbach, Bull. Inst. 1840, p. 119. In the Sepolcro de' Nasoni on the Flaminian Way, which, though of Roman times, has much of the Etruscan character, a serpent was painted on the wall almost in the same position as in this tomb of Perugia. For the meaning of serpents in tombs, see Vol. I. p. 169.

[7] This is not the only sepulchre of this family discovered at Perugia, for another was opened in the last century, near the church of S. Costanzo, outside the walls, and not very far from this tomb. Vermiglioli, Sepolcro de' Volunni, p. 5; Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 21–23.

rock, and two have Medusa's heads in shields on the ceiling, and a crested snake projecting from the wall above the sepulchral couch. In one of these tombs is an owl in relief in each corner, and a snake's head in the middle below.

Besides the monuments now remaining in this tomb, certain articles of bronze have been found, such as ewers—a helmet—a fragment of a shield embossed with figures of lions and bulls—a pair of greaves beautifully modelled—a singular spear or rod with a number of moveable disks, which seem to have been rattled together.[8] They are all to be seen in the chamber just within the entrance to the sepulchre.

Before leaving this tomb we must say a word on the inscriptions. Those of the four gentlemen on similar urns are, taking them in the order of their arrangement,

1—"Thephri Velimnas Tarchis Clan."
2—"Aule Velimnas Thephrisa Nuphrunal Clan."
3—"Larth Velimnas Aules."
4—"Vel. Velimnas Aules."

The grand urn in the centre has,

5—"Arnth Velimnas Aules."

And the lady is called,

6—"Veilia Velimnei Arnthial."

It scarcely needs the analogy of the names to prove these of one family, the likeness in their effigies is obvious; yet the precise relation in which they stood to each other could only be set forth by the inscriptions. No. 1 seems the most venerable, the progenitor of the rest, and in his name "Thephri," in other inscriptions written "Thepri," an analogy may be traced to the Tiber, which flows beneath the walls of Perugia, and whose name is said to be Etruscan;[9] just as the celebrated family of Volterra

[8] It has been supposed to be a musical instrument (Vermiglioli, Sep. Volunni, p. 21), but its being found in connection with armour and weapons, seems to mark it as of military use, and it was probably held upright, and shaken so as to rattle the plates together; and thus may have been an accompaniment to a band. A similar instrument, found in the neighbourhood of this tomb, and also in company with armour and weapons, had a small figure of a naked man dancing on the top of the rod.

[9] Varro (Ling. Lat. V. 29, 30) states that the name of the river was claimed both by the Etruscans and Latins,—by the former as being called after Thebris (the old editions have Dehebris), prince of the Veientes; by the latter as being named after Tiberinus, king of the Latins. Varro seems to incline to the Etruscan origin. See also Festus, *s. v.* Tiberis; Serv. ad Virg. Æn. III. 500; VIII. 72, 330.

Another Etruscan family of Perugia—Tins, Tinia—bears the same relation to the Tinia, a streamlet, the "Tiniæ inglorius humor" of Silius Italicus (VIII. 454), which falls into the Tiber, some miles below this city. It is now called the Topino. Cluver, II. p. 700. Its ancient name is doubtless derived from the Etruscan Jove

bore the name of the river Cæcina. Thephri then will be equivalent to Tiberius. No. 2 appears to be his son,[1] and the son of a lady of the Nuphruna family, and is certainly the father of the three other males—Larth, Velus, and Arnth Velimnas. No. 6 appears to be the daughter of No. 5, the gentleman who occupies the post of honour in this tomb, and she seems from her portrait to have reached "a certain age," and in spite of her nobility and wealth, never to have been married, for no matrimonial name is mentioned in her epitaph.

As for the gentleman in the temple, who could not be content with the fashions of his ancestors, he may be another son of No. 2; as his father's name was Aule; though the more modern style of his urn makes it probable that he was later by a generation or two than his kinsmen.

From the style of the sculpture, so superior to that generally found on Etruscan urns, from the painting also on the principal monument, which has all the freedom of those in the Pumpus tomb at Corneto, as well as from the style of the reliefs on the ceilings and walls of this sepulchre, there is no doubt that it is of late date, subsequent to the Roman conquest of Etruria, though before the native language and customs had been utterly absorbed in those of world-wide Rome.[2]

This tomb has been thought to bear a resemblance to a temple; to me it seems to have more analogy to a Roman house. The very arrangement of the chambers is the same. The doorway answers to the *ostium;* the central chamber to the *cavædium;* the recesses on either hand to the *alæ;* the inner chamber with the urns, to the *tablinum;* the other apartments around, to the *triclinia*, or *cubicula.*

This interesting sepulchre was discovered in February, 1840. Fortunately for the traveller it is the property of the Conte Baglioni, a relative of the venerable Vermiglioli, and a gentleman

who was called Tina, or Tinia. See Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 420.

[1] Thephrisa has not the usual form indicative of the patronymic; the termination "sa" or "isa," being usually applied to females to mark the names of their husbands. Yet as it is also found attached to names, which, as in this case, are undoubtedly males, it can here hardly be other than the patronymic. See Müller, Etrusk. I. p. 444. "Thephrisa" may be put for "Thephrisal," i.e. the son of Thephris, the filial relation being further expressed by the word "Clan."

[2] Vermiglioli (p. 43) considers this tomb to be of the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century of Rome, "or even as late as the days of the Empire." Micali (Mon. Ined. p. 154) judges from the style of art that the urns must be of the time of the Antonines. But Micali, as Dr. Braun has observed, generally puts his foot on a wrong date. Ann. Inst. 1843, p. 361.

whose love of antiquity, and zealous research, are equalled by his good taste.

The urns already described are those proper to this tomb. I have stated that the side-chambers were empty, and such was the case when it was discovered, but they now contain many urns from the tombs in the neighbourhood, which used to be exhibited in the Palazzone Baglione hard by, but have recently been transferred to this sepulchre, which is thus converted into a little museum. For though the Grotta de' Volumni was the first sepulchre discovered in this hill, many others have been subsequently opened around it; the entire hill-slope, in fact, is burrowed with them. None could compete in size or beauty with this sepulchre, yet all were interesting, when they still retained their urns, and because they proved many well-known Roman families to have been of Etruscan origin. The greater part were quadrangular chambers rudely hewn in the rock; of others it might be said, they "shape had none," for they were mere caves hollowed in the hill; one was in the form of a rude dome with beams slightly relieved. None showed the internal decoration, so lavishly bestowed on the Grotta de' Volumni.

The monuments in them were all urns of travertine—no sarcophagi; for it does not appear to have been the custom at Perusia to bury the corpse entire. None of them equal those in the Grotta de' Volumni for beauty of execution, but many are more varied in character, and almost all are painted,—reliefs as well as the figures on the lids,—and the colours retain much of their original brilliancy. The hues are black, red, blue, and purple. The reliefs are sometimes left white, or only just touched with colour, while the ground is painted a deep blue or black; and the ornaments, frontlet, necklace, torque, and bracelets, as well as the armour and weapons, are often gilt. Gay contrasts of colour were aimed at, rather than harmony or richness. In the Grotta de' Volumni, on the other hand, which is of a better period, or at least in a better taste, there are no traces of colour on the sculpture, except where the lips and eyes of one of the recumbent males are painted.[3]

These tombs belong to the families of the "Ceisi," in Latin Cæsius,—the "Veti" or Vettius,—the "Petruni" or "Patruni," in Latin, Petronius,—the "Pharu," answering to the Barrus, the Farrus, or possibly to the Varius of the Romans,[4]—and the

[3] The painted scene of the souls in the doorway, described above, at page 440, is on the flat surface of the monument.

[4] Muratori, p. 1462, 9; p. 422, 12.

"Acsi" or "Achsi," equivalent to Accius or Axius.[5] These were formerly placed under lock and key, but of late years they have been closed and the urns they contained have been transferred to the lateral chambers of the Grotta de' Volunni, and to a large one excavated in the rock above it. The contents of each tomb are no longer kept distinct, but are mixed indiscriminately, and are now only to be distinguished by their inscriptions.

In the first side-chamber to the left, as you enter the Grotta de' Volunni, are many urns, but none of particular interest. In the second, is an urn from the Veti tomb, representing Thetis, with fan in hand, seated on a hippocamp or sea-horse. The goddess is robed in purple, with a veil of the same hue; the beast is white, but his feet and fins are gilt. The colouring is thrown out by a blue ground. The third chamber on this side contains an urn, which shows a man playing a flute with both hands; another with a banqueting scene; and a third with a winged Lasa riding a hippogriff.

Crossing to the further chamber on the right-hand you find an urn with the hunt of the Calydonian boar, and another with a Latin inscription.[6] In the next chamber is one, highly decorated with colour and gilding, showing a married couple, reclining lovingly on the lid; he has a *patera*, she a gilt vase in one hand, and a naked sword in the other—the only instance I remember of a weapon at these sepulchral banquets. On another is the oft-repeated subject of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, here represented in a double row of figures; in the upper, the maiden is being dragged to the altar to the music of the double-pipes and lyre; in the lower, a priest is pouring a libation on her head, and other

Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 19; cf. 24; 1844, p. 137.

[5] Acsi has already been mentioned as an Etruscan proper name, when treating of the Castellum Axia of Cicero, see Vol. I. pp. 184, 185. But we have the name also in Roman history, for the augur who proved his prophetic powers to Tarquinius Priscus by cutting the whetstone with a razor, was named Attus or Accius Navius. Liv. I. 36. As we are expressly informed that in those days Etruscan soothsayers were alone consulted in Rome in cases of public prodigies (Liv. I. 55, 56), we are authorized to conclude that this celebrated augur, to whom a statue was erected in the Comitium, was an Etruscan. Acca Larentia, the nurse of Romulus and Remus, be it remembered, was also an Etruscan.

[6] This inscription is L. PETRONIVS. L. F. NOFORSINIA. Most of the other inscriptions are singular in this respect, that the name Tite, or Titus, precedes that of Petruni, not as the *prænomen*, but as the *nomen*; e.g.—"Aule Tite Petruni," in which case it seems to answer to the *gens* in Latin names, though such a distinction has been supposed not to have existed among the Etruscans. In the same way, in others of these epitaphs of Perugia, we find a recurrence of an union between two names—such as "Vibi Alpha," "Acuni Casni," "Cestna Sminthi." Bull. Inst. 1841, pp. 15, 67. For notices of this tomb see Bull. Inst. 1843, pp. 18, 23; 1844, p. 136; 1845, pp. 106–8.

figures are bringing fruit and various offerings to the shrine. There may have been some resemblance between the fate of the deceased and that of the daughter of Agamemnon, but, however that may be, I have observed that in almost every case, where this subject is represented, the figure on the lid is a woman. Probably the Etruscan young ladies were as fond as those of modern days of old tales of woe, and "The sorrows of Iphigeneia" may have been as popular a lay with them, as those of Werter and Charlotte were with our grandmothers. In the chamber next the entrance is some ancient masonry of large blocks, perhaps concealing an inner sepulchre.

In the upper chamber at the entrance to the tomb, are the rest of the urns from the neighbouring sepulchres, arranged in tiers on either side of the descending passage. One shows the winged Scylla, with double fishes' tail, brandishing an oar over the heads of two warriors, whom she has entangled in her coils. In another is a battle between Greeks and Amazons. There are several with a griffon as a device; one remarkable for having an eye in its wing. The griffon, be it observed, is still the crest on the arms of Perugia.

Here is an urn with warriors marching to the assault of a tower—a round tower too!—men of Ulster, look to this!—behold a new bond of affinity between Etruria and the Emerald Isle—a fresh proof that the ancient people of Italy were worshippers of Baal or of Buddh; and pardon my common-place opinion that the scene may represent the "Seven before Thebes." The trite subject of the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia is also here, finely executed in high relief. Another favourite subject is the Death of Polites, who kneels on the altar, grasping the wheel held out to him by a woman or Lasa, while his foe rushes on to slay him; but behind the woman is a snake or dragon, and at each end of the scene stands a Fury in a doorway, torch in hand. Of the death of Troilus there are several representations. Telephus threatening to slay the youthful Orestes. The assault on Thebes, with a figure of Scylla armed with an oar, at each end of the urn. A nuptial scene. Two armed men riding sea-horses. Two boys on a sea-horse, playing the flute and the lyre. A hippogriff overcoming a man. A magnificent head of Medusa, full of expression.

In a little room, just inside the entrance, are vases of plain ware in great variety and abundance, and a few bronzes found in these tombs. The most striking vase is a *krater* of large size,

with heads and flowers in high relief, painted but not varnished.[7] There is one painted vase only in the good Greek style, representing Jason entering the jaws of the dragon which guarded the golden fleece, and Hercules caressing Omphale.[8] There is part of a curule chair of bronze,—also mirrors—coins—gold ornaments—a pair of curling-irons!—a case of bone, containing articles for the toilet—and the lamps, helmet, greaves, and fragment of the embossed shield, found in the Grotta de' Volunni.[9]

Let the traveller on no account fail to see the Grotta de' Volunni. If my description has failed to interest him, it is not the fault of the sepulchre, which, though of late date, is one of the most remarkable in Etruria. To me it has more than a common charm. I shall always remember it as the first Etruscan tomb I entered. It was soon after its discovery that I found myself at the mouth of this sepulchre. Never shall I forget the anticipation of delight with which I leapt from the *vettura* into the fierce canicular sun, with what impatience I awaited the arrival of the keys, with what strange awe I entered the dark cavern—gazed on the inexplicable characters in the doorway—descried the urns dimly through the gloom—beheld the family-party at their sepulchral revels—the solemn dreariness of the surrounding cells. The figures on the walls and ceilings strangely stirred my fancy. The Furies, with their glaring eyes, gnashing teeth, and ghastly grins—the snakes, with which the walls seemed alive, hissing and darting their tongues at me—and above all the solitary wing, chilled me with an undefinable awe, with a sense of something mysterious and terrible. The sepulchre itself, so neatly hewn and decorated, yet so gloomy; fashioned like a house, yet with no mortal habitant,—all was so strange, so novel. It was like enchantment, not reality, or rather it was the realisation of the pictures of subterranean palaces and spell-bound men, which youthful fancy had drawn from the Arabian Nights, but which had long been cast aside into the lumber-room of the memory, now to be suddenly restored. The impressions received in this tomb first directed my attention to the antiquities of Etruria.[1]

Many other tombs have been opened in this hill, the entire

[7] See the woodcut at p. 437.

[8] Mon. Inst. V. tav. IX. 2; Mon. Perug. tav. 22, 3.

[9] Bull. Inst. 1841, p. 14.

[1] For further notices of this tomb, see Vermiglioli's pamphlet—Sepolcro de' Volunni, with the book of plates; Bull. Inst. 1840, pp. 17–19, Braun; pp. 116-123, Feuerbach; 1841, pp. 12–14; Ann. Inst. 1842, pp. 55, 59; Count Conestabile's beautiful and learned work on the Monumenti di Perugia, 1855–1870.

slope, indeed, is burrowed with them. These sepulchral treasures accumulate almost too fast for the local antiquaries to record their contents.[2]

The hill which contains these sepulchres lies to the south of Perusia. Other tombs have been found elsewhere, near the new Campo Santo, and also close to the city-walls, where the Benedictine monks have made excavations. The necropolis of Perusia, however, may be said to be only just disclosed, and we may entertain the hope that further researches will prove it to be of an extent and interest commensurate with the ancient importance of the city.

Tempio di San Manno.

This tomb, or "temple," as it is called, lies at the hamlet of La Commenda, two miles from Perugia, on the road to Florence. You enter a mean building, and descend a flight of steps into what you suppose to be a cellar, and find yourself in a vault, lined with travertine masonry, very neat and regular, but uncemented.[3] The vault is very similar to that in the Casa Cecchetti, at Cortona, and to the Deposito del Gran Duca, at Chiusi, but is much more spacious than either, being twenty-seven feet long, by half that in width, and about fifteen feet in height.[4] About half way down the chamber, on either hand, is a recess, also vaulted, in one of which stand, in the inner corners, two blocks of travertine, resembling altars, each having a groove or channel at the upper edge, as if to carry off the blood.[5] It is this which has caused the vault to be regarded as a temple,

[2] In 1843, Vermiglioli said that though he had already published more than 500 Etruscan monuments with inscriptions, he had still above 140 waiting for publication. Bull. Inst. 1843, p. 21. Since that time their number has greatly increased.

Among these tombs are those of the following families—Petri—Casni or Cesina—Surni—Anani (Annianus)—Luceti or Liceti—Upelsi—Suzi—Pumpuni (Pomponius)—Vusi—Larcani—Apruti—Caphate (Cafatius)—Acune (Aconius)—Varna (Varus)—Vipi (Vibius). Bull. Inst. 1844, pp. 137, *et seq.* A tomb of the Pumpuni family was also discovered here at the close of the last century, the urns from which are now in the Museum. A sepulchre of the family Velthurna, or Velthurnas (Volturnus) was opened near this city in 1822. Vermigl. Iscriz. Perug. I. pp. 262–3.

[3] The courses are from 12 to 18 inches in height, and the blocks vary in length, some being more than 6 feet, and one even 7 feet 9 inches. There are twenty-nine voussoirs in the vault.

[4] The further end is open, or rather the original wall at this end, if there were one, has been destroyed, and the vault lengthened out with brickwork of a much subsequent age. At the nearer end, the ancient masonry is preserved, but has been broken through to make the doorway by which you enter.

[5] These recesses are 6 ft. 6 in. high; about 6 ft. deep, and rather less in width.

though I think it was more probably a sepulchre, both from analogy [6] and on account of its subterranean character.[7] Moreover, the existence of an altar is in no way inconsistent with the supposition of a tomb, for the relation between tombs and temples is well known; and a shrine, where offerings might be made to the Manes, was not an unfrequent addition to ancient sepulchres.[8]

The beauty, the perfection of the masonry in this vault, not to be excelled in modern times, might have given rise to doubts of its Etruscan construction, had not this been put beyond all question by an inscription in that language in large letters, graven deep in the masonry, and extending, within the arch, from one end of the vault to the other. There are three lines, and the inscription, for length, may rival that in the Museum of Perugia.[9] With such a proof as this, who can doubt that the Etruscans knew and practised the arch,—and who shall throw suspicion on the Etruscan construction of certain vaults and arches in sepulchres and gates in this land, merely on account of the perfection of the workmanship and excellent preservation of the monuments? This vault proves that such things may have been, and heightens the probability that certain of them were, of Etruscan origin.

This vault has been open for ages; indeed, it is among the best known of Etruscan sepulchres. Yet though applied to base purposes, it has received little injury; probably owing to the hardness of the travertine.

[6] Similar altar-like masses exist in a sepulchre at Sovana, and also in the Grotta Cardinale and other tombs at Corneto.

[7] Gori (Mus. Etrus. III. p. 81) and Passeri (ap. eund. III. p. 100) took it for a sepulchre. So also Abeken, Mittelitalien, p. 250.

[8] The analogy and connection between temples and tombs is well established. The sepulchre was in fact the shrine of the Manes, who were regarded as gods. Virg. Æn. III. 63, 305; IV. 457; V. 48, 86. Arnobius (adv. Nat. VI. 6, 7) gives numerous proofs of the relation between temples and sepulchres, among the Greeks and Romans.

[9] This inscription has been published by Buonarroti, p. 98, ap. Dempster, II.; by Gori, Mus. Etrus. III. class. II. tav. V.; Passeri, ap. eund. III. p. 107; and Lanzi, Saggio, II. p. 514. Also by Conestabile, Monumenti di Perugia, tav. 30.



AMPHORA. PERFECT STYLE.

CHAPTER LXIII.

ROME.

Vidi artes, veterumque manus, variisque metalla
Viva modis. Labor est auri memorare figuras,
Aut ebur, aut dignas digitis contingere gemmas ;
Quicquid et argento primum vel in ære Myronis
Lusit, et est experta manus. STATIUS.

These are sad and sepulchral pitchers, silently expressing old mortality, the ruins of forgotten times.—SIR THOMAS BROWNE.

I MIGHT treat of Rome as an Etruscan city, pointing out facts both in her early history, and in her local remains, which authorise us so to regard her. But this would lead me into too discursive a field for the limits of this work, and I am compelled to confine myself to notice the Etruscan relics stored in her museums. These are the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican, the Etruscan Museum of the Capitol, and the Kircherian Museum.

MUSEO GREGORIANO.

This magnificent collection is principally the fruit of the partnership in excavations established, some forty or fifty years ago, between the Papal Government and the Signori Campanari of Toscanella; and it will cause the memory of Gregory XVI.,

who forwarded its formation with more zeal than he ordinarily displayed, to be honoured by all interested in antiquarian science. As the excavations were made in the neighbourhood of Vulci, most of the articles are from that necropolis; yet the collection has been considerably enlarged by the addition of others previously in the possession of the Government, and still more by subsequent acquisitions from the Etruscan cemeteries of Cervetri, Corneto, Bomarzo, Orte, Toscanella, Perugia, and other sites within what was till 1870 the Papal State.

As no catalogue of this Museum is published, the visitor is thrown on his own personal stock of knowledge or ignorance, as the case may be, or on the dim and dubious enlightenment of the *custode*. I have therefore considered that something like a guide to this collection would be acceptable; and I propose to lead my readers through the eleven rooms *seriatim*, and to point out the most remarkable objects in each. If errors should be found in my statements, they must be received with indulgence, and laid not so much to my charge as to that of the authorities, whose jealousy forbids a visitor to make a note within the Museum.[1]

Vestibule.

Here are three recumbent figures in terra cotta, two males and one female, the size of life, forming the lids to sarcophagi. One of the men is decorated with a chaplet of laurel, a torque, and rings; the woman with chaplet, necklace, earrings, rings, and bracelets. The position of two of these figures, stretched on their backs, with one hand behind the head, and one leg bent beneath the other, is peculiar; it is not the attitude of the banquet, but that of slumber, or, it may be, of satisfied repose after the feast.—From Toscanella, the site most abounding in terra-cotta articles.[2] Opposite the door is a large sarcophagus of *nenfro*, with a relief of the slaughter of the Niobidæ by Apollo and Diana; the same monument that has already been described in the chapter on Toscanella, where it was discovered.[3] Two horses' heads of *nenfro*, found at the entrance of a tomb at Vulci;

[1] This was strictly forbidden under Gregory XVI. Matters improved somewhat on the accession of Pius IX.; but even in 1876 I was ordered by the head *custode* of the Vatican to put up my notes, and to keep close to the local *custode* in his tour of the rooms, as "it was not permitted to inspect the articles minutely!" Yet the Vatican boasts of encouraging science!

[2] For illustrations see the work entitled Museo Gregoriano, I. tav. 92.

[3] See Vol. I. p. 479, and the woodcut at p. 473.

the horse among the Etruscans being a symbol of the passage of the soul to another world. A square cinerary urn of terra-cotta, with a rounded, overhanging lid, from which rose, like a handle, a small head, now broken off—the portrait of the individual whose ashes were deposited within.—From Veii.[4] Many heads in the same material, portraits of deceased Etruscans, which were placed in tombs, are now embedded in the walls of this chamber. Turning to the right we enter the

Chamber of the Cinerary Urns.

This room contains two large sarcophagi and a dozen or more urns of alabaster or travertine. One of the sarcophagi is of marble, and has on its lid the figure of a man, reclining on his back, not on his side as usual, and with so quaint and singular an air, that it attracts the eye at first sight. The figure is draped to his feet, which are bare; his flesh is coloured red, his hair and beard are painted and carefully detailed, his head is bound with a chaplet of leaves, and he is decorated with armlets, a necklace of large *bullæ*, and a torque, which he holds with one hand, while he has a *phiala omphalotos* in the other. Behind his head is a sphinx, and at each shoulder a little lion. The whole is in a state of perfect preservation. In its material and in its primitive and archaic style of art, so unlike the rudely carved figures in *nenfro*, which usually surmount Etruscan sarcophagi, this monument bears a strong resemblance to those of the "Sacerdote," and "Magnate" in the Museum of Corneto, and to those in the Grotta dei Sarcofagi at Cervetri, from which tomb it has in fact been transferred to the Vatican, as mentioned in a former Chapter.[5]

On the sarcophagus is a relief of a number of figures in procession, headed by a *cornicen* or trumpeter, with a large circular horn, followed by others with a *lituus*, a *caduceus*, a lyre, and double-pipes respectively. Next is a woman talking to a man behind her, and these seem to be the principal figures, for both are crowned with chaplets, and she is decorated with earrings and a triple necklace. A man in a *biga*, preceded by a boy, brings up the rear. One of the horses is painted red, the other is left white. The flesh of the men throughout is coloured a deep red; that of the woman a paler hue. The hair of all is yellow.

[4] See Vol. I. p. 40.

[5] Vol. I. p. 246.

The other sarcophagus is of *nenfro*, with no effigy on its lid, but its relief shows a figure, probably a magistrate, in a *biga*, preceded by two men carrying boughs, and one with a *thyrsus*, and followed by a slave, or *apparitor*, bearing a large tablet under his arm.

The urns are mostly from Volterra. They bear the usual recumbent effigies on the lids, ludicrously stunted; most are women, and hold fruit, a scroll, tablets, a fan, a *rhyton*, or a *phiala*, in their hands. The principal urn is at the upper end of the room, and is of alabaster, having a pair of figures on its lid—the wife reclining fondly in her husband's bosom. The relief below shows the death of Œnomaus overthrown in his chariot. On one side stands Hippodameia, his daughter; on the other, Pelops, who had brought about the catastrophe. Two winged Junones mark this as a scene of death. As regards the style of art this urn is much superior to those around it, and is in excellent preservation.[6]

The other urns bear, as usual, Greek myths, generally with a mixture of Etruscan demonology. Combats of Centaurs and Lapithæ. Cadmus or Jason, armed with a plough, contending with the teeth-sprung warriors. The parting of Admetus and Alcestis, who reclines on a couch, fan in hand. Paris taking refuge at the altar from his wrathful brothers; the palm-branch in his hand indicating the prize he had just won in the public games. The rape of Helen, with slaves carrying her goods on board the ships of Paris. Actæon, torn to pieces by his dogs. Iphigeneia on the altar, the priest pouring a libation on her head, musicians standing around to drown the cries of the victim, a slave bringing in the hind which Diana had sent as a substitute. On the lid of this urn is no recumbent figure, but a banquet of small figures in relief. There are several urns with scenes emblematical of the last journey of the soul, represented as a figure wrapped in a toga, seated on horseback; a demon is sometimes leading the animal, and a slave follows with a burden.[7]

On the shelves above the urns are more heads in terra-cotta, interesting as specimens of Etruscan portraiture and fashions of wearing the hair. One has the lower part of the face full of minute holes, as if for the insertion of a beard.

[6] Museo Gregoriano, I. tav. 95, 1.

[7] For these urns see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 93–95.

Chamber of the Sarcophagus.

In the middle of this room is a large sarcophagus of *nenfro*, found at Tarquinii in 1834. The effigy of the venerable Lucumo on the lid, reclining on his back, with a scroll in his hand, recalls the monuments of the middle ages.

This sarcophagus has reliefs on all four sides. One shows an altar, with the body of a woman lying on it, which must be that of Clytæmnestra; for the corpse of Ægisthus lies on the ground hard by, with the avenging pair standing over it; and a woman sits mourning below the altar, who may be Electra; while in another part of the scene Orestes is persecuted by Furies, brandishing serpents. On the opposite side of the monument is the story of the Theban Brothers; here engaged in altercation; there driven by a torch-armed Fury to their destiny, which is set forth in the centre of the relief, where they are dying by each other's hands. Their father Œdipus is here also; led away from the sad scene, he encounters a Fury similarly armed. A naked female figure seated on a rock is probably Jocasta. At one end of the monument is represented a human sacrifice—a woman being thrust on an altar, and stabbed by two men—it may be Clytæmnestra immolated to the *manes* of Agamemnon. At the opposite end Pyrrhus is about to slay the infant Astyanax, in the arms of his tutor, who has vainly borne him to an altar for protection; or it may be Telephus threatening to kill the young Orestes.[8]

Around the room are arranged the following objects—A marble urn, of large size, in the form of a couch, on which reclines the figure of a youth. The legs of the couch are prettily carved with mermaids, and the frieze above shows Cupids chasing geese, all in sharp relief. A half-draped female statue in *nenfro*. A semicolossal head of Medusa in the same stone, with snakes tied under the chin. A slab with a bilingual inscription, Latin and Umbrian, on both sides.—From Todi. Two busts of great beauty—one of a youth with a garland of flowers, in *nenfro;* the other of a maiden in terra-cotta. A beautiful frieze in the same material, with the heads of a young man and woman in high relief and coloured, each flanked by a pair of genii or Cupids, and surrounded by flowers and foliage. This charming architectural fragment has more of a Greek than Etruscan character, and probably came from Magna Græcia.

[8] For an illustration see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 96.

In the corners of this room are some small cinerary urns of pottery, in the form of rude huts of skins, stretched on cross-poles. They still contain burnt ashes; and were found, together with a number of small pots, lamps, rude attempts at the human figure, *fibulæ*, knives, and lanceheads, in a *pithos*, or large jar of coarse brown earthenware, such as stands in this chamber, and is



HUT-URN AND OTHER ARTICLES OF POTTERY, FROM THE ALBAN MOUNT.

represented in the annexed woodcut.[9] These were found many years ago on the Alban Mount; and analogy marks them as of very high antiquity—the sepulchral furniture of the earliest races of Italy, prior, it is probable, to the foundation of Rome.[1]

[9] The above wood-cut shows a section of one of the large jars, containing one of the hut-urns, and a variety of vessels of the same material around it. The urns, however, are not always so found, but are sometimes separate. Some are marked with curious figures in relief, which have been supposed to be Oscan characters, but are mere decorations.

[1] These remarkable urns were first found in 1817 at Montecucco, near Marino, and at Monte Crescenzio, near the Lago di Castello, beneath a stratum of *peperino*, 18 inches thick. They were embedded in a yellowish volcanic ash, and rested on a lower and earlier stratum of *peperino*. The upper stratum being broken through to plant vines, disclosed these large pots with their contents, as represented in the above wood-cut. As the Etruscan sepulchral monuments were often imitations of temples or houses, these, which have a much ruder structure as their type, the shepherd's hut of skins, indicate a far earlier origin; a view confirmed by the very primitive art displayed by all the objects found with them. The ashes they contain are probably those of the inhabitants of Alba Longa, which, if we may believe tradition, stood on the ridge surrounding the lake. At first these hut-urns were regarded as of antediluvian antiquity, for it was asserted that so far back as history extends, the volcano had been extinct, and the crater

Chamber of Terra-Cottas.

In the centre of this room stands a beautiful terra-cotta statue of Mercury, with *petasus* and *caduceus*, found at Tivoli, and of Roman art. There are also three fragments of female statues in terra-cotta, from Vulci. Genuinely Etruscan also is the small figure of a youth lying on a couch. From the gash in his thigh, and the hound at his bed-side, he is commonly called Adonis; but it may be merely the effigy of some young Etruscan, who met his death in the wild-boar chase. His flesh is coloured

filled with water, which, during the siege of Veii, overflowed, and gave occasion to the cutting of the celebrated Emissary, in the year 358 of Rome. But on reference it was found that Livy (I. 31) had recorded volcanic action in the Alban Mount in the time of Tullus Hostilius, and it was remembered that whatever records of such disturbances may have been preserved in the Roman archives were destroyed by the Gauls, when they burnt the City in the year 365. It was ascertained also that Livy mentions frequent volcanic disturbances in Latium at a much later date—that he records no less than ten eruptions as occurring between the years 536 and 585. On viewing the question from a geological as well as from a historical point of view, it was seen to be quite possible that ages after the burial of these ancient Albans, an eruption may have occurred, of which no record has come down to us, which may have deposited a bed of *peperino* over this necropolis. For *peperino* is composed simply of volcanic ashes and lapilli, thrown up with enormous quantities of hot water, so as to form a mud, which coats the slopes, and when dry and indurated, constitutes the rock of that name. After a time, the genuineness of the discovery was called in question; it was asserted that these sepulchral relics, whose high antiquity was generally admitted, though denied by some who ascribed them to the northern barbarians that invaded Italy in the fifth century of our era, by others who saw in them the work of Swiss soldiers in the Papal service, must have been placed beneath the *peperino*, either for greater security, or to puzzle the antiquaries. In 1866, therefore, a party of Italian savants, comprising men eminent as antiquaries or geologists—Fiorelli, Rosa, Pigorini, Ponzi, De Rossi—visited the site for the express purpose of settling this question, and they unanimously came to the conclusion that the relics had been deposited prior to the formation of the volcanic stratum under which they were discovered. De Rossi afterwards continued researches on the spot, and found traces of an extensive necropolis covering a large area, in which, wherever he broke through the superincumbent crust of *peperino*, he discovered similar remains at the depth of from 1 to 1½ mètre. The question then as to the genuineness of the discovery was completely set at rest. In 1871, two of these hut-urns were found inclosed in small structures of *peperino*, like dolmens or cromlechs in miniature, composed of several upright slabs supporting a cover stone—very similar on a small scale to the sepulchres of Saturnia, described at p. 282, and also to certain tombs discovered at Marzabotto, near Bologna. A still more startling discovery was made of several specimens of the *æs grave*, or earliest coined money of Italy, either inclosed in the mass of *peperino*, or found beneath it. Illustrations of these curious tombs and their contents, and of the said money with a helmeted head on the obverse, and a female head on the reverse, are given in Ann. Inst. 1871, tav. d'agg. U. Mommsen ascribes the *æs grave* to the time of the Decemvirs, or the year 305 of Rome; others carry it back to the time of Servius Tullius, while Helbig pronounces the art of the particular heads in question to mark them as later than the age of Pheidias. Bull. Inst. 1871, p. 38. For further information on this interesting subject, see Bull. Inst. 1871, pp. 34–52; Ann. Inst. 1871, pp. 239–279.

red, his drapery purple, and that of the couch, blue. This sepulchral urn was found at Toscanella, in 1834.[2]

There are several small urns of the same material, similar to those often described in Etruscan museums, and with the usual subjects coloured. The mutual slaughter of the Theban Brothers. Cadmus or Jason slaying the teeth-sprung warriors with a plough. Scylla, represented according to the Greek, rather than Etruscan, idea—having a double-tail terminating in dogs' heads. Trunks and limbs of the human frame; some for containing the ashes of the dead, others votive offerings; a baby swaddled in the modern Italian fashion;[3] *antefixæ* and



ETRUSCAN PORTRAIT, IN TERRA-COTTA, FROM VULCI.

tiles; and heads, portraits of the deceased, showing abundant variety of feature, expression, and fashion of head-dress. In the case by the window are some little figures and heads, of terra-cotta or of stone; some very quaint. Certain of the female heads have quite a modern air, and some are very pretty and expressive. A specimen of such heads is given in the above woodcut, the original of which is now in the British Museum.

Of much earlier date are two large *antefixæ* coloured to the life—one showing a satyr's head with red flesh, goat's ears, black beard, and hideous mouth; the other, the head of a nymph with

[2] Museo Gregoriano, I. tav. 93, 1.

[3] The bodies of infants were not burnt by the ancients before they had cut their teeth.—Hominem priusquam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est. Plin. VII. 15; cf. Juven. Sat. XV. 139.

yellow flesh, red hair, and blue eyes, wearing an *ampyx* on her head, very like that in the above woodcut. Also the fragment of a sea-horse, with scales painted red, and the feathers of his wings coloured red, white, and blue alternately; in a very archaic style.

There are also some reliefs in terra-cotta, which are not Etruscan, but of Augustan times, representing Mithras slaying the bull, Amazons feeding or combating griffons, Perseus with the head of Medusa of gigantic size, Hercules vanquishing the Nemean lion, slaying the Hydra, overthrowing the Cretan bull, &c.

First Vase-Room.

The vases in this museum are very choice. In truth they are among the most beautiful specimens of Greek ceramic art that have come down to us. Being, with very few exceptions, the produce of the tombs of Etruria, they do not show that variety of character to be observed in collections composed of vases gathered from all parts of the old Hellenic world. The student of this branch of antiquities will therefore miss some of the well-known types, with which he has become familiar in the British Museum, at the Louvre, at Berlin, or at Munich. He will find very few though very interesting specimens of the old Doric, or Corinthian vases, as they are called. But in those of the Attic, or Archaic Greek style, and in that which is deservedly designated Perfect, this collection is unrivalled. There is nothing inferior; every vase is a subject for admiration and for study. And this is my apology for presenting something like a catalogue of them to my readers.

This room contains twenty-eight painted vases—mostly *amphoræ*, in the Second or Archaic style, with black figures on the ground of the clay.[4]

In the centre of the room, on a pedestal, stands a *krater*, or mixing-vase, with figures, painted purple, red, black, and yellow,

[4] It may be well here to repeat the names of the principal sorts of ancient vases, classifying them according to the purposes they served :—

Vases for holding wine, oil, or fruit—*amphora*, *pelike*, *stamnos*, *lebes*.

Vases for water, always with three handles—*hydria*, *kalpis*.

Vases for mixing wine at the banquet—*krater*, *kelebe*, *oxybaphon*.

Vases for pouring—*œnochoë*, *olpe*, *prochoos*, *kyathos*.

Vases for drinking—*kantharos*, *kyathos*, *kylix*, *phiala*, *skyphos*, *holkion*, *keras*, *rhyton*.

There are many more varieties, which need not be stated here. And the *lekythoi*, *alabastoi*, and other unguent-vases, I have not thought it necessary to specify. The forms of all have been shown in the Appendix to the Introduction, to which I must refer the reader for illustrations.

on a very pale ground, and in the most beautiful style of Greek art; indeed this is one of the finest vases ever rescued from the tombs of Etruria. It displays Mercury presenting the infant Bacchus to Silenus, whose half-brutal character is marked by hairy tufts on his naked body. Two nymphs, the nurses of the lively little god, complete the group. On the reverse of the vase, is a Muse, sitting between two of her sisters, and striking a lyre.[5] —From Vulci.

The vases on the shelves around this room are mostly *amphoræ*, with black figures. Beginning from the left as you enter, you will find the following, though their arrangement may be found to vary from time to time.

Warriors fitting on their greaves in preparation for the combat; Pallas stands by, watching them. Her shield bears a woman's leg kneeling as its device.

Pallas, Dionysos, and Apollo. Here the goddess has a stag's head on her shield.

Europa sitting on the bull. On the reverse, Heracles between Pallas and Dionysos.

Heracles overthrowing the Cretan bull, by ropes fastened to his hind legs. Reverse—Combat between Achilles and "Episos."

Pallas and Ares in a *quadriga*, vanquishing the Titans—a spirited scene. Above the chariot is inscribed "NIKOSTRATOS KALOS."

Dionysos in a car, sceptre in one hand, and ears of corn in the other, between two nymphs.

Heracles overcoming the centaur Nessus; reverse—Combat of Centaurs and Lapithæ.

The other vases of this style not specified bear either Bacchic subjects, or the deeds of Hercules.

In a corner is a large *kelebe*, in the First or earliest style, showing a combat, with a band of animals below.

One small *krater* in the corner by the window is remarkable for a humorous scene, where Jupiter is paying court to Alcmena, who regards him tenderly from a window. The god, disguised, it would seem, in a double sense, bears a brotherly resemblance to "honest Jack Falstaff," or might pass for an antique version of Punch; he brings a ladder to ascend to his fair one; and Mercury, the patron of amorous, as of other thefts, is present to assist his father.—From Magna Græcia.

In the case by the window are sundry lamps, chiefly Roman; one is of glass.

[5] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 26.

Second Vase-Room.

This room contains thirty-nine vases. In the centre are five on pedestals. The most singular is one of the rare form called *lebes*—a large globe-shaped bowl on a tall stand, like an enormous cup and ball. Its paintings are most archaic in subject and design—sphinxes, harpies, and other chimæras, with wild beasts, principally lions and boars, glaring angrily at each other, as they are commonly represented on the earliest Greek vases; and as Hesiod describes them on the shield of Hercules[6]—

> Ἐν δὲ συῶν ἀγέλαι χλούνων ἔσαν, ἠδὲ λεόντων,
> Ἐς σφέας δερκομένων, κοτεόντων θ' ἱεμένων τε.

The bowl of the vase has four bands of figures, but the upper one represents a boar-hunt, and a spirited combat of Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroclus. Earliest style.—From Cervetri.[7]

Another vase in the centre is a *kalpis*, with Apollo, lyre in hand, standing by a chair in the midst of six Muses. Third or Perfect style.—Vulci.[8]

The third is a very remarkable vase—a large *amphora*, one of the most beautiful specimens of the Second, or Archaic style, in which hardness and severity of design are combined with a most careful and conscientious execution of details. It represents, on one side, the curious subject of Achilles ("Achileos") and Ajax ("Aiantos")[9] playing at dice, or *astragali*. Achilles cries "Four!" and Ajax, "Three!"—the said words in choice Attic issuing from their mouths, just as would be represented in a modern caricature. From the dice not being shown, and from the hands being held out with the fingers extended, they might

[6] Scut. Herc. 168. The notion of encounters between these animals was prevalent in very ancient times, as such subjects are frequently introduced on the most archaic vases, and on other primitive works of Greek art. Nor is it yet obsolete, as we learn from the curious story of a combat between a lioness and a boar, told by Sir John Drummond Hay in his most entertaining work on "Western Barbary," to which the scenes on these vases might serve as illustrations.

"'God is great!' said the lioness;—'O God! all-merciful Creator! What an immense boar! What an infidel! What a Christian of a pig!'

"'May God burn your great-great-grandmother!' said the boar.

"On hearing the creature curse her parent, the lioness stopped, and, lashing her tail, roared with a voice that the whole wood re-echoed, and she said, 'There is no conqueror but God!'"

[7] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 90. See the form of the *lebes*, No. 12 in the Chapter on Vases.

[8] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 15, 2.

[9] Where the names are given in capital letters, it is to be understood that so they are written in Greek characters on the vase.

be supposed to be playing at the old game of *dimicatio digitorum*, known to both Greeks and Romans, and handed down to modern times, as every one who has been in Italy knows to the cost of his peace—the eternal shouting of *la morra* assailing him in every street. But as their fingers touch the table between them, it is more probable the artist intended to represent them playing at dice. Each has his shield resting behind him, and Ajax his helmet also. Achilles wears his. Both heroes wear mantles over their shoulders. In the elaborate richness of these mantles and of the armour, and the exquisite neatness of the execution, this vase has not its rival in the collection.[1] The potter's name, "ECHSEKIAS," is recorded, as well as that of the person to whom it was presented—"the brave ONETORIDES." On the reverse of the vase is a family scene of "the great Twin-brethren"—"KASTOR" with his horse, "POLUDEUKES" playing with his dog, "TYNDAREOS" and "LEDA" in quaintly figured drapery, standing by. A boy is carrying a seat on his head, and either he or the horse is called "KULAROS." This beautiful relic of antiquity was found at Vulci in 1834.[2]

The fourth vase on a pedestal is an *amphora*, representing the body of Achilles borne to Peleus and Thetis, followed by his companions in arms, one of whom bears the Trinacrian device on his shield. On the reverse is Bacchus driving a *quadriga*, attended by a Satyr and Mænads. Second style.—Cervetri.[3]

The fifth vase is a *kalpis*, and has for its subject the Death of Hector. The hero "of the quick-glancing helmet" is sinking in death, and relaxing his hold on his arms. His beardless victor stands over him with drawn sword. Minerva supports her favourite hero; and Apollo—or, it may be, Venus—stands, bow in hand, behind the fallen Trojan, and points an arrow at the Greek, as if to predict the fate in store for him. A beautiful vase in the Third style.—From Vulci.[4]

On the shelf to the left of the door are *amphoræ* in the Second style, among which the following are most worthy of notice:—

Heracles and Apollo contending for the tripod at Delphi.
Heracles and the Nemean lion.

[1] This subject is not uncommon. Instances of it, but of inferior design and execution, are to be seen in the Museum at Naples, in the British Museum, and in other large collections of ancient vases. The ancient game, now called *morra*, is occasionally represented on Greek vases. See Annal. Inst. 1866, tav. d'agg. U. V.

[2] Illustrated in Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 22. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 53. Ann. Inst. 1835, p. 228.—Panofka.

[3] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 50, 2.

[4] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 12, 2.

Heracles and the sea-god Nereus.
Heracles rescuing Deianeira from the Centaur Nessus.
Heracles and the Amazon Penthesileia.
Combat of Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroclus.

A remarkable vase, an *amphora* of that sort contracting towards the neck, which is commonly called a *pelike*, shows two men sitting under an olive-tree, each with an *amphora* at his feet, and one who is measuring the oil exclaims, "O father Jove! would that I were rich!" On the reverse of the vase is the same pair, but at a subsequent period, for the prayer has been heard, and the oil-dealer cries—"Verily, yea, verily, it hath been filled to overflowing." Second style.—Cære.[5]

The shelf opposite the window contains *hydriæ*, or water-jars, mostly in the same archaic style.

In the corner is a race of women, a very curious scene.

Zeus, Pallas, and Heracles in a *quadriga*, contending with the Giants; a scene full of spirit. On the shoulder of the vase, Pallas is twice represented on foot engaged in a similar combat.

Pallas in a *quadriga*, attended by Hermes and Heracles. On the shoulder, Theseus is vanquishing the Minotaur.

A *quadriga* foreshortened; a not unique subject in early Greek art, as the well-known *metope* from Selinus will testify.

Krater. Triptolemus on his car drawn by serpents. From Magna Græcia.

A *hydria* of superior size, and extreme beauty, in the Third or Perfect style, representing Apollo seated on the Delphic tripod, which is speeding its winged course over the waves. Dolphins and other fish are gambolling in the water, attracted to the surface by the music of the god's lyre. It is one of the most beautiful, and best preserved vases yet discovered at Vulci.[6]

Hydria. Nymphs at a Doric fountain; some going, others returning. Their pots, true *hydriæ* in form, just like the vase itself, are laid on their heads in different positions, according as they are full or empty; as may be observed among the peasant-girls of Italy at the present day. In an upper band is a spirited combat, thought to represent Æneas assisting Hector against Ajax. In a lower band, boys on horseback are hunting stags. Second style.—Vulci.[7]

A warrior mounting his *quadriga*.

[5] Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 44 b; Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 61, 1.

[6] Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 147, tav. 94. Mon. Ined. Inst. I. tav. 46. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 15, 1.

[7] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 9, 2.

Heracles in a *quadriga* attended by Pallas and Dionysos. On the shoulder, the demi-god overcoming the Nemean lion.

On the shelf at right angles are the following:—

Kalpis. Heracles contending with the Nemean lion. Pallas seated looking calmly on. Third style.

Hydria. Peleus seizing Thetis at a fountain. Second style.

Two Panathenaic *amphoræ*, each showing Pallas brandishing her spear in the attitude of attack, between two Doric columns, crowned with cocks. The reverse of one shows a *biga* at full gallop; of the other, a foot-race. The usual inscription is wanting in each.

Kalpis. Theseus, having pierced the wild sow of Crommyon with his spear, and wounded her with a stone, has brought her to bay, and awaits her attack, sword in hand, with his *chlamys* wrapt round his left arm; nearly as the Spanish *matador* encounters the bull in the arena. Third style.—Vulci.[8]

Kalpis. Nymphs at a fountain, filling their jars, assisted by a man who brings up an *amphora* to be filled. Second style.

Stamnos. On the body of this vase is a band of figures representing the palæstric games—wrestling, boxing, and chariot-racing. In an upper band is a banquet of four couples of both sexes, very like the feasting-scenes in the tombs of Tarquinii, but in a more archaic style. Second style.—Vulci.

On the shelf by the window are two most archaic vases. One is a *hydria* of singular form. The subject is the Boar of Calydon at bay, attacked by dogs, and by hunters armed with spears, all of whom have their names attached. The other is an *œnochoë*, and represents Ajax, "AIVAS," fighting with Æneas, who is assisted by Hector. The figures are painted in black, red and white on the pale yellow ground of the clay. The very peculiar design, and the primitive palæography, mark these vases to be of that rare Doric class, probably from Corinth, which are seldom found on any other Etruscan site than Cervetri.[9]

In the cases by the window are sundry articles in pottery, among which notice a small canoe, a *rhyton* in the form of a man's leg; two *alabasti* in the shape of eagles' heads, from Cervetri; small heads of terra-cotta, with moulds for casting them; and two very small bowls or saucers, each with a Cupid painted in the middle, and one inscribed "KERI POCOLOM," the other "LAVERNA POCOLOM," in very archaic Latin characters.

[8] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 12, 1.

[9] Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 38 A; Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 17, 2; Ann. Inst. 1836, pp. 306—310, Abeken.

Quadrant, or Third Vase-Room.

This is a long hall or gallery, with the vases arranged on shelves along the inner wall. I shall specify the most remarkable, but as their collocation is subject to alterations, they may not be found in the order in which they are here mentioned.

Amphora. Pallas and Heracles contending with the Giants, represented as men in armour, not of larger size than their opponents. A two-headed Cerberus follows the mortal warriors.—Vulci.

Amphora. Aurora mourning over her son Memnon, who lies dead in a myrtle-grove. His armour is lying on the ground, or is suspended from the trees. A dove in the branches above is supposed to represent his soul, or it may be one of the hero's companions, changed, as the legend states, into birds. Observe the expression of the weeping mother. On the reverse of this scene is Briseis led away from Achilles.—Vulci.[1]

Hydria. The combat of Heracles with Cycnus. Pallas assists her hero, and Ares his son. Below is a band of lions and boars.—Vulci.

Hydria. A fountain with a Doric portico, having snakes and birds painted on the architrave. The water gushes from the mouths of lions and asses, and flows in waving curves into the pitchers! On the shoulder of the vase, Heracles is overcoming the Nemean lion; Pallas and Iolaus stand by with a chariot.—Vulci.[2]

Hydria. Pallas mounting her *quadriga*, attended by Hermes and Heracles. On the shoulder of the vase Theseus is slaying the Minotaur; youths and maidens stand around, the tribute sent from Athens to Crete, and rescued by the hero's exploit.—Vulci.

Hydria. Two men on horseback, who might represent the Dioscuri were it not for the inscriptions above them. On the shoulder of the vase are contests of racers and pugilists.—Cervetri.

Hydria. Theseus slaying the Minotaur; youths and maidens, with branches in their hands, stand by. In an upper band is Bacchus holding a *keras* or wine-horn, in the midst of Satyrs and Mænads, dancing to the music of the double-pipes and castanets.—Vulci.

Amphora. Heracles overcoming the Nemean lion.

[1] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 49, 2.

[2] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 10, 2.

Amphora. A *quadriga*, with Pallas and Heracles behind it. Reverse.—A Bacchic dance.

All the foregoing are in the Second, or Archaic Greek style. Beyond the recess, which is occupied by a large *krater* from Magna Græcia, are the following:—

Amphora. Achilles and Memnon, contending over the body of Antilochus. On the reverse, Heracles in a *quadriga* accompanied by Pallas. A beautiful vase in the Second style.—Vulci.

Kalpis. "THAMYRIS" with lyre in hand, contending with the Muses. A very beautiful vase in the Third style.—Vulci.[3]

Kalpis. "POSEIDON" seizing "AITHRA," as she is plucking flowers. Third Style.—Vulci.[4]

Hydria. A man painting or inscribing a *stele* or funeral monument; another passes him in a chariot. Third style.—Vatican Library.[5]

Amphora, with twisted handles. The single figure of a warrior. In the Third style.—Nola.

Amphora. A woman carrying a shield bearing the device of an eagle with a snake in its beak. Third style.

Amphora. Demeter with a torch in each hand, seeking her daughter Persephone. Third style.

Amphora. Theseus slaying the Minotaur at a Doric column. Third style.

Kalpis. Boreas, with wings and *talaria*, seizing the nymph Oreithyia at an altar. Third style.

Kalpis. A woman in a *quadriga*, followed by another on foot with a lyre, and preceded by a third with a torch in each hand. Third style.

Amphora, in the recess, from Magna Græcia.

Two Panathenaic *amphoræ*, with the figure of Athene Promachos, brandishing her lance between two Doric columns surmounted by cocks, and with the usual legend "TONAΘENEΘEN-AΘAON"—"of the prizes from Athens." In one case the goddess has a *gorgoneion* on her shield; in the other her favourite owl. The former vase is pseudo-archaic, as the archaicisms it displays are not proper to the date of its manufacture, but are conventionalities retained from an earlier period. The reverse as usual shows scenes from the public games.—Vulci.[6]

Amphora. Heracles, shaking hands with the grey-eyed goddess,

[3] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 13, 2.
[4] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 14, 1.
[5] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 16, 1.
[6] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 42, 43.

his patroness, salutes her with "XAIPE." Iolaus stands by, bearing the hero's arms. On the reverse a *citharista* is playing between two athletes, very like the figures in the painted tombs of Corneto. A very beautiful vase in the Third style.—Vulci.[7]

Amphora. A youth with the *discus.* On the reverse is a *pædotribes.* A very beautiful vase with brilliant lustre. Third style.—Vulci.[8]

Amphora. Dionysus revelling with Satyrs under the vines.

Amphora. Heracles and Apollo contending for the tripod. Minerva endeavours to part them. On the reverse are dances to the music of the lyre and double-pipes. Third style.—Cervetri.[9]

Amphora. Apollo, with his lyre in hand, endeavouring to avoid the blow which Cassandra aims at him with an axe. A beautiful vase in the Third style.—Vulci.[1]

Amphora. Apollo crowned with laurel, playing his lyre, and rapt in song. A beautiful vase, in the Third style, from Vulci.[2]

Amphora.—Hecuba,—"ΕΚΑΒΕ"—presents a goblet to her son, "the brave Hector"—ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΚΤΩΡ—and regards him with such intense interest, that she spills the wine as she pours it out to him. The hoary-headed "ΡΡΙΑΜΟΣ" also stands by, leaning on his staff, looking mournfully on, as if presaging the fate of his son. Third style.—Vulci.[3]

The large *amphora* in the recess is from Magna Græcia, and represents a lady, probably Helen, sitting at her toilet in the midst of her maids, admiring her naked charms in a mirror. Paris peeps at her through a window.

Amphora with twisted handles. A poet with lyre and *plectrum* in hand, at a Doric column. Two Victories on the wing bring him wine in vases. Third style.

Amphora. Poseidon, with his trident, and bearing a rock on which are painted sundry reptiles and fishes, is overthrowing a warrior, supposed to be Polybotes. Third style.—Vulci.[4]

Amphora. A warrior, returning from the fight, receives a cup of wine from a nymph at a Doric column. Third style.—Vulci.

Amphora. Theseus slaying the Minotaur.

Amphora. Pallas armed, stands with her helmet in her hand,

[7] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 54, 2.
[8] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 58, 1.
[9] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 54, 1.
[1] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 60, 1.
[2] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 59, 2.
[3] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 60, 2.
[4] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 66, 1.

on one side of the vase; Hermes on the other. Vase in the Third style, having a brilliant lustre.

Amphora. Achilles, bare-headed, but armed with cuirass, and spear, stands on one side of the vase; on the other a nymph is filling a goblet with wine, to refresh the hero, after his labour in the fight. A beautiful vase in the best style, from Vulci.[5]

Stamnos. Zeus reclining on his couch, cup in hand; Nike, or it may be Hebe, bringing him wine. Third style.

Hydria. Two youths with spears sitting on rocks; others bring them weapons and armour. Third style.

Kalpis. A boy with his hoop in one hand, and a cock in the other, which he seems to have stolen from a hen-roost. An old man, supposed to be his tutor, or *pædotribes*, is calling him to account for his misdeeds. Third style. It is not known where this beautiful vase was found, as it had been in the Vatican Library long prior to the formation of this Museum.[6]

Amphora. Two warriors in a *quadriga* going to battle. Two women, with small children on their arms, stand by the car—a scene generally interpreted as the parting of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle. On the reverse, are represented the gods of Olympus. Zeus seated on his throne, about to give birth to Pallas-Athene. Hera and Ares stand before him; Poseidon and Hermes behind. The owl is perched on the god's sceptre, as if awaiting the advent of his mistress. Second style.—Cervetri.

Stamnos. A Mænad with a lyre, and another with *thyrsus* in hand, and dishevelled locks.

Stamnos. The gods in council. Hera seated on her "golden throne;" Zeus standing before her, bolt in hand; Pallas, Hermes, and Poseidon, with their respective attributes; and another pair, probably Hephæstos and Aphrodite. Third style.—Vulci.[7]

Stamnos. Hippolyta on horseback and in close mail, contending with Theseus, aided by Peirithous, on foot. Third style.—Vulci.[8]

Stamnos. "ZEUS" seizing "AIGINA," in the midst of her sisters; who, on the other side of the vase, are seen informing their father "ASOPOS," of his daughter's abduction. Third style.—Vulci.[9]

[5] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 68, 3.

[6] Some see in this scene Jupiter and Ganymede, and certainly the old man's wand is more like a sceptre than a school-master's rod. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 14, 2.

[7] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 21, 1.

[8] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 20, 2.

[9] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 20, 1.

Amphora. Heracles, carrying the boar of Erymanthus on his shoulder, is bringing him to Eurystheus, who, terrified at the huge monster, tries to hide himself in a well. Second style.—Vulci.[1] Humour seems hardly consistent with so much severity of style.

On the opposite side of this long gallery, between the windows, are several vases, which, on your return to the entrance door, you reach in the following order:—

Kalpis. Apollo with the Muses. Third style.

Pelike. A warrior receiving a goblet from a Victory, who carries a *caduceus.* But the most remarkable thing about this beautiful vase is that it was broken of old, and riveted together with brass wire, just as it is now seen, before it was placed in the tomb. Third style.—Vulci.[2]

Kalpis. Combat between Achilles and Hector. Third style.

Stamnos. Troilus, riding two horses, has been surprised at a fountain by Achilles, and gallops off, followed by his swift-footed foe. A maiden alarmed is dropping her pitcher. Third style.—Vulci.[3]

Pelike. Artemis offering a goblet to her brother Apollo. Third style. This vase is remarkable as having been found near Norcia, in Sabina, on one of the loftiest of the Apennines.

Stamnos. Zeus on his throne, with Nike flying behind him, while Apollo stands before him, playing the lyre. Third style.

Amphora. Aphrodite, driving a *quadriga*, followed by a dove. Second style.

Amphora. Heracles, attended by Pallas, at the gate of Orcus, which is guarded by a double-headed Cerberus. The king of the shades is there to receive them, and Persephone sits hard by, under a Doric portico. The inscription offers a specimen of the unknown tongue, occasionally found on these vases.[4]

Stamnos. Heracles pursuing a nymph. Third style. This vase has also been restored, and in a singular manner; for a piece of the female figure having been broken away has been supplied with a fragment of a banqueting-scene, in a totally different style; showing that the restoration was made for the sake of utility rather than of beauty.

Stamnos. The winged "HEOS" driving her four-horse chariot. Third style.—Vulci.[5]

[1] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 51, 2.
[2] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 63, 2.
[3] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 22, 1.
[4] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 52, 2.
[5] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 18, 2.

Stamnos. Combat of Greeks and Amazons. Third style.—Vulci.

Kelebe. The same subject, treated in a spirited manner. The heroine on horseback is spearing her unarmoured foe, and brings him to his knee. She wears a Phrygian cap with long lappets, and her close-fitting dress is ornamented with bands of chevrons, as in the celebrated vase in the Arezzo Museum. Third style.—Vatican Library.

Kelebe. A Satyr treading grapes in a wine-press. Dionysus with a *thyrsus*, another Satyr, and two Mænads are looking on. Third style.—Vulci. This vase was broken in the foot, and restored by the ancients.[6]

There are other vases in these three rooms, whose position I cannot remember, and many of those already described bear other subjects on the reverse. Many of these subjects are Bacchic. The bearded god, standing with wine-horn, *kyathus*, or *kantharus*, and a vine branch in his hand, is surrounded by Satyrs and Mænads. These are generally *amphoræ*, with black figures, in the Second style, and from Vulci.



KYATHUS.

The labours and deeds of Hercules are often represented, particularly his struggle with the Nemean lion. He is also seen carrying the Erymanthian boar on his shoulders—overcoming the Centaurs—slaying Cacus—destroying the Hydra—vanquishing the Amazons—wrestling with Nereus—striking down the triple-bodied Geryon—fetching Cerberus from hell—contending with Apollo for the tripod—combating the giants—driving his chariot with his patron, the grey-eyed goddess—playing the lyre, between Bacchus and Minerva—rescuing Deianeira from the centaur Nessus.

Other favourite subjects on these vases are the deeds of Theseus, who is represented contending with the Amazons, the

[6] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 24, 1

Minotaur, the Centaurs—slaying the wild sow of Crommyon, or securing the bull of Marathon; and scenes from the Trojan War, especially the deeds of Achilles, Hector, and Ulysses.

Palæstric exercises and games are also often represented—wrestling—boxing—racing. Hunting the hare on horseback, and in armour, is very peculiar. Youths with strigils at the bath, or preparing for the *palæstra*. Warriors arming, or engaged in combat.

Among the vases which demand particular notice is a *kelebe*, in very archaic style, representing a nuptial procession; the wedded pair drawn in a *quadriga*; from Cervetri. An *amphora*, in the Second style, from the same site, with the combat of Hector, assisted by Æneas, against Ajax; on the neck is a goddess between two lions.

Fourth Vase-Room.

This chamber contains chiefly *kylikes*, or drinking bowls, which are more rare than the upright vases, and not inferior in beauty; indeed some of the most exquisite specimens of Greek ceramographic art are on vessels of this form. Most of them are figured within as well as outside the bowl, and without minute examination, which can only be effected by handling, it is in many instances impossible to ascertain the subjects of the paintings, or to determine more than the style of art. I shall notice those only with the most striking subjects, most of which are from Vulci.

Œdipus solving the riddles of the Sphinx. The same in caricature—the Theban prince having a monstrous head, and a little crutch, like a hammer, in his hand; the "man-devouring monster" being reduced to the figure of a dog, or fox,—for it is hard to determine which.[7] Jason vomited by the dragon at the feet of Pallas, who stands by, owl in hand, watching for his advent. The golden fleece hangs on a tree behind.[8] The Rape of Proserpine; the King of Shades bearing her to his realms below: her ornaments are in relief—a rare feature in vases of this description found in Etruria, though not uncommon on those from Magna Græcia.[9] Pelias being led to the caldron, where the treacherous Medea stands ready to sacrifice him.[1] Theseus

[7] These two vases are illustrated in Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 80.

[8] Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 35. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 86, 1.

[9] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 83, 2.

[1] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 82, 1.

binding the bull of Marathon.[2] A sick warrior on a couch, his head supported by his wife: the contrasted pain and sympathy are admirably expressed.[3] A *symposium*, or drinking-bout, of bearded men, one of whom is playing the lyre; and another of men and youths.[4] Groups of *athletæ* preparing for the arena, with a youth trying on greaves, inside the bowl—one of the most beautiful vases in this room, rivalled, however, by the next, which shows naked youths at the bath, with strigils in their hands.[5] A youth exercising with the dumb-bells. Several specimens of the curious goblets, painted with large eyes. Between each pair are generally one or two small figures such as Heracles slaying Cycnus,—or contending with Hippolyta—Hermes and Dionysus—warriors on foot or horse-back—trumpeters—heads of Pallas, Hermes, and Heracles, all three together in profile—a winged Gorgon running; but the most common subjects are Bacchic.

On the shelves towards the windows are more of these *kylikes*:—Ajax bearing the dead body of Achilles.[6] Prometheus bound to a Doric column, with the vulture tearing his liver, while he is talking to Atlas with the world on his shoulders.[7] Warriors shaking hands. Trumpeters with long straight horns. Combats of Greeks and Trojans. The exploit of the infant Mercury as cattle-lifter.

> "The babe was born at the first peep of day;
> He began playing on the lyre at noon,
> And the same evening did he steal away
> Apollo's herds."

The god of light is seeking for his cattle in the cave of Cyllene; Maia stands by her new-born son, who, in his cradle, lies hid in a corner among the herd.[8] Heracles and Apollo contending for the Delphic tripod. Heracles seated in the bowl he had received from Apollo, crossing the sea to Spain; outside the vase is the Death of Hector.[9] Ariadne riding on a panther. Triptolemus on his winged car, drawn by serpents.[1] Midas with ass's ears, seated on his throne, and his servant standing before him with one of the tell-tale reeds which whispered the secret to the world.[2]

[2] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 82, 2.
[3] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 81, 1.
[4] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 79, 1; 81, 1.
[5] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 87.
[6] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 67, 2.
[7] This is a burlesque. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 67, 3.
[8] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 83. 1.
[9] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 74, 1.
[1] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 76.
[2] It is so called in the exposition to Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 72; and so Dr. Braun interprets it (Ann. Inst. 1844, p. 211, tav. d' Agg. D.); but it is more like one of the crooks often represented in the hands of peasants.

Some of the smaller goblets are not painted externally, but have the maker's name inscribed; and on not a few is the salutation ΧΑΙΡΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΕΙ—"Hail, and drink!" Another inscription, often seen on these goblets, ΗΟ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ, shows that the vase was a present of affection to some "beautiful youth." A few, however, bear inscriptions in a language utterly unintelligible, or rather in no language at all; for the epigraphs are composed either of letters put together at random, or of mere shapeless dots, grouped in imitation of words.

The glass cabinet in this room contains a number of curious articles in pottery—*rhyta*, and other fantastic vases, in the forms of human beings or heads, sometimes with a double face, and of various beasts and birds; as well as some black ware of high antiquity.[3] Two beautiful *phialæ*, or drinking-bowls, of black ware, with *quadrigæ* in relief, are rather Roman than Etruscan.

Here are also a few painted vases of ordinary forms. One, a beautiful *œnochoë*, bears a scene from the Etruscan cockpit—the literal, not the naval site so designated.[4] The lustre of this vase is most brilliant. Another beautiful *œnochoë* shows a Persian monarch receiving an *amphora* from his queen.[5] A third vase of the same form displays "MENELEOS" rushing, sword in hand, to take vengeance on his faithless spouse. "ELENE," with dishevelled hair, flies for refuge to the Palladium; though little would Minerva avail her; but her own peculiar patroness, the laughter-loving "APHRODITE," interposes, stepping between the son of Atreus and his vengeance. He, evidently startled at the apparition, lets his sword drop, and confesses the power of Love, who hovers over him with a chaplet, while soft Persuasion ("PEITHO") stands behind him. The moral may be bad, but the design is admirable; in truth, this is one of the most beautiful and brilliant vases in the Museum. Third style.—Vulci.[6] On a *calpis*, in the same style, Heracles is seen reclining on a couch of masonry, and wakes to find the Satyrs have stolen his weapons.—Vatican Library.[7]

A beautiful *prochoos* of Pallas, helmet in hand; and an *amphora* with a nymph holding a spear; both with a brilliant lustre.

An *amphora* in a late style shows Orestes and Pylades about to slay Clytæmnestra, on her knees between them. An *amphora*,

[3] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 93, 96–98.
[4] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 5, 1.
[5] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 4, 2.
[6] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 5, 2. This subject is treated in a very similar manner in a bronze mirror from Cervetri, illustrated in Mon. Inst. 1866, tav. 33.
[7] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 13, 1.

in the Second style, has a Gorgon running, with wings outspread.

At the end of the room are two beautiful vases in the Second style.—Achilles and Ajax playing at dice; and Æneas escaping from Troy, carrying his father Anchises on his back, and led by his mother Venus.

In the cases are some interesting and curious specimens of ancient glass.

Room of the Bronzes and Jewellery.

This is a most interesting chamber, containing a great variety of articles in metal from the tombs of Etruria.

One of the first objects that strike you on entering is a couch of bronze, with a raised place for the head, and the bottom formed of a lattice-work of thin bars. Though probably just such a couch as the early inhabitants of Italy were wont to use, it served as a bier, for it was found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri, and doubtless once bore a corpse.[8]

Around it stand four tripods, each supporting a huge caldron of bronze, with reliefs, and having several handles in the shape of dragons' heads, in one case turned inwards to the bowl. These were all found in the above mentioned tomb[9]—indeed, the most interesting articles in this chamber come from that celebrated sepulchre.

Six large circular shields, three feet in diameter, embossed with reliefs—like the round bucklers of the heroic age, the ἀσπίδες εὐκύκλοι of Homer; four smaller ones, about half the size, decorated with a sort of rosette in the midst of three panthers; and twelve disks, too small to have served any purpose but ornament—now hang round the walls of this chamber, and were found in the same tomb, where the smaller ones were suspended from the walls and ceiling.[1]

On one of the shelves opposite the window is a singular instrument on wheels, having a deep bowl in the centre, just like a modern dripping-pan, but decorated with reliefs of rampant lions. It was an incense-burner, and stood by the side of the bier in the Regulini sepulchre.[2] All these articles are by some

[8] See Vol. I. p. 267. It is about 6 feet long, 2 ft. 3 in. wide, and about 1 foot high, standing on six legs. It was ornamented with embossed reliefs of men, lions, sphinxes, dogs, and flowers. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 16, 8, 9; 17. This reticulated bier seems to be an illustration of the τρητὸν λέχος of Paris and Helen, Iliad III. 448.

[9] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 15, 1, 16, 1–3.

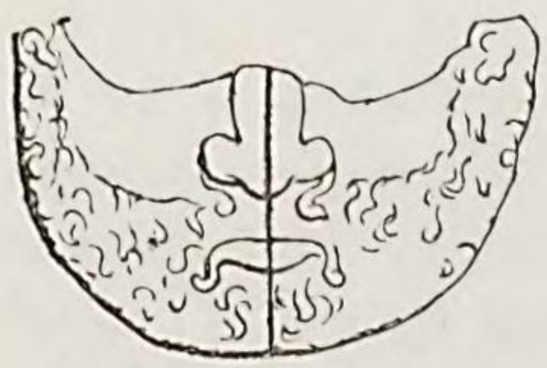
[1] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 18–20.

[2] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 15, 5, 6.

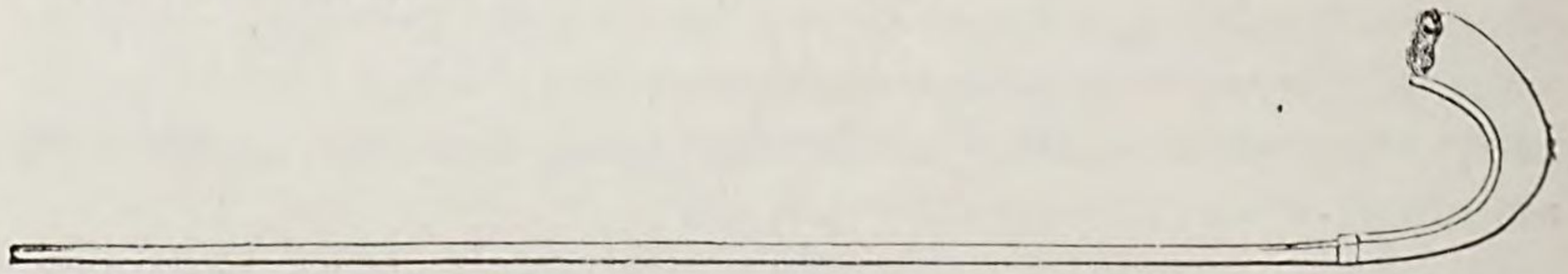
regarded rather as Pelasgic than Etruscan. In either case they are of early Italic art. Immediately above is the shield found at Bomarzo, still retaining, it is said, its lining of wood, and braces of leather; but you are not able to inspect it closely.[3]

On the wall on each side hang half a dozen small disks, some with the head of the horned Bacchus, others with that of a lion, in the centre. They were found in a tomb at Tarquinii, and are supposed to have been suspended on its walls, or to have adorned the coffers of its ceiling.[4]

On the walls also hang many other articles of armour, defensive and offensive, mostly from Vulci—helmets, cuirasses, greaves, shield-braces, spears, javelins, arrow-heads, battle-axes. Among them may be observed a singular visor or face-bit, shown in the annexed wood-cut; and a long trumpet or *lituus*, with the end curved like a crook, found at Vulci; the only specimen I remember to have seen of that instrument, though it was peculiarly Etruscan. It is about four feet in length.[5]



BRONZE VISOR.



ETRUSCAN LITUUS OR TRUMPET, OF BRONZE.

Besides these weapons of war, more peaceful implements in bronze are suspended on the walls. Fans, or rather the handles of fans, with holes for wires or threads, to attach the feathers or leaves. Mirrors in abundance, of which particular mention will presently be made. *Pateræ* with handles, often of human forms, as where a nude nymph holds a mirror in one hand, while combing her hair with the other; or where a Juno, half-draped, supports the bowl with her upraised wings.[6] Plaques of bronze with archaic reliefs in *repoussé* work, the decorations, it may be, of long perished furniture. A vase, like a powder-flask embossed, with movable handle, remarkable for the site of its

[3] See Vol. I. p. 172.

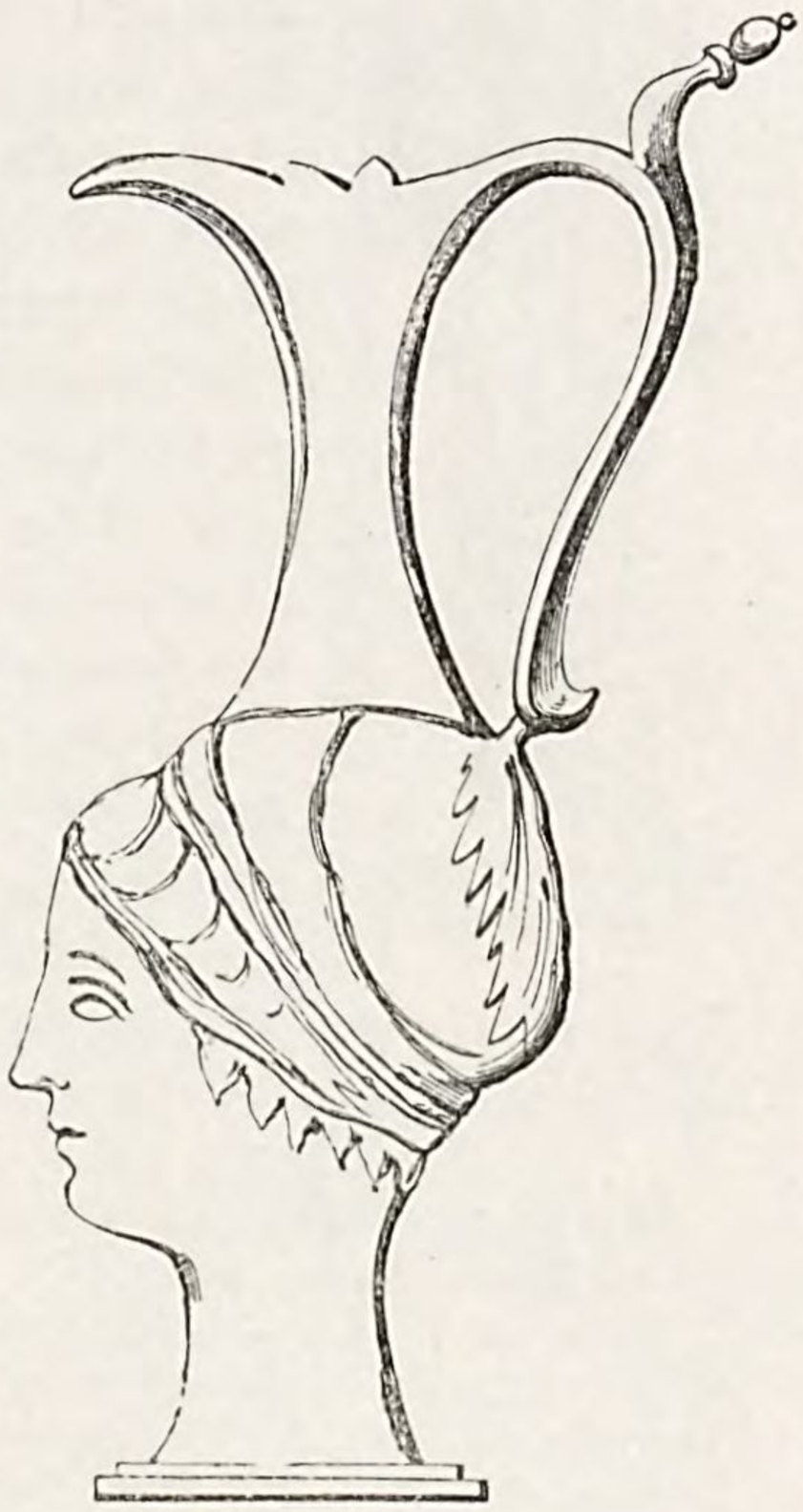
[4] See Vol. I. p. 415; and the wood-cut at p. 401.

[5] For the armour see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 21.

[6] The nymph combing her hair is copied on the cover of this work; the *patera* she supports has been exchanged for a *speculum*, or mirror. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 12, 13.

discovery, Cosa, where so little sepulchral furniture has yet been disinterred.[7] Ten bronze spits, four feet long, strung and bound together, with a figured handle—just such as are represented on one of the pillars in the Tomb of the Reliefs at Cervetri—probably for sacrificial use.[8]

In the glass-cases in the corners of the room are antique bronze articles in great variety. In one are numerous small figures of Etruscan divinities, from the nine great gods that wielded the thunder, down to the common herd of *Lares* and *Manes;* handles of *ciste*, or of caldrons, or it may be of wooden furniture, of elegant and fanciful forms and rich decorations, often with figures in relief, or in the round;[9] a torque of bronze; a pair of Etruscan gloves, or two hands of bronze, studded with gold nails—either gauntlets, or votive offerings—the palms seem to have been of leather; strigils; hair-pins, ending in the heads of rams or dogs, in a human hand, a lotus-flower, an acorn; *styli*, or writing implements; ladles of various forms; cullenders or strainers; cups; pails; caldrons. Vases in great variety, some of uncouth, clumsy forms, composed of plates hammered into shape, and nailed together, the earliest mode of Etruscan toreutics; others more elegant, yet still fantastic—human, and other animal forms, being tortured to the service of the artist. A specimen of this is shown in the annexed wood-cut of a jug, in the form of a female head, with an acanthus-leaf at the back; and others are in the form of bulls, and pigs, which did duty as hand-irons.



BRONZE EWER.

Kreagræ, flesh-hooks, or grappling-irons, with six or eight

[7] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 10.

[8] See Vol. I. p. 254, and the wood-cut at p. 251.

[9] The illustrations given in the Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 58–60, show the great taste and elegant fancy of the Etruscans in this branch of art.

prongs, of formidable appearance, and mysterious meaning, but probably culinary or sacrificial instruments, for taking up and turning over flesh. One with no prongs, but similar branches of metal terminating in serpents' heads, shows that they may sometimes have served other purposes.[1]



ETRUSCAN ARUSPEX IN BRONZE.

Among the bronze figures, two are particularly worthy of notice. One is a small statue of Minerva, with an owl on the back of her hand, and with vestiges of wings on her shoulders, from Orte.[2] The other is an Etruscan *aruspex*, in a woollen *tutulus*, or high peaked cap, close tunic without sleeves, and a loose *pallium* with broad border, fastened on the breast with a *fibula*. His feet and arms are bare. On his left thigh is an Etruscan inscription. See the annexed woodcut. This is very curious, as exhibiting the peculiar costume of the Etruscan *aruspex*. It was found in a tomb by the banks of the Tiber.[3]

On the shelf opposite the windows are numerous *candelabra*, of elegant form and fanciful conception, where all kinds of animal life are pressed into the service of the toreutic artists. Two specimens of this beautiful sepulchral furniture are given in the woodcuts on the opposite page.[4]

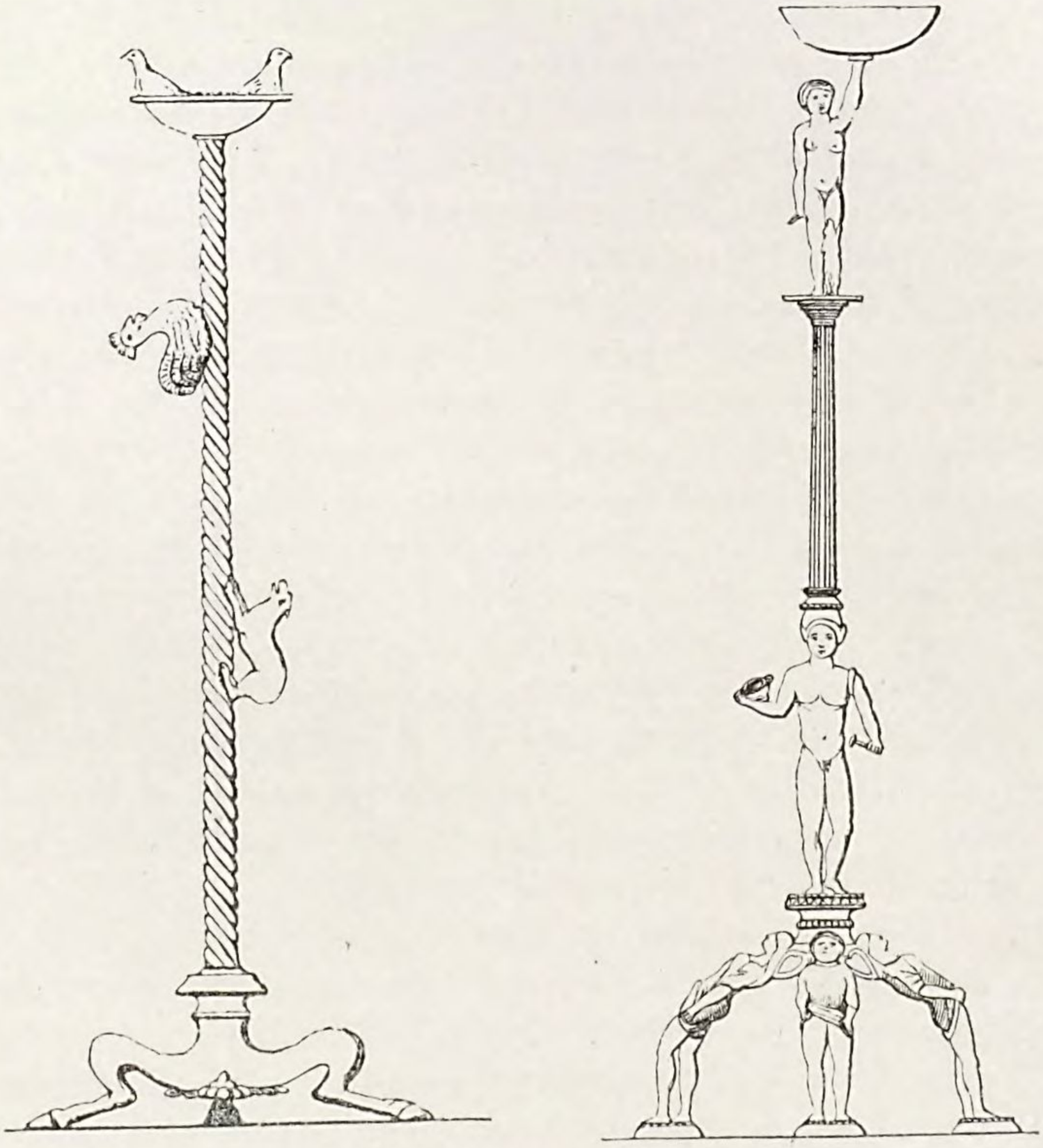
[1] See the illustrations at p. 411 of Vol. I., and Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 47.

[2] This is a representation said to be unique in metal. Gerhard takes it to represent Minerva in her character of Fortuna, or the Etruscan Nortia. Gottheit. d. Etrusk. p. 61, taf. 4, 1; cf. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 43, 1.

[3] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 43, 2. This figure is illlustrated by some of the ancient coins of Etruria, which bear on the obverse the head of an *aruspex*, in a precisely similar cap; and on the reverse an axe, a sacrificial knife, and two crescents, said to mark its value as a *semis*. Marchi and Tessieri, Æs Grave, cl. III. tav. 2. These coins have been referred to Fæsulæ, the city where there was a college of Etruscan augurs, but Melchiorri (Bull. Inst. 1839, p. 122) would rather attribute them to Luna, on account of the crescent stamp. *Ut supra*, p. 65, and the cut at p. 63.

[4] See also the woodcut at page 190. These *candelabra* vary from 10 inches to 5 feet in height, but the average is between 3 and 4 feet. They invariably stand on three legs, either of men, lions, horses, stags, dogs, or birds. In one case, as shown in the cut, the tripod is formed by the bodies of three human figures. The shafts generally rise directly from the base, and are often fluted, or twisted, or knotted like the stem of a tree, but a figure sometimes intervenes as in the above cut. It was a favourite conceit to introduce a cat or squirrel chasing a bird up the shaft, and the bowl above has often little birds around it, as though it were a nest, so that the whole is then intended to represent a tree. Sometimes a boy or monkey is climbing the shaft, or a snake is coiling round it. It often terminates above, not in a bowl but in a number of branches from which lamps were suspended, and in the

Near the bier is a votive statue of a boy, with a *bulla* round his neck. He has lost the left arm, but on his shoulder are the remains of an Etruscan inscription in four lines. This statue was found at Tarquinii, and is supposed to represent Tages, the mysterious boy-god, who sprung from the furrows of that site.[5]



ETRUSCAN CANDELABRA.

A similar boy, with a *bulla* about his neck, a bird in his hand, and an Etruscan inscription on his right leg, from Perugia, stands by the window.[6]

midst of them is a figure of a deity or winged genius, of a faun, a *subulo* playing his double-pipes, a dancer with castanets, (see the cut at page 190), or, it may be, of a warrior on foot or horseback. One of these *candelabra* bears an Etruscan inscription. Most of them are from Vulci, but they are found also on many other Etruscan sites. Mus. Greg. I. tav. 48–55.

[5] Vide Vol. I. p. 418. Illustrated by Lanzi, Sagg. II. tav. 11, 5; Micali, Ant. Pop. Ital. III. p. 64, tav. 44; Mus. Greg. I. tav. 43, 4.

[6] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 43, 5. Conestabile, Mon. Perug. tav. 99, 6. The inscription in Latin letters would run thus:—PHLERES. TEKSANSL KVER.

At this end of the room stands the bronze statue of a warrior, commonly called Mars, rather less than life, found at Todi in 1835. On the fringe of his cuirass is an inscription in Etruscan characters, but perhaps in the Umbrian language.[7]

Flanking this statue are two tripods; one very striking, terminating below in lions' paws, resting on frogs, and decorated above with groups of panthers devouring stags, alternating with human figures, in one case representing Hercules and Ioalus.[8]

At this end of the room by the window is a beautiful *cista*, or casket, of oval form, about two feet long. The handle is composed of two swans, bearing a boy and girl respectively, who clasp the bird's neck. The casket is decorated with incised designs—borders of flowers, and elegant Greek patterns, and the combat of Achilles and his followers with Penthesileia and her Amazons. The beauty and spirit of these figures recall the Phigaleian marbles. The art, in truth, is not Etruscan, but Greek.[9] The scene is repeated three times round the body of the casket. On the lid are four heads, amid flowers. Within it were found a mirror, two broken combs of bone, two hair-pins, one of bone, the other of bronze; an ear-pick, and two small glass vessels containing rouge. These caskets are rarely discovered in Etruria. They are found principally in stone sarcophagi at Palestrina, the ancient Prænestе, in Latium;[1] but this one from a tomb at Vulci yields in beauty to few yet known, though surpassed by that peerless one in the Kircherian Museum.[2]

There are a few other *ciste*, but of inferior beauty. One, also from Vulci, has a handle formed of two sea-horses; and winged Scyllas or mermaids at the setting on of the feet.[3] Another has its handle formed of two youths wrestling, and the subjects it bears are of a palæstric character—men boxing with the *cestus*,

[7] This statue was found among the ruins of a temple at Todi, the ancient Tuder. The helmet is a restoration. The eyes were supplied with stones, as their sockets are hollow. Bull. Inst. 1835, p. 130; 1838, p. 113. Mus. Greg. I. tav. 44, 45.

[8] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 56.

[9] Ann. Inst. 1855, p. 64. Mon. Inst. tav. 18.

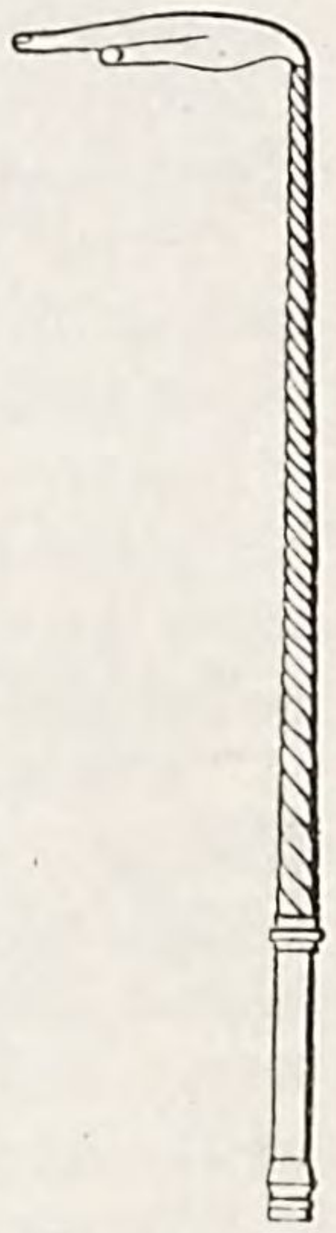
[1] There are no less than thirty of these *ciste* in the Barberini collection alone, the fruit of excavations made by the Prince between 1855 and 1866. A detailed description of them, and of all the *ciste* known to that date, is given by R. Schöne, Ann. Inst. 1866, pp. 168–177.

[2] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 40–42. Illustrations of this and all the most beautiful of such caskets are given by Professor Gerhard in his Etruskische Spiegel. Whether from the doubt attaching to their purpose, or owing to the idea that they contained the paraphernalia of sacrifices, they have received from the Italians the name of "*ciste mistiche.*" It is clear, however, from the character of their contents, that the only mysteries attending them were those of the female bath and toilet.

[3] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 37, 4.

or being anointed for the contest. On the lid are marine monsters. In this were found three unguent-pots, two of alabaster, one of wood, together with a broken strigil.[4] A third has its handle formed of a Satyr and Mænad, naked, with arms entwined, and the other hand in each case resting on the hip.[5]

On stands around the room are several circular braziers or censers, about two feet in diameter, resting on lions' legs. On them still lie the tongs, shovel, and poker, or rather rake, found with them. The tongs are on wheels, and terminate in serpents' heads; the shovel's handle ends in a swan's neck; and the rake in a human hand, as shown in the annexed wood-cut. These are from Vulci, but such are found also on other Etruscan sites.[6]



FIRE-RAKE.

At one end of the room is a war-chariot—a *biga*—not of Etruscan antiquity, but Roman, found many years since at Roma Vecchia, in the Campagna, six miles on the Appian Way. The body alone is ancient—the pole and wheels are restored, with the exception of the bronze ornaments.[7] By its side is a colossal arm of bronze, also Roman, of the time of Trajan, and of great beauty; and the tail of a huge dolphin—both found in the sea at Civita Vecchia. Here is also a male *torso*, larger than life, with drapery over the shoulder; and a small bronze statue headless and mutilated, but finely modelled.

Those whose patience is equal to their curiosity, will find abundant interest in the *specula*, or mirrors, which hang on the walls; but as the figures were at first only lightly graven on them, and as the bronze is often much corroded, it is not always easy to distinguish the subject, or even the outlines, of the decorations. Some, it will be observed, retain traces of gilding. It must be remembered that it was not the side on which the figures are drawn that was used as a mirror, but the other, which was always highly polished. Among the most remarkable are:—

One with figures in relief—Aurora carrying the body of her son Memnon. Were it not for her wings, she might well be taken for the Virgin bearing the dead Saviour; she has even a

[4] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 37, 1.
[5] Mon. Gregor. I. tav. 37, 3.
[6] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 14.
[7] Inghirami, Mon. Etrus. VI. tav. U. 5.

halo round her head to increase the resemblance. In the archaic style, which is rarely seen in Etruscan mirrors. Relieved mirrors also are of great rarity.—From Vulci.[8]

"CHALCHAS," so called in Etruscan characters, standing at an altar, inspecting the entrails of the victim.—Vulci.[9]

"TINIA," the Etruscan Jove, grasping two sorts of thunderbolts, is embraced by "THETHIS" (Thetis), and "THESAN" (Aurora), both winged, as usual with Etruscan divinities, each beseeching him in favour of her son in the coming combat. "MENRVA" (Minerva) stands by, and appears to remind him that Memnon is doomed by fate. In a rude and careless style of art.[1]

"PELE" (Peleus) and "ATLNTA" (Atalanta), in the wrestling-match. He is naked, but she has a cloth round her loins; in better style than the last.—Vulci.[2]

Hercules, here called "KALANIKE," from his "glorious victory," holds the apples he has just taken from "ARIL" (Atlas), who bears the celestial globe on his shoulders. In still better style. —Vulci.[3]

"NETHUNS" (Neptune), "USIL" (Phœbus), and "THESAN" (Aurora). Below these figures, a male marine deity, with open wings, and legs ending "in snaky twine," holds aloft a dolphin in each hand. In an excellent style of art. This mirror is very bright, and might still almost serve its original purpose.—Vulci or Toscanella.[4]

"TURMS AITAS," or the infernal Mercury, supporting a soul, called "HINTHIAL TERASIAS," or Teiresias. A figure sitting by with drawn sword is called "UTHUIE," or more probably "UTHUSE" (Odysseus), for the scene evidently represents Ulysses in Hades, consulting the soul of Teiresias, though it does not accord in every respect with the description given by Homer.—Vulci.[5]

[8] This is usually styled Aurora and Cephalus, but Dr. Braun with more probability takes the corpse for that of Memnon. Mon. Ined. Inst. III. tav. 23 c.; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 36, 1; Abeken, Mittelitalien, taf. 7.

[9] Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 223; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 29, 1.

[1] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 31, 1.

[2] Her cloth is marked with a wheel, supposed to be the sign of victory in the chariot-race. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 35, 1; Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 224.

[3] Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 137; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 36, 2.

[4] It has been doubted if the first name be "Nethuns" or "Sethlns." Sethlans is the Etruscan name of Vulcan; but the figure on this mirror with a trident must be the god of the sea. Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 76; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 60; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 24.

[5] Odys. XI., 48–91. Ulysses having sacrificed a black sheep to Teiresias, sat down, and drew his sword to prevent any other souls from approaching the blood before he had consulted the soothsayer, who came, not supported as a dying man

"APUL" (Apollo), "MENRVA" (Minerva), "TURAN" (Venus) and "LARAN" in conversation before an Ionic temple. Very bad style.—Orte.[6]

"TINIA," "THURMS," and "THALNA," or Jupiter, Mercury, and Juno.—Vulci.[7]

"HERCLE" crowned by a winged fate-goddess, called "MEAN." "VILAE" (Iolaus) sits by. In better style than some of the foregoing.—Vulci.[8]

The head of a girl on one of these mirrors is a very unusual subject.—Vulci.[9]

Jove on his throne, with his sceptre in hand. Mercury, with the infant Bacchus, is dancing before him.—Orte.[1]

Aurora in her *quadriga* drawn by winged horses. The grace of the female figure is contrasted with the spirit of the steeds.—Vulci.[2]

Apollo in the midst of three Muses, one of whom is "EUTURPA," and a draped male figure called "ARCHAZE," all in front of an Ionic temple, over which a satyr, called "ERIS," is floating in the air.—Bomarzo.[3]

The meeting of Peleus and Thetis. Phœbus behind, rising from the sea. A male genius and some female figures looking on. In a good style of art, and in excellent preservation. This mirror is gilt.—Vulci.[4]

The cases by the windows contain some curious relics. Coins —weights—small bulls and other figures in bronze, among them a little statue of Minerva, probably votive offerings—locks—handles to furniture—*fibulæ*, belt-clasps—iron daggers—chain-bits, jointed—articles in bone carved with reliefs. Here are numerous small rude idols or *lares* of black earthenware, found around the bier in the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri. Their exceeding rudeness and shapelessness proclaim their high antiquity. In truth they are considered Pelasgic rather than Etruscan.[5] Here is also the curious bottle, with a Pelasgic alphabet and spelling-lesson scratched on it, described in a

by Mercury, but alone, with his golden sceptre in his hand, he prophesied to the son of Laertes. For illustrations see Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 240; Gottheit. d. Etrusk. taf. VI. 1, pp. 35, 36; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 33, 1; Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 29.

[6] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 28, 1.

[7] Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 75; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 29, 2.

[8] Etrusk. Spieg. taf. 142; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 32, 2.

[9] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 26, 1.

[1] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 34, 2.

[2] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 35, 2.

[3] Mon. Ined. Inst. II. tav. 28; Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 25.

[4] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 23.

[5] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 103. See the wood-cut, Vol. I. p. 267.

previous chapter;[6] and another conical pot with an inscription in the same mysterious language, running spirally round it, which has been pronounced by Lepsius to be a hexameter couplet.[7] Both are from the tombs of Cervetri.

But the articles which perhaps will excite most general interest are a pair of clogs—a pair of Etruscan clogs, jointed, which, though not of the form most approved in our days, doubtless stood some Etruscan fair in good stead. They are formed of cases of bronze, filled with wood, which, in spite of its great antiquity, is still preserved within them. Thus they must have combined strength with lightness; and if clogs be a test of civilisation, the Italians of two thousand years since were considerably in advance of "the leading nation of Europe" in the nineteenth century, whose peasantry still clatter along in wooden *sabots*. These clogs were found in a tomb at Vulci; and they are not the sole specimens of such articles from Etruscan sepulchres.[8]

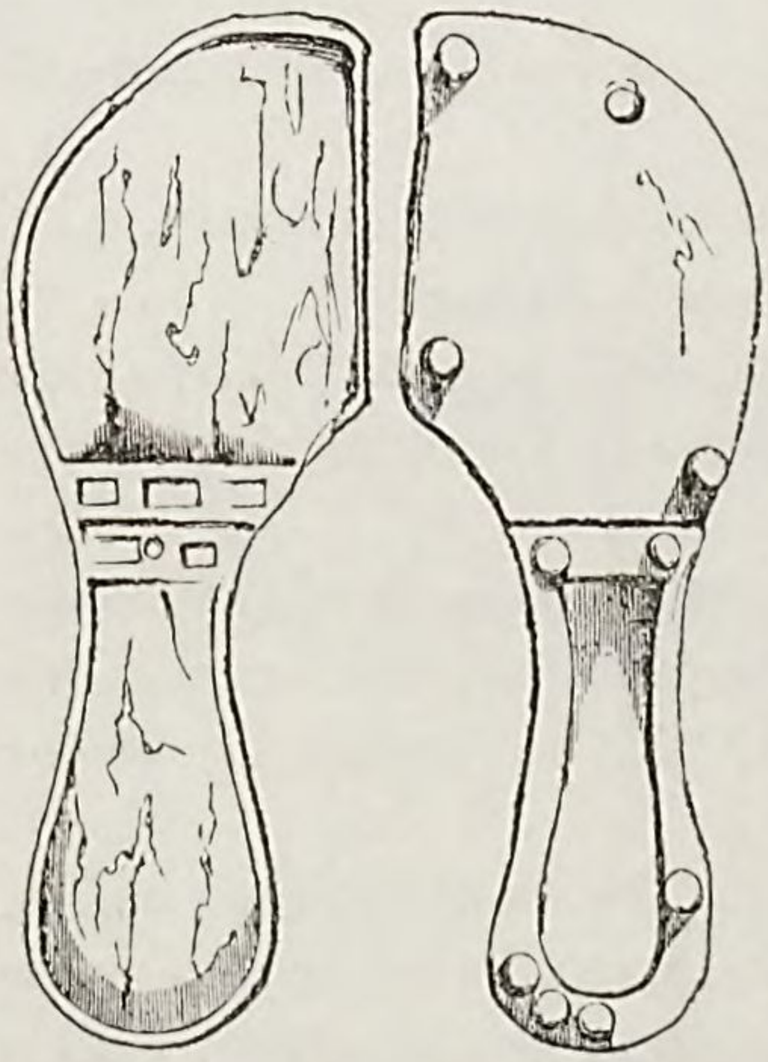


Fig. 1. Fig. 2.

ETRUSCAN JOINTED CLOGS.

The chief glory of this room, however, if not of the Museum, is the revolving cabinet in the centre. What food for astonishment and admiration! Here is a jeweller's shop—all glittering with precious metals and stones, with articles in great variety—

"Infinite riches in a little room!"

and, save that the silver is dimmed and tarnished, it is just such a stock in trade as an Etruscan Rundell might have displayed three thousand years since! Here the fop, the warrior, the senator, the augur, the belle, might all suit their taste for decoration,—in truth, a modern fair one need not disdain to heighten

[6] A facsimile of the inscription is given, Vol. I. p. 271. For the form of the pot see Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 103, 2.

[7] Vol. I. p. 273. Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 99, 7.

[8] In *fig.* 1 is shown the upper part of the clog, with the wood in the two cases, and the hinge uniting them. *Fig.* 2 shows the metal bottom of the same clog, studded with nails. Micali gives illustrations of another pair of such clogs, found at Vulci. Mon. Inéd. tav. XVII. 9. There is a third pair in the collection of Signor Augusto Castellani at Rome. And I have seen a fourth pair either at Orvieto or at Viterbo.

her charms with these relics of a long past world.[9] Can Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome, produce jewellery of such exquisite taste and workmanship, or even in so great abundance as Etruria?

Your astonishment is increased when you hear that the greater part of these articles were the produce of a single tomb—that celebrated by the name of Regulini-Galassi, at Cervetri; and should you have visited that gloomy old sepulchre, now containing nothing but slime and serpents, you find still more cause for wonderment at this cabinet.

The most striking object is a large breastplate, embossed with twelve bands of figures—sphinxes, goats, *pegasi*, panthers, deer, and winged demons. From the very archaic character of the adornments it might have hung on the breast of Aaron himself.[1] It is not, however, of Egyptian art. Next is a remarkable article, composed of two oval plates, united by two broad bands, all richly embossed, and stuck over with minute figures of ducks, and lions. It was a decoration for the head; the larger plate was laid on the crown, and the other hung down behind.[2] Then there are very massive gold chains and necklaces,—bracelets or armlets of broad gold plates, covered with filagree work to correspond with the head-dress and breastplate,—three earrings six or seven inches in length and of singular forms, to match the principal necklace,—numerous *fibulæ* or brooches, in filagree work of extraordinary delicacy. All these things, together with many of the rings, and fragments of a gold garment, were found in a chamber of the remarkable Pelasgic tomb at Cervetri,—most of them arranged so as to prove that when there deposited, they decorated a human body.[3] Some of the brooches and *bullæ* are of amber.

The great variety of necklaces, brooches, rings for the ears and fingers, *bullæ*, buttons, *scarabei* in cornelian, and such-like "bravery," from Vulci and other sites in Etruria,[4] would require an abler pen than mine, and more knowledge of such matters,

[9] Mrs. Hamilton Gray states that "a few winters ago, the Princess of Canino appeared at some of the ambassador's fêtes in Rome, with a *parure* of Etruscan jewellery, which was the envy of the society, and excelled the *chefs d'œuvre* of Paris or Vienna." Sepulchres of Etruria, p. 272.

[1] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 82, 83.

[2] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 80, 85.

[3] Vol. I. p. 268. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 67, 75–77.

[4] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 68–74, 78–81. One of these *fibulæ* has an Etruscan inscription. None of them in this Museum, though of admirable beauty, rival that inimitable one formerly in the possession of Mr. Thomas Blayds, and now in the British Museum, which was found at Vulci, and has been illustrated by Micali, Mon. Ined. tav. 21; or that, with an inscription, once in the possession of the Marchese Campana.

to do it justice. The fair visitor will soon discover more beauties than I can point out. But I must say a word on the remarkable collection of crowns or chaplets, which will excite universal admiration. They are all in imitation of garlands of leaves—oak, laurel, myrtle, or ivy; and so truthfully and delicately are they wrought, that in any other place you might take them for specimens of electrotype gilding on real foliage. No ornament can have been more becoming than such chaplets; though, to tell the truth, it was not so often the brow of beauty as the battered helm of the triumphant warrior that they were made to encircle. Most of them were found in the tombs of Vulci, but one comes from Ancona.[5]

In the same case are a number of silver cups, bowls and saucers, many gilt inside, nearly all from the same wonderful tomb of Cervetri. Some are quite plain; others decorated with archaic reliefs, in *repoussé* work, of military processions on foot and in chariots; wild animals contending, or devouring their prey; a cow and calf in a lotus-thicket; and a lion-hunt, where the beast standing on the body of one of his foes, is attacked by others on foot and horseback, while a vulture hovers over him in expectation of her prey. These bowls appear to be purely Egyptian, but are now pronounced mere imitations by Phœnician artists.[6] Several of the plain cups have the inscription "Larthia," or "Mi Larthia" engraved on them in Etruscan letters.

Chamber of Paintings.

In the passage leading to this room are several sepulchral monuments in stone, bearing Etruscan inscriptions. One is in the shape of a house or temple, with a moulded door, as on the tombs of Castel d' Asso. Another, a *cippus*, bears the name of "Spurina" in the native character; the name of the aruspex, be it remembered, who warned Cæsar of the ides of March. On the wall hang some remarkable reliefs in bronze, found at Bomarzo, representing sacrifices, and the combat of the gods with the giants, in a very rude and primitive style of art.[7]

[5] For illustrations of these beautiful wreaths see Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 86–91. These are the "Coronæ Etruscæ" which the Romans borrowed from their neighbours, to decorate heroes in their triumphs. Plin. 21, 4; Appian. Reb. Punic. 66; Tertul. de Cor. Mil. 13. Pliny says that Crassus was the first who imitated leaves in gold and silver, and bestowed such crowns on the victors in his games. But this must mean that Crassus was the first of the Romans, who was guilty of such extravagance; for Pliny elsewhere (33, 4) speaks of these Etruscan chaplets of gold having been used in triumphs at an earlier period.

[6] Ann. Inst. 1876, p. 244.—Helbig.

[7] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 39, 4–6.

The large chamber beyond is hung with paintings, copies on canvass of the frescoes on the walls of the tombs of Tarquinii and Vulci, and duplicates of the copies in the British Museum. For descriptions I must refer the reader to previous chapters; I can only here point out, for his guidance, the order in which the paintings are arranged. Beginning from his right hand, on entering, they take the following order.

Camera del Morto, Tarquinii.[8]
Grotta delle Bighe, or Grotta Stackelberg, Tarquinii.[9]
Grotta Querciola, Tarquinii.[1]
Grotta delle Iscrizioni, Tarquinii.[2]
Grotta del Triclinio, or Grotta Marzi, Tarquinii.[3]
Grotta del Barone, or Grotta del Ministro, Tarquinii.[4]
The Campanari painted tomb at Vulci.[5]

All the paintings from Tarquinii are still to be seen on that site, though not in so perfect a state as they are here represented. But the tomb of Vulci is utterly destroyed.[6]

Arranged round the room are sundry relics in stone or pottery —weightier matters of Etruscan art. A flat circular *cippus*, like a millstone, with a sepulchral inscription round its edge.[7] An upright sarcophagus, like a circular Ionic temple, and with an inscription on the architrave, which recalls the fair Tanaquil—"Eca Suthi Thanchvilus Masnial."[8] The base to a statue bearing a Latin inscription, of the fourth century after Christ, found at Vulci, and interesting as determining the name of the city, whose cemetery has yielded such marvellous treasures.[9] Two *stelæ* of basalt, with Etruscan inscriptions. Many large tall *pithoi*, of red or brown ware, fluted, three or four feet high, with reliefs in a very archaic style, on stands of similar character—from

[8] Vol. I. p. 325.
[9] Vol. I. p. 373.
[1] Vol. I. p. 306.
[2] Vol. I. p. 364.
[3] Vol. I. p. 318.
[4] Vol. I. p. 368.
[5] Vol. I. p. 465.

[6] All these paintings are of the size of the original frescoes, and not incorrect in outline, but generally too hard in colouring. The inscriptions are often inaccurate, and sometimes omitted; and, on the other hand, certain parts which are now deficient in the originals, are here supplied, either from drawings made when the paintings were less decayed, or from the imagination of the copier. It must be remembered that each sheet of canvass represents a separate wall of a tomb.

[7] It is like that in Campanari's garden at Toscanella, shown in the woodcut at page 481 of Vol. I. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 105, 2.

[8] This inscription, however, is the epitaph of a male. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 105, 3.

[9] Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 106, 2.

D . N . FLAVIO . VALE
RIO . SEVERO . NO
BILISSIMO .
CAESARI ORD
ET POPVLVS
VVLCENTIVS
D . N . M . Q . EI . .

the tombs of Cære and Veii.[1] Braziers of the same description, with rows of figures round the rim. The well-known vase of Triptolemus, presented to the Pope by Prince Poniatowski. A cinerary pot whose lid has the figure of a horse for a handle. On the shelves around the room are vases of different styles, some painted, but of inferior merit; others of *bucchero* of very early date and primitive character—the most ancient pottery in this Museum, supposed by some to be Umbrian.

Chamber of the Tomb.

On leaving the Bronze Room, you pass through a small chamber, where stands a very tall and singular vase of bronze, composed of two bell-shaped pots, united by two spheres, and covered with reliefs, in no less than eleven bands, of lions, sphinxes, griffons, bulls, and horses, chiefly winged, in a very early and severe style of art. It was found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, at Cervetri; and doubtless served as a *thymiaterion* or fumigator.[2] The glass case in the window contains many carvings and implements in ivory, all of Etruscan art.

Here are also two lions in *nenfro* from Vulci, one on each side of a doorway. Enter, and you find yourself in a small dark chamber fitted up in imitation of an Etruscan tomb. It represents one of the most ordinary class of sepulchres, having three couches of rock standing out from the wall, on which the bodies of the deceased are supposed to have lain, surrounded by articles of pottery and bronze, which are also suspended from the walls. This meagre copy of an Etruscan sepulchre may serve to excite, but ought not to satisfy the traveller's curiosity.

ETRUSCAN MUSEUM, CAPITOL.

In 1866 Signor Augusto Castellani, the celebrated jeweller and antiquary, "aurifex præstantissimus, et rei antiquariæ collector eximius," as he is designated in a commemorative tablet, presented the Municipality of Rome with a collection of pottery and bronzes, which he had gathered in the course of years from various ancient sites in Italy, though chiefly from Etruria, and this collection is now exhibited in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, on the Capitol. Open during the week from ten to three; on Sundays closes at one.

[1] Mus. Gregor. II. tav. 100.

[2] See Vol. I. page 268. In form it is very like the terra-cotta pot represented at Vol. I. page 275, though without the props. Mus. Gregor. I. tav. 11.

In the centre of the first room is a group of four vases of plain clay, twenty-seven to twenty-nine inches in height, each composed of two bell-shaped pots united by two spheres, all in one piece. In two of these vases, the lower bell, which serves as a pedestal, has three or four vertical slits or openings in it, showing that it was intended to cover a fire. There can be no doubt that these tall vases were *thymiateria*—incense-burners, employed to sweeten the atmosphere of the tombs in which they were discovered, on the periodical visits of the relatives of the deceased. A vase of similar character was found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, and another in the Grotta Campana at Cervetri,[3] and these four are from the same site. One of them has two bands of winged horses, rudely scratched on the lower bell; another, two bands of cranes or ostriches, painted red on a creamy ground; all very archaic, and indicative of most primitive art. Each of these singular vases stands on a large *pithos* of red clay, fluted, and with bands of small figures, men, animals, and chimæras, in relief, as on the cinerary jars found at Veii.[4] On a column in the midst of this group rests a tall full-bellied *amphora*, of very archaic character, having two bands of lions, panthers, deer, goats, &c., alternating with bands of *guilloche* ornament, the rest of the vase being decorated with large scales scratched on its surface.

Around the room, alternating with glass cabinets, are ten more tall ribbed *pithoi*, like the four in the centre—the cinerary urns of Veii and Cære—all with stamped decorations girdling them in a band.

The glass cabinets contain articles of terra-cotta or bronze from the sepulchres of Etruria, and mostly of high antiquity.

The first to the right contains a number of bronze idols, with weapons and instruments of various descriptions, in bronze and iron, and among them the iron sole of a shoe, jointed, and with large prominent nails. The second shows a few objects in *bucchero*, and fragments of still earlier sun-dried pottery; together with some celts or arrow-heads of flint, and one enormous celt of stone. In the next, among other specimens of ancient pottery, is a pretty female figure of terra-cotta, about a foot in height, of Greek character, though hardly of Greek execution; and a small *olpe*, representing Achilles and Ajax playing at dice; a *boustrophedon* inscription on the low table between the heroes

[3] See Vol. I. p. 268, 275. The wood-cut on the latter page should be inverted.

[4] See the wood-cut in Vol. I. p. 39.

records that the vase was dedicated to the "handsome Neokleides." The last case on this side shows some early pottery of the style commonly called Phœnician; cups with flowers and animals scratched on them; one inscribed with "Ven" in Etruscan letters; and a tetrapod candlestick of bronze, with a piece of charred wood still remaining in the socket, into which it had been inserted of old to serve as a torch.

The first two cases on the left contain some very early ware, brown, black or red, of quaint rude forms, made by the hand, and scratched with simple decorations; some of the later or more advanced pots showing ornamentation of a purely Assyrian character. In the third case are sundry articles in ivory, glass, and amber, which material was highly prized by the Etruscans, together with many figures and heads in *terra-cotta*. The fourth contains, besides a silver bowl with scratched decorations, and cups of copper and bronze, a beautiful *situla* of silver, about eight inches high, ornamented with four bands of animals and flowers, of archaic art, yet engraved with great care and delicacy. This beautiful relic is from Palestrina.

On the shelves which surround the room in a triple tier, are numerous articles of pottery, arranged, it would seem, at hazard, for vases of all periods, from the decadence upwards, are mixed confusedly. Few of these articles are beautiful, but some are very quaint and curious. On the lower shelf is a small sitting draped figure of terra-cotta, hardly twenty inches high. The sex is not distinctly marked, yet the closely-cropped hair seems to indicate a male. His tunic is yellow, his mantle red, and both are scratched all over with a hatched ornament. His physiognomy resembles that of the figures on the terra-cotta sarcophagus from Cervetri, now in the British Museum,[5] and his origin is also the same. On each side of this figure stands a large hand-made pot, of black ware, with incised decorations. Some of these early vases are entirely red, with ornaments of the same colour. One vase of this description represents a horse-race, the animals being marked by paint of a somewhat deeper hue than the natural colour of the clay. The outlines are scratched in, but the design, though archaic, is hardly so primitive as in other examples.

The vase in this collection which displays the rudest and most archaic art, is an *oxybaphon* found at Cervetri, but pronounced to be an importation from Corinth. It represents a sea-fight. Two

[5] See the woodcut in Vol. I. p. 227.

extremely quaint and curiously formed vessels, with warriors standing on their decks, are about to engage in combat. Both have high recurved sterns, and are steered with a broad oar or paddle; one has a prow like a fish's tail thrown into the air; the other's prow resembles a fish's head with an eye, and a long snout or ram. In this boat five rowers are seated; on a hurricane-deck above them, stand three warriors fully armed. The other boat has a similar deck with armed men, but shows no rowers beneath. It has, however, a mast on which an armed figure is represented in the act of hurling a spear, which is probably intended for Athene Promachos, for it does not appear to represent a living being, and is apparently merely the *parasemon*, or device of the ship. The three warriors on the deck are armed like their opponents, with crested helmets, spears, and circular shields, but instead of geometrical figures as devices, one has an ox-skull, and another a crab marked on his buckler. The foremost warrior in each vessel stands in the prow brandishing his javelin at his opponent. The field of the vase is *semé* with quaint conventional flowers and geometrical figures.

The reverse of the vase presents a different scene. Five men, quite nude, and with short swords depending from their shoulders, are holding a long beam, as though it were a battering-ram, with which they are overthrowing another naked man, who having sunk to the earth in a sitting posture, receives the thrust full in his face. Behind him an upright pole supports a large basket or cage. This scene in all probability represents Ulysses and his companions blinding the Cyclops Polyphemus; though what the cage has to do with that legend is not apparent. An inscription in primitive Greek characters records the name of the potter—"Aristonothos."

This vase is hand-made, and the figures are painted in red, on the pale-yellow clay, without any scratching of outlines or details. Nothing can be more rude and uncouth than the forms and faces here depicted; the noses prominent as owl-beaks, the features malformed, the thighs of exaggerated fulness, the extremities attenuated to a ridiculous extent, as though the artist were incapable of delineating the hands and feet; the whole being like the production of a schoolboy, yet presenting one of the most interesting examples extant of the early infancy of Doric art. The potter at least appears to have been satisfied with his work, or he would hardly have attached his name to it.[6]

[6] For a description and illustrations of this curious vase, see Ann. Inst. 1869, pp. 157–172; Mon. Inst. IX. tav 4.

Another vase, an *amphora*, of Corinthian origin, also found at Cervetri, has for its subject a horse's head and neck, painted black on a pale yellow ground, while the eye, nostril, mouth, and name, are coloured a bright red.[7] On another archaic *amphora* a brace of cocks stand *vis-à-vis*, with a lotus-flower between them.

There is a fair show of vases with black figures, in the Archaic Greek style. One of the best, as regards execution and preservation, is an *amphora*, showing Hercules overcoming the Nemean lion in the presence of Pallas. Another presents the singular subject of three men running, each with a huge fish-tail reaching to the ground. There are also two *oinochoai*, with white grounds, so rarely found in Etruria. The figures are black with a brilliant lustre. One of these vases shows a youth on horseback, spear in hand, hard by an ithyphallic Hermes; the other displays a combat. Both bear inscriptions.

Of the Third or Perfect style of Greek pottery there are few specimens; and none of first-rate excellence.

The room adjoining, besides the bust of Brutus, the Camillus, or youthful acolyte, the Horse, the Bull, the colossal gilt Hercules, the Diana of Ephesus, the Diana Triformis, and other works of Roman art in bronze, besides the magnificent vase of Mithridates, and the inimitable boy extracting a thorn from his foot, one of the most exquisite productions of the Greek chisel in metal, contains also the best-known and most characteristic specimen of Etruscan toreutics—the "Wolf of the Capitol"—the "thunder-stricken nurse of Rome."

I shall not discuss the various opinions that have been broached respecting this celebrated statue, or attempt to decide the much disputed point, whether it be identical with the bronze wolf mentioned by Livy and Dionysius, or with that described by Cicero and sung by Virgil.[8] I shall merely observe, what none of these old writers inform us, that it is manifestly an Etruscan work of art, for it bears, not only in its general character and style, but also in its every feature and detail, the stamp of the

[7] Ann. Inst. 1847, pp. 234–262; Mon. Inst. IV. tav. 40, 1.

[8] Liv. X. 23; Dion. Hal. I. c. 79; Cicero, in Catil. III. 8; de Divin. II. 20; Poema de Consulato suo, II. 42; Virg. Æn. VIII. 631. Dionysius describes it as "of ancient workmanship," when it was set up at the Ficus Ruminalis in the year of Rome 458 (B.C. 296). Both the hind legs of this bronze statue are shattered in a way that precludes the idea of external injury, and leaves little doubt that the agency was from within, *i.e.* lightning.

archaic Etruscan chisel. To specify one minute particular,—the rows of tiny curls along the spine from the mane to the root of the tail, and again, the tranverse rows running behind the shoulders, and almost meeting beneath the brisket, like a girth, are peculiar features, often observable in the lions carved on the lids of the most archaic Etruscan sarcophagi, as guardians of the corpse.[9] The face of the wolf is also surrounded by a similar fringe of tiny curls.

Among the numerous bronzes in this museum, is a large *biga*, or rather the decorations of one, with reliefs in *repoussé* work, nailed to a wooden frame, and of great interest; but the art is Roman, and the reliefs were discovered on the Esquiline. Therefore, "non ragioniamo di loro." For the same reason we must pass by the curious *lectica*, or sedan-chair, also found on the Esquiline, and the still more wonderful *bisellium*, or seat of bronze and tortoise-shell, inlaid with silver, found at Amiternum, among the Sabine Apennines, and presented by Signor Augusto Castellani to the Municipality of Rome.[1]

The third room from the entrance contains the fruit of recent excavations on the Esquiline, the earlier articles of which are closely allied in character to the furniture of Etruscan tombs; indeed, they may well be really Etruscan, belonging to the period when Rome was an Etruscan city, when her rulers were from that land, and her arts, and most of her institutions and customs were of Transtiberine origin. The very rudest objects may even belong to a still more remote epoch, and a more primitive race—to the people, whether of Pelasgic, Trojan, Oscan, or Latin origin, who inhabited the site ages before the royal twins "tugged at the she-wolf's breast."

The articles in this room are not arranged in the order of their antiquity, but according to their use and purpose, whether religious, domestic, architectural, or sepulchral. I shall treat of those only which bear on the subject of Etruria.

As an instance of the care taken by the ancients to preserve the remains of their departed friends, I would point out a huge earthenware *pithos*, or *dolium*, inclosing another pot of lead, with

[9] Witness the marble monuments in the Tomba de' Sarcofagi at Cervetri (Vol. I. p. 246), and those in the Museum at Corneto (Vol. I. p. 403).

[1] The term *bisellium* appears a misnomer, for the seat is not large enough for two persons, being only 17 inches in width, and the same in depth. The original tortoise-shell was decayed; that now covering the arms of the seat is a restoration.

a cover of the same, within which is a third vessel, a lidded pot of alabaster, in which the ashes were deposited. The outer pot is stamped on the rim with a Latin inscription.

Hard by, under a glass-cover, are some folding tablets of ivory, hinged, about nine inches in height, the only specimens, so far as I am aware, of the *pugillares* of the ancients, which have come down to us, although these are so frequently represented on the cinerary urns of Chiusi and Volterra, in the hands of Etruscan ladies.[2] By their side are three *styli* of ivory discovered with them.

But the most imposing object in this room is a tall column of earthenware, in four drums, more than seven feet in height, and thirty inches in diameter, with holes or projections for the hands and feet, which prove it to have formed the entrance to a tomb, sunk beneath the surface, like the well-tombs of Etruria. This, however, is Roman, for the lid which covers the mouth of the well, bears an inscription in early Latin letters, "Ego. C. Antonios."

Among the objects which surround the room, notice a plain urn in stone, shaped like a temple, from the Esquiline, but similar to those found in Etruscan tombs. Very Etruscan in character is a relief in *nenfro*, of rude art, representing two figures sitting back to back, with others standing before them. Also the terra-cotta bust of a warrior, with coloured drapery, and with a wound in his breast. Again, the relief of two *bigæ*, drawn by winged horses, with the wall of a city or temple in the background, might have been discovered at Chiusi instead of at Rome; it is so purely Etruscan.

On the shelves are fragments of reliefs, and of friezes of terra-cotta, with *antefixæ*, retaining traces of colour, but all Roman, and of the Augustan period. Among them are many small urns, with the subject of Europa on the bull; also numerous heads of terra-cotta, like the portrait-heads found in Etruscan tombs, together with many *ex-votos* in the same material.

[2] *Ut supra*, p. 163. The rarity of these articles may be explained by their having been formed of ivory, bone, and probably also of wood, coated with wax, and the thinness of such materials will account for their destruction in the course of twenty and odd centuries. The *lavagne* of the coarse black ware mentioned at p. 78, are supposed to have been the tablets of an earlier period, but they have never been found represented in other works of art: unlike the hinged tablets which are so often seen, sometimes open, sometimes closed, in the hands of women on Etruscan cinerary urns. In one such instance, in the Museum of Volterra (see p. 163), the tablets bear an Etruscan inscription, the epitaph of the lady whose effigy holds them. Just as in a cinerary urn discovered a few years since at Chiusi, the male figure reclining on its lid was represented in the act of reading an unrolled papyrus, inscribed with his own epitaph. Bull. Inst. 1873, p. 158.

The pottery is of red, brown, black, or pale yellow ware; the *bucchero* being identical in character with that found in Etruria, and such as Numa may have used at the banquet or the sacrifice;[3] although the peculiar relieved ware of Chiusi does not here find its counterpart. Of Greek painted vases, there are not wanting fragments of different styles and periods, sufficing to show that the Romans of Republican times, though they had not the same passionate admiration for Hellenic ceramic art that was felt by the inhabitants of Cære, Tarquinii, and Vulci, did to some extent avail themselves of it to adorn their sepulchres.

A long glass-case in the centre of the room contains some nice fragments of red Aretine ware, with figures in relief; articles in glass, plain and coloured, beads of smalt, glass, and amber, with various objects in bronze, all found in the Esquiline, though in many cases quite Etruscan in character. Well worthy of notice is a female-head of life-size, dug up in the garden of the Ara Cœli convent. It is truly archaic; the eyes, which have now almost lost the colour which once marked them, are placed obliquely like those of a Chinese; her mouth has the conventional smirk so common in archaic Greek and Etruscan sculpture, the earliest metopes from Selinus, for example; her hair, which falls low over her forehead, is painted black, and hangs down in flat masses, not curls, and her head is capped with the *tutulus*. By her side is the mask of a satyr, with prominent eyes, snub nose, black beard, and hair in small black curls round his brow, and with upright brute's ears, but full of life and character. Contrary to the custom of Etruria, his flesh is painted white. A third head, without any remains of colour, is that of the young Bacchus, crowned with ivy.

MUSEO KIRCHERIANO.

This museum is contained in the enormous building of the Collegio Romano, and was long regarded as the finest collection of early Italian antiquities; and in truth in certain respects it is still unrivalled; but as a museum of Etruscan works of art, it is now far surpassed by the Museo Gregoriano, and by some provincial collections in Italy, to say nothing of the national ones of London, Paris, Berlin, and Munich.

Relics of Roman and Etruscan art are here so mingled that it requires the eye of an expert to distinguish them. We will first notice the works in stone and terra-cotta.

[3] Juven. Sat. VI. 343.

Here are several *stelæ* of stone, of different forms, with Etruscan inscriptions round the top; one in the shape of a pine-cone bears the epigraph "Ramthu Alsinei." Two women carved in *nenfro*, sitting, one with a baby swaddled in her lap; the other with four, an *embarras de richesses*, rather inconvenient. On the wall over them are *antefixæ* of terra-cotta—heads of women, satyrs, and gorgons, marked with colour; one of the latter is represented as running with a monstrous snake in each hand; her flesh is white, though the ground on which she is painted is also white. Many portrait-heads of both sexes in terra-cotta, generally of life size; not a few of the women have veils, and some of them are extremely pretty; just such charming faces as are still seen in Tuscany, though not so frequently at Rome. There are little terra-cotta figures also, some Etruscan, more Greek, but generally of inferior execution, not displaying the sharpness of contour and the careful attention to details which characterise the best period of Hellenic art. Of terra-cotta urns there are few, and those of an ordinary description; some retaining traces of colour. There are a few pretty terra-cottas of the Augustan period, among which one representing Paris and Helen, or Pelops and Hippodameia, in a *quadriga*, is the most attractive.

One case is full of the black ware of Chiusi and its neighbourhood; two others contain Greek and Etruscan vases, but none of remarkable beauty. The most interesting are an *olpe* in the so-called Phœnician style, and a large *phiale*, without handles, with archaic animals surrounding it in three concentric bands, and painted a pale red on a yellow ground.

In one of the central cases are various articles of bone and ivory, glass and amber. In another is a collection of Etruscan and Italian money from the earliest form, the *æs rude*, down to the coins of the Empire, the greater part discovered in 1852 at the Bagni di Vicarello—the ancient Aquæ Apollinares—on the shores of Lago Bracciano. Here are also several vases of silver, found at the same time and place, on three of which are inscribed an Itinerary from Gades to Rome, with the several stations and the distances between them.[4] They were probably deposited here in gratitude to Apollo for benefits received, by some Spaniard who had made the journey from Cadiz to Rome expressly to take those waters.

Bronzes of Etruscan and Roman art are here mixed indis-

[4] See Vol. I. p. 60.

criminately. Among the former is the curious figure of a warrior fourteen inches high; he wears a cuirass, with a tunic under it, breeches which are torn at both knees; in his casque are two projecting horns representing feathers; and on his back he carries a long pole, terminating in a pair of wheels, apparently an agricultural instrument, on which a basket is suspended. Hercules with his club, in relief, is in the archaic Etruscan style. A hen in this metal has an Etruscan inscription of three lines engraved on her wing. Among these bronzes observe a rural group—a pair of peasants, man and woman, following a plough drawn by a yoke of oxen. It was found at Arezzo, and is supposed to represent the birth of Tages.

The Palestrina Casket.

In the transverse gallery, with the bronzes, stands the celebrated Cista Ficoroniana, so named from its first possessor, who presented it to this museum—one of the most exquisite productions of ancient art, a work of its class unrivalled in beauty, the glory of this museum, and of Rome. It was brought to light in 1738, being discovered in the necropolis of Prænestе, which has since yielded so many beautiful works in metal, some of which, of recent acquisition, I shall presently have occasion to describe.

This wonderful *cista* is a drum-shaped casket of bronze, fourteen inches in diameter, and about sixteen high in itself, but by the addition of the feet, and of the figures which form the handle to its lid, the total height is increased to twenty-nine inches. The designs for which it is renowned are engraved on the surface, but with so delicate a hand as in parts to be scarcely distinguishable through the patina which coats it, unless subjected to a strong light. The subject is the victory of Pollux over Amycus, king of Bithynia. The legend states that the Argonauts on their voyage to Colchis landed on those shores, when Amycus challenged any of them to a pugilistic contest. The challenge was accepted by Pollux, who easily overcame him, and, according to some versions of the myth, slew him, although others state that he bound him to a tree and there left him. The latter version is followed here, and indeed was the favourite one with Greek artists, who often illustrated it on vases and mirrors. The lid is adorned with designs by the same hand, representing the chase of the stag and of the wild boar.

The designs on this *cista* are of matchless beauty, and unquestionably of Greek art, of the best period, although they have

been ascribed to the close of the fifth century of Rome.[5] Brönsted asserts that the designs were originally filled in with gold, which was seen by himself and Thorwaldsen; but no traces of it are now visible, though there are vestiges of silvering.[6]

So much for the *cista* itself; it is easy to perceive at a glance that its adjuncts do not form part of the original. For it rests on three eagle's feet, each grasping a toad; and above each foot is a group of three figures in relief, one standing between two sitting. Two of these groups seem to be cast from the same mould, but the third is evidently a copy, and a wretched copy, of the others. The handle in the centre of the lid is also composed of three figures, the central one the tallest, who passes his arms round the necks of two fauns, naked, with a deer-skin tied round their necks and depending behind. These figures are stunted and inelegant, and are evidently subsequent additions to the *cista*; in fact the plaque on which they stand covers the graven decorations of the lid. The same character may be given to the groups of figures above the feet. A comparison of these coarse clumsy groups in relief and in the round with the exquisite and refined forms graven on the body of the monument, affords convincing proof that the same hand cannot have produced the whole work. It is as if a drinking-bout by Teniers were introduced as a back-ground to the Madonna della Seggiola. There appear, indeed, to be four distinct periods or styles of art in this *cista*, as it now stands. First, the pure Greek style of the original monument. Second, the realistic Etruscan or Italic style, recognisable in the best preserved foot-group, that below the figure drinking. Third, the coarser Etruscan style of the handle-group; and Fourth, the miserable style, or rather absence of style, in the third foot-group, which may be Roman, or anything else.

The plaque, on which rest the figures which compose the handle, bears this inscription in early Roman letters :—

NOVIOS PLAVTIOS MED ROMAI FECID.;

and behind the group is another epigraph :—

DINDIA MACOLNIA FILEAI DEDIT.

It is evident that these inscriptions have been added subsequently to the *cista*, together with the figures of the handle, for they are engraved on the same piece of bronze, which now covers some of the original design of the lid, and has, moreover, a yellow

[5] Mommsen ap. Jahn, Cist. Ficor. p. 42. [6] Ann. Inst. 1866, p. 154—Schöne.

brassy hue, very unlike the delicate green patina-clad metal of the *cista* itself. The former inscription therefore probably applies to the handle alone, and may have been added when the casket was restored and rendered fit, by the addition of the feet and handle, to be presented by Dindia Macolnia as a nuptial gift to her daughter. Or if it have reference to the entire casket, it may have taken the place of a previous inscription on the original handle, which recorded the name of the Greek artist. It is more probable, however, that it has reference to the restoration alone. Whether the *cista* was executed in Greece, or at Præneste, or in Rome itself, it is manifestly the production of a Greek hand. It cannot be the work of a mere imitator; the genuine spirit and feeling of Hellenic art pervade the entire subject; and it has been well remarked that among all the monuments recognised as Greek there is not one of purer and more perfect design.[7] Among the many figured *ciste* that have been rescued from the tombs of Præneste and of Vulci, not a few of which are remarkable for the beauty of their graven designs, this still stands pre-eminent, *facile princeps*.

The Palestrina Treasure.

On the same floor of the building is exhibited the wonderful treasure of gold, silver, and bronze discovered at Palestrina in the spring of 1876, and recently purchased by the Italian Government.

These articles formed the furniture of an ancient tomb, excavated by some peasants in the plain about three furlongs from that town, and not far from the church of San Rocco. It was not only a virgin-tomb, but, fortunately for its discoverers, it was the last resting-place of some nameless chieftain or high-priest, whose wealth had been buried with him, and was thus preserved intact through nearly 3,000 years. Its contents bear a close analogy to those of the Regulini tomb at Cervetri, but the tomb itself was even of a more primitive construction. It was not built up in the form of a passage, like that celebrated sepulchre, nor was it a subterranean chamber, like so many tombs in Etruria. It was a mere pit, sunk two yards below the surface, surrounded by rude masonry, inclosing a space some six yards by four, within which,

[7] Ann. Inst. 1866, p. 202 — Schöne. This wonderful work of Greek art has been illustrated by Gerhard, Etrusk. Spieg. I. tav. 2; Braun, Die Ficoron. Cista, 1849; and by Padre Marchi, in his work on this Cista, Roma, 1848.

in a cavity sunk in the floor, was deposited the body, in all its panoply of rich vestments and gorgeous ornaments, which surpass in their elaborate beauty even those of the Regulini sepulchre. By its side lay also weapons and armour, and around the walls of the pit were deposited various articles for the toilet or for domestic use, in the precious metals and in bronze, all covered with earth, on which, at some height, were laid rude slabs of stone, also covered with earth, so as to leave no trace of the existence of interment below. Not a vestige of a roof, if such ever existed, was to be seen.

To specify all the wonders of this tomb would occupy too much space, yet some of its contents are so novel and curious as not to be passed over lightly. To begin with the case containing the gold *roba*. The most striking object in the collection, and the most elaborate piece of jewellery perhaps ever rescued from an Italian sepulchre, is an oblong plate of gold, eight inches by five, studded all over with minute figures of beasts and chimæras, not in relief, but standing up bodily from the plate, and numbering not less than 131 in that limited space. There are five rows of tiny lions, arranged longitudinally, some standing with their tails curled over their backs, some couchant, others sitting on their haunches, two rows of chimæras, and two of sirens, flanked transversely at each end by a row of exquisitely formed little horses, full of life and spirit. These ends terminate in small cylindrical rollers, decorated with meander-patterns delicately frosted, and with a lion's head at each extremity. It is doubtful whether this marvellous piece of goldsmith's work was worn on the breast or on the head. To judge from the place in which it was found in the tomb, at the east end of the cavity in which the body lay, and from the analogy of Etruscan or Italic breast-plates in the Gregorian Museum, and in the possession of Signor Augusto Castellani, all of which are much superior in size, I am inclined to believe it was worn on the head. It is evident, from certain little eyes at the back of the plate, that it was sewn on to some stuff; but how it was worn, and who he was who was entitled to wear it, is, and will probably ever remain, matter of conjecture.[8]

In the same cavity, by the side of the body, lay three *fibulæ*, whose tarnished colour shows them to be, not of pure gold, but

[8] Dr. Helbig takes it to have been a head-dress, and gives æsthetic reasons for so regarding it. Bull. Inst. 1876, p. 122. It bears a great analogy also, save in form, to the oval plaques of gold found in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, which we have every reason to believe were worn on the head. *Ut supra*, p. 485.

of *electrum*, an alloy of that metal with silver. One of them is studded with tiny sphinxes, another with little lions, having double human faces, of the same elaborate workmanship as those that decorate the head-dress. Here were also found three small cylindrical cases of the same mixed metal, from six to eight inches in length, and about three-quarters of an inch in thickness, ornamented with meanders and chevrons. They seem to have served to hold *styli*. But of pure gold, bright as if newly polished, is a little plain *skyphos*, or two-handled cup, about four inches high, with two Egyptian sphinxes at the setting-on of each handle. By its side stands a bowl full of fragments of gold leaf, the relics of the vestments of the priest or warrior, which were found mingled with his dust. There are fragments also of a fringe of pure silver thread, which may have adorned his robes, or more probably his bier, for tubes of bronze, still containing wood, and ornamented with silver lions, and with a fringe of the same metal, were found in the cavity with the human remains. On the other side of the body were discovered four heads of javelins, in iron, with remains of their wooden shafts; and two iron daggers in silver sheaths, adorned with figures of men, centaurs, and animals in relief, and with hilts ornamented with amber. Against the wall of the pit were also found the remains of three bronze circular shields, stamped with geometrical patterns, but these are now a mere heap of fragments. But to return to the Kircherian Museum—in the same case as the head-dress are numerous pieces of ivory, some with lotus-flowers engraved on them and gilt, and all Egyptian in character—the adornments probably of some article of furniture, which has long since perished. On one plaque is represented the boat of the Sun, with a steersman at each end, and the deity seated in the middle, to whom people are presenting their offerings. In the same case are five silver combs with very fine teeth, and a band of birds in relief along the back; together with many small buttons formed of gold-leaf laid on wood or bone, resembling shirt-studs; and a perfect bowl of blue glass, probably the earliest in this material yet found in Italy. It was discovered inside one of the silver bowls.

In a glass-case by the window are sundry bowls of silver gilt, some plain, others adorned with figures in *repoussé* work. Of this description is a cup five inches in diameter, with two bands of Egyptian figures. It is marked No. 19. Of silver gilt is also No. 20, an open bowl, eight inches in diameter, with most curious scenes of men attacking huge apes or gorillas, who resist with sticks and

stones; all the figures seem purely Egyptian. No. 21 is a silver bowl of the same size, not gilt, with Egyptian figures *repoussé* and incised, and surrounded by hieroglyphics in a double band, with a broad band of the same also beneath the central scene. This bowl is likewise remarkable for bearing a Punic inscription, in such extremely minute characters as with difficulty to catch the eye. A *situla*, of globular form, which is adorned with Egyptian figures representing a lion-hunt, is peculiar in having six serpents' heads in massive silver, gilt, bristling around the edge of the bowl. There are other silver bowls broken and smashed; and a perfect *simpulum* of the same metal, whose handle terminates in a swan's head. No. 39 is a broad handle of silver, bearing a double representation of the Assyrian Artemis, holding two panthers by their throats.

Not the least curious and interesting articles in this wonderful collection, are the bronzes. Here is a pedestal of peculiar form, a truncated cone with recurved lips, like a modern flower-glass, standing thirty-five inches high, and showing four pegasi rearing, in relief, as the adornments of its body. It might be taken for a pot, but, as it is not open above, it can only have served as a pedestal.

A *lebes* or caldron of bronze supported on an iron tripod, with human feet of bronze, and a bronze top, on which stand three naked men, or rather satyrs, with brutes' ears, peeping into the bowl, and alternating with three dogs in a similar position and attitude. Another *lebes* has two handles, each decorated with two bulls' heads. But the most strange and incomprehensible of the relics in bronze are two crosses, each formed of two tubes of bronze, retaining fragments of their wooden shafts, and fastened together at right angles. At the extremities of each, a dragon, a lion, or a wolf, is represented couchant, devouring his prey. At the point of intersection, in one instance stands a lion with tail curled over his back; in the other, a human figure bearing an enormous plume of feathers on his head. Behind this, in the former case, a man and a woman stand, each crowned with this disproportionate plume; and in the latter, their place is occupied, on one side by a centaur, on the other, by a human figure kneeling, both overshadowed by these palm-like crests of feathers. I confess myself quite at a loss to explain these singular cross-tubes. The best solution I can suggest is that they formed the angular adornments of a bed or bier, the frame of which was of wood. The art of the figures here represented is coarse, and quite Etruscan.

It cannot escape observation that while the articles in gold, silver, and ivory, are purely oriental in character, and the silver bowls are apparently importations from the banks of the Nile,[9] those in bronze bear so much resemblance to Etruscan works, that we cannot hesitate to pronounce them at least Italic, whether from the right or left bank of the Tiber.[1]

The Italian Government has purchased this extraordinary collection of sepulchral furniture for the moderate sum of 70,000 francs. When I saw it at Palestrina soon after its discovery, the price asked was five times as great.

The Vulcian Frescoes.

In the rooms adjoining are exhibited the frescoes from the François tomb discovered at Vulci in 1857. These are no copies, but the original paintings cut from the walls of the tomb soon after its discovery, and then removed to Rome, where for many years they were preserved in the palace of Prince Alessandro Torlonia, who had purchased the Bonaparte estate at Canino, in which the sepulchre was found. In 1875, however, the Prince transferred them for exhibition to the Collegio Romano, where they excite much interest, not only from their style of art, which is superior to that of most Etruscan wall-paintings, but also from

[9] Dr. Helbig regards the silver bowls as Phœnician imitations of Egyptian and Assyrian works, introduced into Italy by the Carthaginians, not earlier than 650 B.C. He maintains that the style of art is a compound of Egyptian and Assyrian elements, sometimes the one, sometimes the other predominating, but both in certain cases being mingled in the same bowl, and even in the same figure. He cites the Punic inscription in the silver bowl, No. 21, as decisive of its origin. Ann. Inst. 1876, pp. 197—257. Yet this inscription is so minute as to be scarcely discernible, while the hieroglyphics are on a large scale and form a prominent part of the decorations. To most observers it will appear not more probable that this inscription marks the Punic origin of this apparently Egyptian vase, than that the Etruscan legend beneath the foot of the *kylix* of Oltos and Euxitheos in the Museum of Corneto, stamps that beautiful work of undoubted Greek art as of Etruscan manufacture. See Vol. I. p. 405. In both instances the foreign inscription appears to have been inserted as a mere mark of ownership. Moreover, instances of Punic inscriptions on works of foreign art—Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman—are so numerous, that we may well venture to question that the inscription on this bowl proves its Punic origin.

[1] For illustrations, see Mon. Inst. X., tav. 31—33. The close similarity, not to say identity, of the bronzes found in Etruria and at Prænestе, is well known. The archaic shields from the tombs of Cære and of Prænestе seem to have been turned out of the same workshop. Ann. Inst. 1866, p. 410. Between the most ancient toreutic productions of Etruria and of Latium there is no essential difference. The same holds good of the bronzes of more advanced periods of art. The engraved *ciste* and mirrors are so similar, that it is impossible to pronounce from a consideration of the art alone, on which bank of the Tiber any monument of this description was discovered.

their subjects, some of which illustrate the native traditions respecting the Etruscan dynasty of Rome.

Among them are illustrations of certain Greek myths. Here Ajax ("AIVAS") is seizing Cassandra ("CASNTRA") by the hair of her head, and is about to draw his sword, while she, embracing the image of Pallas with one hand, endeavours to thrust him away with the other. There Polyneikes and Eteokles are ending their fratricidal struggle by mutual slaughter. Here Amphiaraus, to whom divine honours were paid after his death, encounters Sisyphus in Hades, who is represented, not rolling the huge rock up the hill, according to the version of the poets, but bearing it on his shoulders. On the top of the mass, a pair of wings is distinguishable, doubtless to denote the unseen power which rendered all his labour in vain, and hurled the rock again down the slope, just as it had reached the summit.[2] There Nestor ("NESTUR"), and Phœnix ("PHUINIS"), each standing beneath a palm-tree, are conversing from opposite sides of a doorway. It will be remembered that both took part in the games held in honour of Patroclus: their presence therefore in this tomb is appropriate.

The scene of most interest, and at the same time of most horror, taken from the mythical or poetical history of Greece, is one which represents the sacrifice of Trojan captives to the *manes* of Patroclus. Achilles ("ACHLE") himself is the priest or butcher. For he occupies the centre of the scene, clad in brazen cuirass and greaves, his long yellow locks uncovered by helmet, and seizing by the hair the wretched Trojan ("TRUIALS") captive who sits naked at his feet imploring mercy, he thrusts his sword into his neck; just as the "swift-footed son of Peleus" is represented having treated Lycaon, the first victim he sacrificed to his friend Patroclus.[3] Above this Trojan stands Charun ("CHARU"), in red jacket and blue *chiton*, wearing a cap or helmet, and bearing his mallet on his shoulder, ready to strike. His flesh is a livid grey, but in other respects he is hardly so hideous and truculent as he is represented on many other Etruscan monuments. He is looking steadfastly at a female demon, designated "VANTH," who stands behind Achilles, with wings outspread, in an attitude of expectation, with her right hand raised, and watching the sacrifice, as if to indicate to Charun the moment when it will become his duty to convey the spirit of the victim to the infernal world. This deity, who is probably the demon of death, answering to

[2] Hom. Odys. XI. 596.

[3] Hom. Iliad, XXI. 116.

the *Thanatos* of the Greeks,[4] wears earrings and snake-bracelets, and is draped in white, bordered with purple, but there is nothing beyond her wings to distinguish her from a mortal. Behind her stands, not Patroclus, but his shade, designated "HINTHIAL PATRUKLES,"[5] with a white band across his bosom, and a blue and white band about his head. He is wrapped in a blue *pallium*, and a large circular shield, probably that of Achilles, rests at his feet. Behind him stands a bearded figure, spear in hand, but without armour, half-clad in a white *pallium* bordered with purple, whom, from the inscription "ACHMENRUN" over his head, we learn to represent the "king of men." Homer, be it remembered, represents him as present, and taking a prominent part in the obsequies of Patroclus.

The right half of the scene is occupied by the two Ajaces, each bringing forward a victim, naked and wounded, whose hands are bound behind his back. Ajax Telamonius ("AIVAS TLAMUNUS") the more prominent of the two, is fully armed; and Ajax Oïleus ("AIVAS VILATAS") is similarly armed, but without a helmet. The funeral pyre, on which the corpse of Patroclus was already laid, before the sacrifices of captives, horses, and dogs, were made to his *manes*, is not shown. But, save the introduction of Charun and Vanth, who belong to the Etruscan spirit-world, the scene agrees well with the description given us in the twenty-third book of the Iliad.[6] These were the first wall-paintings found in Etruria which were illustrative of Hellenic

[4] Her name even is thought to bear an affinity to *Thanatos*. See the remarks of Lignana, Bull. Inst. 1876, p. 208. The name "Vanth" is attached to a female demon on the large marble sarcophagus of the Casuccini collection. *Vide supra*, p. 317.

[5] The word "*hinthial*" is now well ascertained by monumental evidence to be equivalent to the εἴδωλον of the Greeks. In the Grotta dell' Orco at Corneto, we have a figure painted on the wall, and called "Hinthial Teriasals," or the shade of Teiresias. A mirror found at Vulci in 1835, and now in the Gregorian Museum, in which Ulysses is represented consulting the shade of Teiresias in Hades, is inscribed "Hinthial Terasias." *Ut supra*, p. 482; Mon. Inst. II. tav. 29. And an Etruscan vase in the Beugnot collection, has the epigraph "Hinthial Turmucas" attached to a female figure represented in the charge of Charun. Mon. Inst. II. tav. 9.

[6] An urn found at Volterra contains the whole of this scene, except the three figures behind Achilles, rudely carved, but identical in the composition, leaving not a doubt that either the one was taken from the other, or both from the same original. The scene between Ajax and Cassandra is also found on an Etruscan urn illustrated by Gori (Mus. Etr. II. tav. 125). It cannot be doubted that the Etruscan artists, like the Roman, made use of certain models, celebrated in their day and in most cases Greek, which they varied and modified at pleasure; and thus is explained the similar treatment of mythological subjects by the artists of the different cities of Etruria, which is observable especially in the reliefs on cinerary urns and sarcophagi. See Ann. Inst. 1859, pp. 353–367, Brunn.

myths, but since their discovery, that of the Grotta dell' Orco at Corneto has afforded us additional proof that the Etruscans did not always confine the pictorial adornments of their sepulchres to the illustration of the peculiar customs, funeral observances, or religious creed of their native land.

Another revolting scene of slaughter, taken from the Etruscan annals, covered the opposite wall of the tomb. It would be unintelligible were it not that each figure has its name attached in Etruscan characters. Mastarna ("MAKSTRNA") with three companions, all, with one exception, naked, and armed only with short swords, is represented in the act of liberating Cæles Vibenna ("KAILE VIPINAS") from prison. Mastarna is cutting with his sword the cords which bound the arms of his friend, while his comrades are murdering three unarmed men, who appear to have been just aroused from their slumbers, and who probably represent the gaolers. Their names are "LARTH ULTHES," "RASKE," and "AVLE VIPINAS," and their victims are respectively designated "LARIS PAPATHNAS VELZNACH," "PESNA ARKMSNAS SVETIMACH," and "VENTHIKAL . . . . . PLSACHS." On the adjoining wall a fourth companion of Mastarna, called "MARKE CAMITLNAS," is about to murder "CNEVE TARKU RUMACH."

We learn from the fragment of a speech of the Emperor Claudius,[7] who wrote the history of Etruria in twenty books and may be presumed to have well mastered his subject,[8] that Mastarna was the Etruscan name of Servius Tullius, who, according to the Roman annals, was born of a slave Ocresia, but by the Etruscan chronicles was represented to have been the faithful companion of Cæles Vibenna, and the sharer of all his fortunes; that when that Etruscan chieftain was driven out of his native land, and brought the remains of his army to Rome, where they occupied the mount which from him was called the Cælian, Mastarna accompanied him, changed his name to Servius Tullius, and eventually obtained the royal dignity as successor to Tarquinius Priscus. The scene here represented probably illustrates some prior event in "the varied fortunes" of Cæles Vibenna, of which we have no record, and which from the names of the victims appears to have happened in Etruria. That Cæles had a brother named Aules, we already knew from Latin writers, and that he was slain at Rome by one of his brother's servants.[9]

[7] Inscribed on a bronze tablet found at Lyon. Gruter, p. 502.

[8] Suetonius, Claud. 42.

[9] Arnobius Adv. Nat. VI. 7. Festus

The other names here inscribed are quite unknown, but we may remark that there is reason to believe that the terminal "Ach" signifies, from, or of, and that used in combination with a proper noun, it indicates the origin of the individual; thus, Laris Papathnas comes from Velsina, and Cneve Tarku from Rome.

Two figures, and by no means the least interesting, remain to be noticed. By the side of one of the false doors painted on the walls of the tomb, stands a man, named "VEL SATIES," with a laurel-wreath about his brow, sandals on his feet, and a large toga of a purplish-brown hue over his shoulders, which is decorated with a scroll border, and with three figures of naked men dancing with sword and shield. From the colour of his toga, from his wreath, and from his attitude gazing intently upwards, we may infer him to represent an augur, which view is confirmed by the figure of the boy crouching at his feet in white tunic bordered with purple, who holds up a bird on his fist which appears to be fastened by a string. This boy is designated "ARNZA."[1] The figured toga worn by Saties is doubtless the *toga picta*, which in Rome was worn only by generals in their triumphal processions, but in Etruria was the *insigne* of magisterial dignity,[2] and of which this is, I believe, the only coloured representation that has come down to us. These two figures, in an artistic point of view, are inferior to the others in this tomb.

These frescoes belong to a period when the art of Etruria had been deeply influenced by that of Greece. Not only do the subjects here represented prove an intimate acquaintance with the mythology and poetry of the Greeks, but the masterly design throughout betrays a careful study of Hellenic models. The vigour and truth of the movements, the natural pose of the quiescent figures, and the charming grace of the fragmentary figure of Cassandra, which may be a copy of a Greek original, are so many evidences of this study and of the influence it

also (*s. v.* Tuscum Vicum) in a mutilated passage, seems to refer to two brothers Vibenna, who came to Rome in the time of Tarquinius Priscus. Arnobius tells us that Tarquinius, in digging the foundations for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, brought to light a bloody head, which was supposed to be that of Olus (Aulus) or Tolus, from which the temple and hill took the name of Capitolinus. Servius (ad Æn. VIII. 345) adds that an Etruscan aruspex being consulted as to the meaning of this omen, interpreted it as a prognostic that Rome would govern the world. Cf. Plin. XXVIII. 4; Dion. Hal. IV. c. 61; Tacit. Ann. IV. 65.

[1] This boy bears much affinity to certain figures in bronze, which represent a boy in a sitting or squatting position, with a bird on his hand. *Ut supra*, p. 479.

[2] Macrob. Sat. I. 6. The *toga trabea*, when wholly of purple, was sacred to the gods; that of purple with a little white was worn by kings; that of purple and saffron by augurs. Sueton. ap. Serv. ad Æn. VII. 612.

exerted on native art. Yet the Etruscan character is not lost—only subdued and modified by the superior refinement of the Grecian.[3]

[3] "The base of the style," says Dr. Brunn, "the entire character of the design and of the colouring, the conception of the figures, and a great part of the subjects in this tomb are Greek." Nevertheless even a superficial glance shows an Etruscan hand, and the sentiment of the whole is so thoroughly Italic, that a person who was present at the opening of the tomb fancied for the moment that he was looking at Tuscan paintings of the cinque-cento period. "We have here in fact Greek art accommodated to Etruscan feeling." Ann. Inst. 1866, p. 432. See also Bull Inst. 1857, pp. 113–131, Noël Des Vergers; and Étrurie et les Étrusques, II. pp. 47–52; III. p. 18, and pl. 21–30.

The description which the discoverer, M. Des Vergers, has given us of the opening of this painted tomb, I must give in his own words.

"J'ai décrit ailleurs l'impression que me fit éprouver le spectacle dont nous fûmes frappés, lorsqu'au dernier coup de pic la pierre qui fermait l'entrée de la crypte céda, et que la lumière de nos torches vint éclairer des voûtes dont rien, depuis plus de vingt siècles, n'avait troublé l'obscurité ou le silence. Tout y était encore dans le même état qu'au jour où l'on en avait muré l'entrée, et l'antique Étrurie nous apparaissait comme aux temps de sa splendeur. Sur leurs couches funéraires, des guerriers, recouverts de leurs armures, semblaient se reposer des combats qu'ils avaient livrés aux Romains ou à nos ancêtres les Gaulois. Formes, vêtements, étoffes, couleurs, furent apparents pendant quelques minutes, puis tout s'évanouit à mesure que l'air extérieur pénétrait dans la crypte, où nos flambeaux vacillants menaçaient d'abord de s'éteindre. Ce fut une évocation du passé qui n'eut pas même la durée d'un songe, et disparut comme pour nous punir de notre téméraire curiosité.

Pendant que ces frêles dépouilles tombaient en poussière au contact de l'air, l'atmosphère devenait plus transparente. Nous nous vîmes alors entourés d'une autre population guerrière due aux artistes de l'Étrurie. Des peintures murales ornaient la crypte dans tout son périmètre et semblaient s'animer aux reflets de nos torches. Bientôt elles attirèrent toute mon attention, car elles me semblaient la part plus belle de notre découverte. D'un côté les peintures se rapportaient aux mythes de la Grèce, et les noms grecs inscrits en caractères étrusques ne laissaient aucune incertitude sur le sujet; les poëmes d'Homère l'avaient inspiré. J'avais sous les yeux l'un des drames les plus sanglants de *l'Iliade*, le sacrifice que fait Achille des prisonniers troyens sur le tombeau de Patrocle. Passons à la fresque qui faisait pendant, et qui n'avait plus rien de la Grèce, si ce n'est l'art avancé, l'étude du nu, le modelé, la saillie des muscles, l'expression des figures animées par des passions violentes, l'habileté enfin avec laquelle étaient rendus les effets de lumière, les ombres et les demi-teintes. Quant au sujet, il était evidemment national; la forme tout étrusque des noms inscrits au-dessus de chaque personnage le démontrait suffisament."



ETRUSCAN STELA, BOLOGNA MUSEUM.

CHAPTER LXIV.

BOLOGNA—*FELSINA*, *BONONIA*.

D'Italia l'antico
Pregio, e l'opra che giova.—FILICAJA.

Imus in viscera telluris, et in sede Manium opes quærimus.—PLIN. NAT. HIST.

THE wide extent of the Etruscan dominion in Italy has already been mentioned—that at one period it comprised almost all the entire peninsula, stretching northward to the Alps, eastward to the Adriatic, and southward to the plains of Campania and the Gulf of Salerno. But in this work I have hitherto confined my attention to Etruria Proper, to the country lying between the Apennines, the Tiber, and the sea, and have not transgressed those limits, save in treating of Fidenæ, "the *tête de pont* of Etruria" on the Tiber, and of Rome, also at one time an Etruscan city. To treat of the other two great regions of Etruria, Circumpadana and Campaniana, would swell this work far beyond its proper limits, yet so many discoveries of Etruscan antiquities have been made within and

around Bologna, since the publication of my former edition, and so much interest has been excited by those discoveries, that my readers will pardon me for requesting them to cross the Apennines with me to the city of arcades and leaning towers, of learned ladies and savoury sausages.

That Bologna represents an Etruscan city is not to be questioned. The name by which it was originally known—Felsina—is so purely Etruscan, that we do not require the testimony of Pliny to that effect—"Bononia, Felsina vocitata, cum princeps Etruriæ esset."[1] It is the very name which Volsinii bore in Etruscan times, and Felsina was probably colonised from that city.[2] When Pliny designates it as the chief city of Etruria, he must be understood as referring to the northern and trans-Apennine division of that land; Cato also calls it the metropolis of that region, and records its foundation by an Etruscan king,[3] whom we learn from other sources to have been Ocnus or Aucnus, brother or son of Auletes, the founder of Perusia.[4] The Etruscans were driven out by the Boian Gauls, in the fourth century B.C. but the city retained its original name. It was taken by the Romans in the year 558 (196 B.C.),[5] and colonised by them seven years later, when it is first mentioned under its Latin appellation of Bononia.[6]

It is universally believed at Bologna that the city occupies the site not only of Roman Bononia, but also of Etruscan Felsina; yet any one acquainted with the sites of Etruscan cities on the other side of the Apennines, will find it difficult to accept this doctrine, and to believe that the founder of the Etruscan city would have selected a position in the plain, strengthened by no cliffs, or other natural advantages, when immediately behind it rises a range of steep heights, broken at intervals by deep clefts or hollows, and presenting a choice of sites, any one of which, by the addition of fortifications, such as the Etruscans were wont to construct, might have been made impregnable in those days. To judge from the analogy of other sites of this antiquity, the most probable position appears to be on the extremity of the range to the north-west, on the hill called Monte della Guardia, which overhangs the Reno, where that river issues from its mountain-gorge, and whose slope is now covered with a long line of arcades leading from the

[1] Plin. N. H. III. 20.

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 20. Cf. Liv. V. 33.

[3] Cato, de Originibus. Virgil, however, claims the metropolitan honour for his native city of Mantua. Æn. X. 203.

[4] Sil. Ital. VIII. 601; Serv. ad Æn. X. 198. Servius adds that the city he built was "Cesena, which is now called Bononia," but Pliny (loc. cit.) speaks of Cæsena and Felsina as separate towns.

[5] Liv. XXXIII. 37.

[6] Liv. XXXVII. 57; V. Paterc. I. 15.

city-gate to the shrine of La Madonna di San Luca which crests its summit. In the early summer of 1877 I revisited Bologna with the express purpose of ascertaining, if possible, by a careful inspection of the ground, on which of the four or five heights which overhang the city, Felsina must have stood. I failed, through unforeseen difficulties, to determine the site;[7] yet my persuasion that the Etruscan city occupied a position somewhere on that range, is not in the least diminished; and I feel confident that if the precise site is ever discovered, it will be at some elevation above Bologna. That an ancient town in such a position should have had its necropolis in the plain beneath, is natural enough, there being no lack of precedents to that effect, unless the plain were low and swampy, which at the very base of the hills is seldom the case, and is certainly not in this instance.

At the risk of giving offence to all the antiquaries of Bologna, I must record my firm persuasion that that city occupies the site of Roman Bononia, but not of Etruscan Felsina; although I do not doubt that the ancient cemeteries recently discovered within the

[7] The difficulties I encountered were twofold. The crest of every height in the range commanding the town, which was wide enough and level enough to have accommodated a city such as Felsina must have been, is now occupied by a fort, which in no case was I permitted to enter. This is a difficulty which a native might probably overcome, but a foreigner hardly. Then the soil of the entire range is a loose marl, which is well known to be liable to shift its surface in the course of ages, so that if the city occupied a prominent height, it might be denuded of all traces of ancient habitation, and if it stood on lower ground, might have them covered up by the soil washed down from above. I have experienced the movable character of such a soil in my excavations in the Greek cemeteries of Sicily. Non-existence cannot in such a case be logically deduced from non-appearance. Remains of the ancient walls are not likely to exist, for their demolition for building purposes in the course of so many ages and on a site which has always retained its population, is easily explained; especially in a case like this, where the blocks must have been brought from a distance, there being no local rock fit for the purpose; nothing but here and there a stratum of *gypsum*.

Next to the Monte della Guardia, the most likely site for Felsina appeared to me to be the height now occupied by the Villa Ronzano, belonging to Count Gozzadini, where a large portion of the level summit is now occupied by a fortress. In 1848 a number of ancient bronzes were disinterred on the northern slope of this height, and fragments of Etruscan black pottery varnished, and also of Roman ware, have more recently been brought to light on the summit, "suggesting a succession of inhabitants at various remote epochs on this plateau, whence the eye wanders over an immense horizon." The bronzes comprised four horse-bits, a double-edged sword, a knife, massive *fibulæ* and heavy rings, perhaps belonging to harness, a disk, thought to be a *phalera*, or horse-ornament, with other articles, many similar to those feund at Villanova, and therefore of high antiquity. Gozzadini, Mors de Cheval Italiques de Ronzano, p. 9. On the crest of the next height to the south, in the grounds of the Villa Ravardin, I observed a number of rude slabs of yellow sandstone, like that of the *stelæ* from La Certosa, which seemed to have been recently disturbed, and here I picked up some fragments of early pottery, and a portion of a sword-blade of bronze.

walls, and on various spots around them, either formed part of the great necropolis of Felsina, or belonged to the villages in its neighbourhood.

In treating of the excavations in this necropolis and describing their fruits, I should premise that Bologna has been most fortunate in having for explorers of her Etruscan remains two such men as the Count Giovanni Gozzadini, and the Cavaliere Antonio Zannoni, who have not only probed her cemeteries to the bottom, but have bestowed untiring study and research on the fruits of their labours, and have given minute and carefully detailed accounts of their discoveries to the world. No Etruscan cemetery on the other side of the Apennines can boast of such a descriptive literature. But this very *embarras de richesses* renders it impossible to do justice to the subject within the limits of a chapter. Even Captain Burton, who has devoted an entire volume to it, in which he has displayed learning, wit, and acumen, can hardly be said to have given such an account of these excavations, as will satisfy the antiquarian inquirer.[8] The sketch I can offer is still more slight and imperfect. Those who would have a complete picture must consult the elaborate publications of these illustrious Bolognese gentlemen.

I must take this opportunity of calling the attention of the British public to the beautiful work in folio which the Cavaliere Zannoni has now in the press, descriptive of his excavations and of the antiquities of La Certosa, and illustrated by 150 photographs. It is appearing in 25 numbers, of which several are already published, at 10 Italian lire the number.

VILLANOVA.

The ancient cemetery that was first brought to light in the neighbourhood of Bologna, was that of Villanova, which lies about five miles to the E.S.E. of the city near the Idice torrent. This is also the most primitive, and in some respects the most interesting of all. In May, 1853, a pot containing burnt bones was discovered on the estate of Count Giovanni Gozzadini at Villanova. The Count, suspecting that this was not an isolated instance of sepulture, instantly commenced excavations on the site, and continued his operations for two years, until he had completely exhausted the cemetery. He conducted these excavations in a spirit which unfortunately has been too rarely

[8] "Etruscan Bologna, a Study," by Richard F. Burton. London, 1876.

applied to such researches, superintending them in person, assisted by his lady, whose zeal was not inferior to his own, carefully noting every object with its peculiarities of form, decoration, or position, and setting an example which it is to be hoped will be followed by all future explorers of ancient sites. He was most fortunate in one respect. The tombs he opened on this site were all exactly in the same state in which they were left, when, to use his own words, "the *æternum vale !* was pronounced." This was fortunate also for antiquarian science, for the history of the people here interred is written only in their sepulchres.

The cemetery was of very limited extent, about 80 yards long from E. to W., and 30 from N. to S. It contained 193 sepulchres, lying a yard or more apart, and from 1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface. The western boundary of this area was marked by a conical stone which rose above the level of the tombs. Six of these, larger and more important than the others, and differing in form, probably the sepulchres of the local aristocracy, were separated from the rest by an open space, traversed by a raised pathway of stones mixed with charcoal. The other tombs were of four descriptions. Some were composed of rude slabs, forming a sort of chest or coffin, surrounded and covered by small stones, laid together without cement; others were of similar construction, but without the pebbles; others again were pits, either rectangular or cylindrical, lined with similar small stones, and from 30 inches to 5 feet in depth; while the greater number were simple pits or graves sunk in the earth. The number of each description was as follows :—

Tombs constructed of slabs	21
„ constructed of slabs and covered with pebbles	28
„ lined with small stones	21
„ sunk in the earth	123
Total	193

Of the six aristocratic tombs, four were nearly 9 feet square, and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, constructed of small stones without cement, with roofs formed of the same materials, but which had sunk in the centre and crushed the furniture they contained.

Fourteen of the tombs in this cemetery contained skeletons, all laid with their feet to the east, and most of them with their hands joined on their bodies, in the old Egyptian fashion. A few were doubled up in a sitting posture, like the mummies of Peru and Brazil. These body-tombs were not separate from the others, but mixed indifferently with them. Similar objects were

found in tombs of both descriptions, but more abundantly in those with burnt bones. In these latter tombs there was always one large pot with the remains of the deceased, and almost invariably it had but a single handle; a very few which were formed with two handles, had always one of them broken before the vase was placed in the tomb, resembling in this respect the earliest cinerary pots found at Chiusi and Sarteano.[9] They were of black or red clay, very rudely ornamented, all imperfectly burnt, and consequently porous, although this porosity may in some instances be owing to the decomposition of the glaze through exposure to the damp for so many centuries. Every pot contained burnt bones, not ashes, and was covered with a one-handled cup inverted, or with a disk of terra-cotta. Most of these ossuary pots were found standing upright, many in a horizontal position, and a few were laid diagonally. They never stood in the centre of the grave, but always towards the east side of it. Around the pots the pit was filled with the ashes and charcoal of the pyre, among which fragments of burnt bone, the "nigra favilla" of Tibullus, showed the combustion to be incomplete. The Romans in their cinerary urns always mixed bones and ashes together; these contained fragments of bones alone. Among these remains were found many objects of terra-cotta, bronze, iron, glass and amber; sometimes mixed with bones of animals—oxen, sheep, pigs—and with eggshells; evidently the remains of the funeral feast.

The cinerary, or rather ossuary pot, was always accompanied by accessory pots of various forms, in some instances forming a confused heap, the larger containing several of the smaller. As many as forty have been found in one tomb. None painted, for this ware is supposed to be prior to the earliest painted pottery of Etruria, and not a trace of Greek art was here visible. All were of coarse clay, red or black, yet often of elegant forms, as a visit to the Count's collection will attest. The ossuary pots are very like one another, red and without ornament; save three, which have a peculiar form like that of certain vases from the Alban Mount, now in the Gregorian Museum. They have but one handle, and are decorated with meanders, concentric circles, chevrons, and serpentine lines, scratched or stamped on the clay when soft. At a later period rows of geese and of primitive human figures were introduced, alternating with geometrical patterns. The smaller vases are generally of more elegant shapes, and of much lighter and finer clay than the

[9] *Ut supra*, pp. 336, 365.

ossuaries. A few of them are of the form of dice-boxes, cylindrical with a bottom half-way up, so as to form a double cup—which Count Gozzadini takes to be the *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* of Homer, founding his opinion on the statement of Aristotle, who describes it of this form, in illustrating the cells of a bee-hive.[1]

Of terra-cotta were also the whorls, or pear-shaped pieces of clay, pierced with a hole perpendicularly, of which many were sometimes found in the same tomb. Count Gozzadini takes them to be little weights attached to garments to make them hang properly, and to have belonged to the robes of the deceased which had been burnt on the pyre. Such weights, or tassels, are often represented in ancient monuments.[2]

There were also numerous little cylinders of terra-cotta, with button-formed heads resembling dumb-bells in miniature, of which he found many in the same tomb. These are not novelties, having been discovered in abundance in the Isis tomb at Vulci, and other early Etruscan sepulchres, but the use and meaning of them has not yet been determined.

Bronze and iron were both found at Villanova, but the former much more abundantly than the latter, which induces the Count to refer this cemetery to the time of "the first epoch of iron."

Of the *æs rude* nine examples were found; of later money none. Numerous specimens of *fibulæ* in bronze were brought to light, sometimes incasing amber, or a blue and yellow silicious paste, like glass. As many as thirty *fibulæ* in one tomb seemed to show that the relatives sometimes cast their robes on the funeral pyre. In one instance the beads of the *fibula* had been fused together by the heat.

Hair-pins were also abundant; used by the Etruscan women, as well as by those of Rome[3] to build the hair into a tall cone, which was covered with a cap or veil, and called a *tutulus*.

Of bracelets he found twenty-six—some of which seemed to have been worn by men, and some by women. Two were of iron, the rest of bronze.

There were also many globules, or beads of bronze, which the Count took to be the weights attached to dresses, as already mentioned, such weights being alluded to by Horace:—[4]

[1] Aristot. De Hist. Anim. IX. 40. See the Appendix to the Introduction to this work for further remarks on this subject.

[2] The editor of Schliemann's Troy (p. 40), takes the similar whorls found on that site to be spindles, though the Doctor himself believes them to have been employed as offerings, or worshipped as idols.

[3] Juven. Sat. VI. 502.

[4] Hor. Ep. I. vi. 50. A happy explanation of a passage which has sadly puzzled scholars.

"Mercemur servum qui dictet nomina, lævum
Qui fodiat latus, et cogat *trans pondera* dextram
Porrigere."

He found a few specimens of axes in bronze, similar to those discovered in other Etruscan tombs, and also two axes of iron; knives of both metals, apparently for sacrificial use, some of singular forms, resembling a guillotine in miniature, and numerous specimens of the crescent-shaped blades, supposed to be *novacula* or razors, which abound also in the well-tombs of Chiusi and its neighbourhood.[5] Two lance-heads of iron were the sole weapons brought to light in this cemetery. But the articles which have given rise to most discussion as to their use and purpose were ten plates of bronze, shaped like a hatchet with a handle attached above for suspension and occasionally pierced with one or more holes, square or oblong, in the centre of the plate. They were from four and a half to six inches high, and from three to five and a half wide. These plates were invariably found accompanied by a bronze mallet with a knob at each end, as if for striking the plate, and in fact, when so applied, it produced sonorous sounds, leaving little doubt that it was a musical instrument of the nature of a gong. He styles it accordingly a *tintinnabulum*. Zannoni, however, disputes this, and maintains these articles to be personal ornaments, probably worn on the bosom. Eight of the ten plates were broken into two or three pieces, which were found laid one upon the other, showing the breakage to have been intentional, and in obedience to some custom or rite.

He found several little implements in bronze, formed somewhat like spindles with a slender shaft, topped with a cap of the same. By the learned they were at once pronounced to be spindles; while the women who spin for their daily bread, declared it to be impossible to use an instrument fitted with such a head.

One solitary idol in bronze, apparently representing a woman, with a pair of birds on her head, and another pair on her hips, was the only specimen of plastic art, and we may add the only proof of religious worship, brought to light in this most primitive necropolis.

The articles here described, together with many others of great interest from other ancient cemeteries in this district, are carefully preserved by the Count Gozzadini in his palace at Bologna.

[5] Gozzadini cites Martial, (XI. ep. 58), and Columella (de R. R. XII. p. 56) in proof of these crescent-shaped knives being razors.

Count Gozzadini ascribes the tombs of Villanova to the Etruscans of the earliest times, of the first age of iron, prior to the foundation of Rome. Brizio attributes them to the Umbri, others to the Pelasgi, or even to the Boian Gauls, but the general opinion of antiquaries leans to their early Etruscan origin.[6] This view is supposed to have received confirmation by the subsequent discovery, at Chiusi and Sarteano, of tombs of similar formation, containing articles of the same primitive character, in corresponding positions, and often precisely alike in every respect.[7] The Etruscan origin of these early tombs is nevertheless open to doubt.

La Certosa.

Chief of the cemeteries of Bologna is that of La Certosa. That of Villanova, on the opposite side of the town, has the advantage in point of antiquity, as well as in priority of discovery, but La Certosa has yielded more important and more characteristic works of Etruscan art, which are now exhibited in the Museo Civico of Bologna.

The Certosa lies to the west of the city, about one mile from the gate of S. Isaia, at the foot of the hill of the Madonna di San Luca. From the beginning of this century La Certosa has served as the Campo Santo of the Bolognese; and here beneath the majestic church, beneath the lofty Campanile, and the spacious cloisters of the Carthusian convent, lie the remains of their Etruscan forefathers, separated from them by more than twenty centuries, though by a few feet only of earth. This discovery was made in August 1869, when in digging a tomb in the cloisters, a bronze *cista* was revealed, lying in a well-like pit, lined with small stones and covered with a rude slab. As the foot of an ox ploughing the land around Canino was the means of bringing to light the vast Etruscan cemetery of Vulci, so this discovery was the result of an accident; but the Cavaliere Antonio Zannoni, Chief Engineer and Architect to the Municipality of Bologna, at once instinctively divined that this was the site of the Etruscan necropolis, and on ascertaining that in 1835

[6] Drs. Henzen and Forchhammer took them to be decidedly Etruscan. So also Professors Minervini and Fabretti, and Count Conestabile, the latter assigning to them an antiquity of not less than ten centuries, B.C. Sovra due dischi p. 67. The foregoing description of this necropolis and its contents is in great part taken from a pamphlet published by the Count Gozzadini at Bologna, 1870, entitled "La Nécropole de Villanova," for a copy of which I am indebted to his courtesy.

[7] *Ut supra*, pp. 336, 341, 365.

some fragments of painted vases and of bronzes had been discovered on this spot, he determined to make further researches, and obtained for that object from the Corporation the munificent sum of fifty francs!

Between December, 1869, and September, 1871, he opened some 380 tombs. These differed from those on Etruscan sites on the other side of the Apennines, inasmuch as they were not chambers hollowed in the rock, or structures of masonry, but were mere holes or pits in the earth, in which the corpse, or the cinerary urn was laid, with the usual accessories, and then covered in, sometimes with a slab, sometimes with a layer of rubble. The exceptions to this system of burial were a dozen—two being pits sunk in the form of wells, and lined with small stones without cement, like the tombs of Poggio Renzo, near Chiusi,[8] which have their counterparts also in the neighbouring cemeteries of Villanova and Marzabotto; and ten being square boxes, constructed of rude slabs uncemented, and heaped over with rubble. In the other cemeteries around Bologna cremation appears to have been the rule, burial the exception; in that of Villanova the interments did not amount to eight per cent.; at Marzabotto they were also comparatively few; but at La Certosa the proportions were reversed—out of 365 tombs, 250 contained bodies, and 115 burnt bones. The better class appear to have been buried in wooden coffins, for in their graves were found many long and stout nails, which must have served to fasten the boards together. Over some of the graves large upright *stelæ*, or slabs of stone, sometimes plain, sometimes sculptured, but never inscribed, marked the site of the sepulchre.

There was no systematic arrangement of these tombs, but Sig. Zannoni remarked that they lay in four groups, separated by an ancient road which ran from the city westward. He further noticed that the richest sepulchres fronted this road, and that the rest diminished in importance as they receded from it. The principal tombs also always lay at the greatest depth below the surface. The bodies were invariably laid with their feet to the east, and the objects buried with them lay always at the left side of the corpse. The ashes were inclosed either in terra-cotta vases, plain or painted, or in cylindrical *ciste* of bronze; in one instance, in a marble vase, and in another, in a beautiful *situla* of bronze, now the glory of the Museo Civico. The variety of the objects interred with the dead is astonishing. Vases of all

[8] *Vide supra*, pp. 336, 341.

descriptions, brown, ash-coloured, red, white, plain, or painted; *candelabra*, mirrors, *fibulæ*, and numerous objects in bronze of domestic and culinary use, besides necklaces, earrings, and other articles of jewellery and luxury. Most are of purely national art; some, the painted vases for example, are importations from the more civilised shores of Hellas; others again exhibit a mixture of the two elements. Some betray the infancy of culture; others, the latest days of Etruscan independence; in short they present monumental documents of the civilisation of Felsina throughout a period of some five hundred years.[9]

MUSEO CIVICO.

The antiquities discovered at La Certosa are exhibited in the Archiginnasio, now called the "Museo Civico."

Passing through several chambers, where sundry works of ancient art are displayed, and notably an interesting collection of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman antiquities, made by a Signor Pelagio Palagi, and presented by him to his native city, you reach two rooms containing the fruits of the "Scavi della Certosa."

THE STELÆ OR TOMBSTONES.

The objects that first strike the eye on entering are a row of tall *stelæ*—slabs of calcareous rock, more like the gravestones in an English churchyard, than the sepulchral monuments of Etruria Proper, from five to seven feet high, rounded above, contracted below, and resting on squared bases, with one or both of their surfaces adorned with reliefs. There are in all some twenty-five of these slabs, drawn up across the rooms, and along the walls, or grouped in a corner, differing sometimes in form, but all remarkable as utterly unlike the *stelæ* of Etruria, Greece, or Rome. They may be regarded, indeed, as a specialty of La Certosa. At Villanova not one was discovered, at Marzabotto one only, and one also within the walls of Bologna, while the excavations at La Certosa have yielded not less than forty-five. We will describe two or three as illustrations of the rest.

The first you encounter is about five feet high, by three feet six inches wide, and seven inches thick. One face only of the slab is sculptured. The figures are separated by two transverse bands of hatched and incised lines, into three compartments, the whole being inclosed within a broad wave-pattern border. In

[9] For the Cavaliere Zannoni's description of his excavations in this cemetery see "Relazione sugli Scavi della Certos 1871."

the upper compartment, beneath a *helix* on the keystone, as it were, of the arched monument, a serpent is engaged in combat with a hippocamp, symbols perhaps of the powers of the land and water—a subject which occurs frequently on these monuments. In the central scene, a figure in a short-sleeved *chiton* sits in a *biga*, holding an umbrella over the head of a diminutive charioteer, who drives a spirited pair of horses, in front of which runs a naked youth, who turns his head to see how they go. This subject represents the passage of the soul to the unseen world, and the youth is probably intended for the infernal Mercury. The lower part of the *stela* is injured, but you can make out a demon with open wings and uplifted hands, about to seize a draped figure, which seems endeavouring to escape. The art of this monument is rude, yet not so archaic as that of the cubic *stelæ* of Chiusi and Perugia. There is less rigidity and conventionality, and more nature and ease in the human figures, and more spirit in the horses, than are commonly found in those early monuments.

The next *stela* is the tallest and largest of these tombstones, being seven feet in height by four in width. It is sculptured on both sides, and each face is encircled by a broad wave-border with a *helix* at the apex. The principal face shows in the upper compartment a high-crested hippocamp, contending with a marine centaur, with a long fish-tail. The scene below displays a draped figure seated in a *biga*, holding an umbrella over his own head, while a diminutive *auriga* handles the reins, and Charun, with a pointed *petasus*, runs in front of the horses, carrying an inverted torch in one hand, and an upright oar in the other. Over all hovers a demon, or it may be Mercury, for he has wings to his feet as well as to his shoulders, and he floats over the *biga*, just as Nike is represented hovering over the *quadriga* on the reverse of the coins of Syracuse. In the compartment below this are five figures, some naked, some draped, whose action it is not easy to understand; and in the lowest scene a number of persons are approaching a seated figure, as if to present him with the offerings they carry in their baskets.

The upper scene, on the other face of the *stela*, is not easily described, for the surface is here much defaced; but you can distinguish a nude female figure bearing a large rock on her head, a huge bearded snake, and an altar or tomb. In the principal compartment is a *biga* driven at full gallop; in that below stand two draped figures in conversation.

Round the edge of the slab, which is about a foot thick, runs a scroll pattern in relief, with large leaves of ivy.

The art displayed in this *stela* is still archaic; the bodies are represented in full, though the heads are in profile; the folds of the drapery are indicated only by a few rude lines; yet the attitudes and movements are in general easy and natural, and the defects seem less attributable to the conventionalities of the period than to the incapacity of the artist, who nevertheless appears to have done his best to represent nature.

But the best of these monuments in point of art is the fourth in this row, and is that which is represented in the woodcut at the head of this chapter. It stands six feet three inches in height, and bears reliefs on both faces, inclosed by a broad meander border. On the side represented in the cut there is but a single scene. A male half-draped, who doubtless represents a soul, stands shaking hands with a Charun, or winged genius. Behind him a tall basket rests on a stand or altar. The soul seems to draw back and shrink from contact with the demon, who grasps his hand too firmly to allow of his escape. The pose of both is easy and natural, especially that of Charun, as he stands with one hand on his hip, and his *chlamys* hanging over the same arm. The drapery of the soul also hangs in natural folds.

The other face of the monument displays three subjects. In the upper one a snake and hippocamp are fighting, and the latter has the worst of it. The central scene shows a soul in a *biga*, drawn by winged horses, led by a winged demon, who runs at their head. In the lowest an armed man on foot is contending with another on horseback. The horse is badly drawn, though the man sits it with ease. His adversary stands in an attitude to repel his attack, covering his body with his shield; yet it is difficult to accept the criticism which pronounces this group to show all the spirit of Greek art.[1] This *stela*, however, may safely be said to show more of Hellenic influence in its design than any of its fellows.

A circular slab exhibits the usual draped soul drawn by a pair of winged horses at a gallop—a subject often repeated. In two instances only is the soul represented on horseback.

The *stelæ* in the inner room are mostly of inferior art and interest. One shows a woman on her knees making offerings to the *manes* of her relative, whose bust is represented resting on a tomb. Another

[1] Bull. Inst. 1872, p. 19—Brizio.

exhibits a combat between a man and a Pegasus; and on the reverse, some musicians seem to indicate the funeral feast or games. Here a girl is plucking a branch of ivy; there a man seated holds the hand of a woman who stands before him. One relief displays a "well-greaved" warrior, with spear in one hand, and crested helmet in the other; his figure shows archaic features, yet is hardly so primitive as the warrior in the Buonarroti relief at Florence, to which, however, it bears a considerable resemblance.

Some of these *stelæ* are plain pear-shaped masses, on square bases, with rams' heads carved at the angles, and festoons between them.[2]

The Cinerary Urns.

We have described the tombstones. In sundry glass cases are preserved the tombs and their contents, just as they were opened —the very graves over which the *stelæ* were set up *in memoriam* —some containing skeletons, others cinerary urns. The first case as you enter displays a well-tomb like those of the Poggio Renzo at Chiusi—a small pit, some two feet in diameter lined with large rounded pebbles without cement. In it stands a large *kelebe*, holding the bones of the deceased, and by its side a *skyphos* with black figures; the Greek pottery giving a clue to the antiquity of the tomb. In the next two cases you see a cinerary urn of bronze—a cylindrical *cista* fourteen inches in diameter—one containing a small pot, and a bronze strigil; and by the side of the other lie some broken vases, with an *æs rude*. *Ciste* of this description are corded horizontally with *repoussé* bands; and have two short handles, but no lid, being covered with a flat stone. They are very characteristic of Felsina, for while not one has yet been discovered in Etruria Proper, no less than forty-five have been found in the cemeteries of Bologna, of which fourteen are preserved in this Museum. Some half dozen have been disinterred on other sites in Northern Etruria, and as many as twenty-four in ancient cemeteries north of the Alps—in France, Belgium, Germany, Poland, and Holstein.[3] One of them in this museum, probably of later date, has plastic decorations, for it rests on four winged feet, on each of which a warrior is represented reposing.

[2] The *stelæ* in this Museum are described in detail by Signor Brizio, Bull. Inst., 1872, pp. 16—23.

[3] For further details of these singular bronze ash-chests, see the work of Count G. Gozzadini, Sugli Scavi Arnoaldi, pp. 38–45, Bologna, 1877. Cf. Zannoni, Sulle Ciste a cordoni della Certosa, 1873.

The Tombs and their Occupants.

Other glass cases contain skeletons, embedded in the very earth in which they were discovered, still wearing the ornaments with which they were decorated, and with all their sepulchral furniture around them. One is a man who must have been of an extraordinary height, for his head is bent to one side, as though his coffin had been too short for his body. I say coffin, though none is visible, yet it is clear from the large nails found around the skeletons, that many of them were interred in wooden cases, which have long since fallen to dust. There is another fine skeleton, which is pronounced by Cav. Zannoni to have a most beautiful skull of the Etruscan type, and two others next him, whose crania are said to be of the Umbrian type.[4] One of them, a female, grasps the *æs rude* in her right hand, to pay Charun for her passage across the Styx, while a necklace of amber still hangs from her neck. There is another group of three adults, each grasping the *æs rude*, and retaining the bronze *fibulæ*, which fastened the shrouds around them; their skulls are said to betray the Umbrian type. Another skeleton wears three armlets of bronze, two on the left arm, one on the right. In another grave are two skeletons, one of a woman, the other of her child, scarcely eight years old. The mother holds her *æs rude* in her right hand, and a *fibula* lies under her chin; the child wears an armlet of bronze, with some amber beads, and a pendant on its bosom. In another case lies a young child with an *æs rude* and armlet. A third child has a *fibula* on his left thigh, and a little cup with some eggshells by his side. In every case there are pots of various descriptions lying with the skeleton, and on the left side; in one instance only do they lie at its feet.

The Situla.

The most wonderful cinerary urn in this collection, and an article in its way unique and unrivalled, is a *situla*, or pail, of bronze, covered with reliefs. It is but a small pot, barely thirteen inches high, and eleven in its greatest diameter; it had two handles, but they are now gone, and double volute ornaments mark the places they occupied. The reliefs, which are of

[4] Zannoni, Scavi della Certosa, p. 21. The Cavaliere does not explain the distinctive characteristics of Etruscan and Umbrian skulls (for which consult Burton's Bologna, pp. 197-211), but for the satisfaction of ethnologists and craniologists he has filled a case with skulls and thighbones, from his diggings at La Certosa.

repoussé-work and surround the vase in four bands, are of such interest that I may be pardoned for describing them in detail.

The upper band displays a procession marching to the left. It is headed by two men on horseback, wearing casques, much resembling modern hunting-caps, and each carrying over his shoulder, suspended at the end of a short curved pole, one of those curious bell-shaped plates which are generally taken to be *tintinnabula*. Next comes a large bird on the wing, so common a feature on Egyptian monuments. This is followed by five armed men bearing oval shields, and long spears pointed to the earth, and helmets of a most peculiar form—a casque running up to a point, but confined by three large circular bosses round the brows, bearing more resemblance to a turban than to any known form of ancient head-dress. So much on one half of this band. On the other half march eight more *hoplitæ*, four bearing oval, four circular shields, with geometrical figures for devices, all wear greaves and crested helmets like the Corinthian, and all carry their lances point downwards. Their accoutrements seem to mark them as Greeks, a view confirmed by their well-formed features, which distinguish them from the other figures. They are followed by four unarmed men, wearing caps and short tunics, each carrying on his shoulder a long pole with something like a *tintinnabulum* suspended from its extremity.

The second band shows a solemn sacrificial procession marching to the right. In the van walks a priest leading an ox, drawn to the life, over whose head a bird is flying. He is followed by three more priests in long robes, carrying pots and wearing long canoe-shaped *petasi*, like the hats worn by priests in Spain, and nowhere else. Then come three women, draped to the feet, and carrying baskets of different shapes on their heads, which are covered with their mantles. The drapery of one, as also of one of the priests, is decorated with a check pattern. Two more priests, clad like the preceding, follow, bearing between them a large *amphora*, suspended from a pole resting on their shoulders. Next come two gigantic slaves, bare-headed, half-draped with tunics girt about their middle, and with broad shoulders, just as slaves are represented on Egyptian monuments, carrying a huge vase of *situla* form by its handle. They are followed by a similar slave pushing a ram before him; by three other stately priests; by three more women bearing each a pot on her head; by two more priests in long robes, one with a *situla* in one hand, and a tall vase like an *alabastos*, slung over his back; the other

carrying a number of long spits fastened together just such as are preserved in the Gregorian Museum; and an enormous dog, above which is a star, closes the procession.

The third band commences with two oxen driven by a peasant in short tunic, who carries his plough on his shoulder. A bird hovers over each beast. Another peasant is dragging the carcass of a wild-boar by the hind-legs, while a vulture or crow perches on the monster's back. Next appears a large *bisellium*, similar in form to that from Amiternum, now in the Etruscan Museum of the Capitol, but instead of a mule's head at each end, this terminates in lions' heads, from whose jaws depends, on one side a hare, on the other a man. On this *bisellium* sit two priests in canoe-shaped hats, one playing the lyre, the other the Pandean pipes. Behind them and over the *bisellium*, a large *situla* is suspended, and on each arm of the couch stands a naked boy, leaning forward, as in the act of pitching something into the *situla*. A large *amphora* rests on a tripod hard by, a priest stands on each side of it, one of whom is drawing wine with a ladle. Next come two slaves wearing low, turban-like caps, bearing the carcass of a deer suspended from a pole between them; and a big dog walks beneath the game, looking out for his share of the feast. The scene terminates with a naked man beating a wood, and endeavouring to drive a hare into a net.

The lowest band is full of animals—lions, wolves, chimeras—all with open mouths, and in threatening attitudes.[5]

This wonderful urn was found full of burnt bones, and covered with a stone slab, which had crushed it into fragments, but thanks to the perseverance of the Cavaliere Zannoni, it has been restored to its original form.

"This *situla*," says Signor E. Brizio, "is the most important monument of national art, not only in the Museo Civico of Bologna, but, I may say, in any other museum of Etruscan antiquities. The art is pure, primitive Etruscan, without the remotest idea of Greek influence, but rather in certain respects showing an affinity with Oriental art. I do not hesitate to repeat that there has not yet been discovered a monument of higher importance, as regards the history, religion, and art of Etruria than this situla."[6] There is much archaicism in the forms and

[5] These reliefs are described in detail by Zannoni (op. cit. pp. 11—13), who takes them to represent a festive procession in honour of Mars; also by Brizio, Bull. Inst., 1872, pp. 23—26.

[6] Brizio, op. cit., p. 23.

movements of the human figures, although the animals are generally drawn with more freedom, and much truth to nature. The horses are full of spirit, and carry their heads and tails like Arabs. The care and delicacy displayed in the execution are surprising; in spite of the diminutive size of the figures, the details are most elaborate and conscientiously expressed. The care bestowed on the faces is especially remarkable; the profiles vary greatly, and betray, even at the early period to which the monument belongs, that tendency to individualism and realism, which is the characteristic feature of Etruscan, as distinguished from Hellenic art. No trace of Greek influence being here visible, it is not easy to assign a date to the monument. Count Conestabile ascribes it to the third century of Rome. But that is the date of the earliest Greek vases discovered in this cemetery, and we may fairly presume that this *situla* preceded the importation of such vases, or it would show some traces of Hellenic influence. I would rather refer it to the former half of the sixth century B.C. As it was found in a simple hole in the earth, alone, with no articles of pottery or bronze around it, we have nothing but the art of the monument itself to guide us in our judgment as to its antiquity.

Far inferior to this wonderful *situla* in interest, yet worthy of notice, is a cylindrical *cista* of bronze, more resembling the elegant *ciste* of Palestrina, than those commonly found at La Certosa, having bands of incised ornaments round the rim and base, reliefs at the place of the handles, and Bacchic figures above the feet, quite Etruscan in character, and of finished art.[7] To the same artistic period belong two tall *candelabra* of bronze, each surmounted by a figure, in one case Paris drawing his bow, in the other a *discobolus*. These are the only representations of the human figure, beyond those on the *situla*, in this collection, for, strange to say, not a single idol in metal has been discovered in this necropolis.[8]

There are mirrors, but not one figured; numerous objects and utensils in bronze for domestic use, besides bracelets and *fibulæ* of this metal. Of iron nails, which fastened the long-perished coffins, there is a multitude, some of very large size.

Articles in the precious metals are rare, and not elaborate. They comprise two *fibulæ* of gold, and many of silver; seven pairs of earrings, and as many finger rings of gold, ten rings of silver, besides many of bronze, and a few of iron.

[7] Bull. Inst. 1872, p. 116. [8] Bull. Inst. 1872, p. 209.

The necklaces are of amber, or of variegated glass. There are pendants also of blue or green glass; with buttons of the same; and some charming little bottles of variegated glass which are commonly called Phœnician, but whose origin is uncertain, as they are found in sepulchres in all parts of the ancient world. Of ivory there are some plaques with animals in relief. There are few weapons, but some arrow-heads of flint. Specimens of the *æs rude* are abundant, the only money, with one solitary exception of an *æs signatum*, discovered at La Certosa.

Greek Pottery.

Besides the plain ware in black, brown, or red clay, of native manufacture, this necropolis has yielded an abundance of Greek painted vases—more than 300 specimens, it is said. They are all of the Second or Third styles. Of the earliest not a single example has been found—a fact which, taken in connection with the other fact that vases with black and vases with red figures are often found in the same tomb, indicates that the date of these sepulchres can hardly be earlier than the fifth century B.C.

These Greek vases were generally found in fragments, but they have been restored, though not with the care and skill they merited. Many are still very defective; most have been clumsily repaired, and have suffered much from over-cleaning.

The subjects of these vases are rarely mythological. Greek myths do not seem to have been appreciated by these northern Etruscans as by those on the other side of the Apennines. On the vases with black figures Bacchic subjects predominate; on those with red, scenes of ordinary life, especially representations of the banquet, are most frequent. The former class generally show a mannerism, which has caused them to be regarded as mere imitations of the true archaic style. The latter exhibit much diversity of style; in some there is a purity and severity of design almost archaic; in others, the style is more free and masterly; in many it degenerates into carelessness, although hardly betraying the Decadence.

Among the vases with red figures, a large *krater* with volute handles is conspicuous for its size and beauty. It represents Helen taking refuge from the infuriated Menelaus at the shrine of Apollo—that god himself, with his sister, standing by the altar, and Pallas, instead of Aphrodite, intervening between the wrathful husband and the peccant wife. A novel version of a trite subject.

Amphora. The attempted rape of Pallas by Hephaistos—a very rare subject.

Amphora. A nymph pouring out wine for a warrior on his return from the combat. A portion of the cloth in which the vase was wrapped still covers the hero's face.

Oxybaphon. A Mænad, with *thyrsus* and *kantharus*, dancing between two naked Satyrs. These figures are full of life, grace, and expression, and admirably designed.

Krater. Displaying a combat between a veteran and a youthful warrior, in which the latter prevails; a winged goddess backs each combatant. A beautiful vase, of much purity of design and delicacy of execution. There is a second vase with the same subject, but of very inferior art, and probably an Etruscan imitation.

Kelebe. A nymph playing the double-pipes to two youths, each holding a lyre. Admirably drawn, and full of expression.

Kelebe. Youths reclining at a *symposium;* one playing the lyre. A vase of pure design.

Stamnos. Herakles killing Busiris on the altar. Many of these vases with red figures have been used as cinerary urns.[9]

It cannot but excite surprise, that while the articles already described are, almost without exception, of purely native character, there should be mingled with them so large a number of vases of unquestionably Greek manufacture. In the Etruscan cemeteries beyond the Apennines this mixture does not appear so incongruous, for the native art, in its various stages of development, generally betrays some degree of Hellenic influence, which is more or less apparent in most of its productions, whether painted tombs, figured mirrors, or sculptured urns and sarcophagi. This influence may be explained by the very early intercourse Cisapennine Etruria enjoyed with Greece, either through direct commercial relations, or through her conquest of Campania and its colonies. The Etruscans of Felsina, on the other hand, seem to have had no intercourse with Greece before the third century of Rome, to which period the earliest painted vases found in this necropolis belong. The contrast, therefore, between the contemporary productions of Etruscan and Greek art, as mingled in the tombs of La Certosa, is far more striking than a comparison would present of similar monuments drawn from the cemeteries of Cære, Tarquinii, or Vulci.

[9] Detailed notices of the figured vases in this collection will be found in the catalogue *raisonné* of Signor E. Brizio, Bull. Inst., 1872, pp. 76—92; 108—115.

Greek vases have been discovered on various sites north of the Apennines—at Mantova, at Modena, at Reggio, and in greater abundance at Adria, but this collection from La Certosa surpasses them all in bulk, though it cannot vie in importance with any of the well-known museums on the other side of the Apennines. It is even surpassed in interest by the Palagi collection of vases in the outer room.

Scavi Arnoaldi.

In an inner chamber in this same Museum are exhibited some interesting objects from the Arnoaldi excavations, a preliminary word on which is necessary.

The Cemetery at La Certosa, it has been said, was but a portion of the necropolis of Felsina, which extended from that point far eastward along the foot of the hills, and even beneath the city itself. In September, 1871, Signor Astorre Arnoaldi commenced excavations on his estate of S. Polo, half a mile from La Certosa to the east, and found numerous tombs similar to those at that cemetery, flanking for the most part an ancient road, which ran east and west. In August, 1872, these operations were extended to the adjoining property of Signor Tagliavini, still nearer Bologna; in September, 1873, to that of Signor Benacci; and in the following autumn to the contiguous land of the Marchese De Luca. In all this ground were disclosed numerous tombs generally flanking the ancient road, and all belonging to the great necropolis of Felsina. The produce, however, of these several excavations has been kept distinct, and is conventionally spoken of as though it belonged to different cemeteries.

In the Arnoaldi diggings, no less than 248 tombs were opened, the greater part of them of archaic character, like those of Villanova. A portion only of the articles found in them is exhibited in this Museum, another portion having passed into the possession of Count Gozzadini, and the remainder being retained by Signor Arnoaldi. Against the walls of this chamber are arranged fourteen slab-*stelæ*, smaller than those from La Certosa, but of similar shape, and like them sculptured in relief. Some show two warriors engaged in combat; others, two civilians conversing. On several is a solitary figure armed with sword or spear and circular shield; such *stelæ* marking doubtless the tombs of warriors. In one instance a woman in close fitting *chiton*, and with dishevelled hair, is led away by a man, who puts his arm round her neck, but the

messenger of Death, recognisable by his wings and tunic, steps up on the other side, and claims her as his own. The art is rude in the extreme, yet not very archaic. The monument bears an Etruscan inscription, which in Latin letters would run thus:—

MI SUTI THANCHVILUS TITLALUS.

Another *stela* shows the final embrace of husband and wife. She puts one hand on his shoulder, and grasps his hand with the other, as if to detain him, but his attitude and the stick over his shoulder, show that he is about to start on the journey from which no traveller returns. Over their heads is an inscription which I failed to decipher, though Fabretti reads it thus:—

VEIPI KARMUNIS.[1]

These were the first Etruscan inscriptions discovered in the ancient cemeteries around Bologna, though several have since been found in the Scavi De Luca, and in the Giardino Pubblico. In this part of the Felsinean necropolis, cremation appears to have been most in fashion, the burials being only 11 per cent. of the burnings. The dead seem to have been burnt on the spot where their remains were interred.

Very interesting is a collection of sun-dried, hand-made pottery of very early date, brown or red, with simple decorations, generally geometrical, not scratched, but stamped on the clay, often in bands surrounding the pot. To these earlier designs were sometimes added rows of snakes, or ducks, or still later, of uncouth figures, which it required a stretch of imagination to regard as human. On one rude pot alone could you trace any resemblance to Greek ornament, in a double chevron pattern, with something like the meander fret—probably accidental. Besides the pottery there are many interesting articles in bronze—*situlæ* with twisted handles, sacrificial knives, flesh-hooks of diminutive size, personal ornaments, hair-pins and combs, *fibulæ* ornamented with amber and glass beads, keys, chisels, saws, and other implements in bronze, besides knives, axes, and weapons in iron. A comparison of these articles from the *scavi* of La Certosa and Arnoaldi with those from Villanova, proves their relative antiquity to be in an inverse order to that in which they are here mentioned.[2]

[1] Bull. Inst., 1872, p. 178. Scavi Arnoaldi, p. 87.

[2] A full description of the produce of these excavations is given by the Count Gozzadini, in his Scavi Arnoaldi, Bologna, 1877.

Scavi Benacci.

In the ex-convent of S. Francesco are deposited the fruits of the excavations made in the grounds of Signor Giuseppe Benacci, for a sight of which I am indebted to the courtesy of the Cavaliere Zannoni, who disinterred them. In a large room on the ground-floor the objects are laid out, the produce of each tomb being kept distinct; an admirable plan, adopted by the Cavaliere, to enable him to ascertain the comparative antiquity of the several articles. The tombs, he informed me, lay beneath two upper strata of interments, Roman and Gaulish, and were about 300 in all, of which 51 were distinguished by their primitive character, showing seven different modes of sepulture. The tombs which contained skeletons he refers to the Gallic period, for they also contained swords of great length, like those found in the Gallic tombs at Magny-Lambert in Burgundy, and bronze vases like those discovered in Haute Alsace; the sepulchres of an earlier epoch were generally pits, either simply sunk in the earth, or lined in different ways with pebbles or slabs, in the latter case somewhat resembling dolmens in structure, but always inclosing pots containing burnt bones, mixed with articles of bronze, generally of personal adornment, and always covered by an inverted cup. These ossuary pots rested on the remains of the pyre, and were often of plain clay, half-baked, and rudely fashioned, but many were decorated with simple patterns invariably scratched or incised, not stamped, like those of the other cemeteries described, proving them to precede in point of antiquity even the pottery found at Villanova.[3] Among this early ware I noticed two vases decorated with a red meander painted on a whitish ground—several pots of dice-box shape, bearing incised ornaments, and with the bottom not precisely in the middle as usual, thus forming two cups of different capacities,—a cup with rings below the rim, from which depended chains of terra-cotta—and a singular pot, with a handle moulded into a bull's head, and showing a small figure of a man on horse-back, which seems of later date than the rest of this pottery. The bronzes also are peculiar. Axes, purposely broken when placed in the tomb, for they would be bent, not fractured, by any accidental injury,—horse-bits, variously shaped and ornamented,[4]—a dish resting on seven tall legs,—an *ampyx* of bronze,

[3] The tombs, whose contents mark them as of higher antiquity than those of Villanova, are ascribed by the Cavaliere Zannoni to the Pelasgi; those of the same epoch as Villanova he refers to the Umbri. Bull. Inst., 1875, p. 215.

[4] For much interesting information about ancient bits disinterred in various parts of

bearing a beautiful patina, adorned with studs *repoussé*, and engraved with designs of snakes and other simple patterns,—a vase shaped like a tea-pot, studded with knobs in *repoussé* work. There were many boxes not yet emptied though opened, and in them I observed double pots of bronze of different forms; a bronze dish beautifully ornamented; small vases of variegated glass, and one *oinochoë* of the same, of extraordinary size; cinerary *ciste* both of bronze and terra-cotta; and bronze so-called *tintinnabula*, similar to those discovered at Villanova, which the Cavaliere takes to have been personal ornaments.[5]

Scavi De Luca.

In the Palazzo Bentivoglio are preserved the sepulchral relics excavated by the Marchese De Luca, in his property adjoining that of Benacci, which I also inspected under the courteous guidance of the Cavaliere Zannoni. In this portion of the necropolis 195 of the sepulchres opened were of the early epoch of Villanova, 110 were of more recent date, with furniture more nearly resembling that of La Certosa. The most prominent articles are stone *stelæ* of slab-form with reliefs, several bearing Etruscan inscriptions, but all more or less broken. One of them bears a singular subject. A man with helmet, cuirass, and shield, but no weapon, stands opposite a Typhon with serpent-tails instead of legs, who appears from his attitude to be making fun of the man. Another represents a draped figure, *pedum* in hand, as travellers are represented on Greek vases, but with open hand raised to his nose, as though he were, what is vulgarly called, "taking a sight." Here is much pottery of brown clay, all with stamped decorations; besides Greek vases in the Third style, some beautiful, but all in fragments. Many bronze *fibulæ*, some of rare and graceful forms, four ornamented with variegated glass. A tray of bronze with a concavity in the centre, and a small cup studded with bosses attached to the tray at each end. A cup of the same metal very delicately embossed. A few mirrors without designs; one of lead. A female figure of lead, crowning a bronze *candelabrum*. Several *tintinnabula*, one only 4 inches long, perforated with 9 square holes; some with one hole only; others with none, being

Italy, including Arezzo in Etruria, as well as in transalpine lands, see the work of the Count Gozzadini, already referred to, —Mors de Cheval Italiques de Ronzano, Bologna, 1875.

[5] For the excavations on this site, see the notices by Zannoni, Bull. Inst., 1875, pp. 177–182; 209–216.

in that case covered with incised decorations. Zannoni will not admit them to be other than personal ornaments, probably worn on the bosom. Gozzadini maintains that they are musical instruments like gongs, which view is borne out by the fact that when discovered they are invariably accompanied by small mallets of bronze. He has even cast new ones out of the old metal in proof of his view. I observed also a beautiful armlet of ivory; sundry ivory plaques; dice, both cubes and parallelopipeds, like bricks, but always accompanied with little pebbles, probably serving for counters; and an abundance of Phœnician glass of brilliant colours.

Scavi dell' Arsenale.

In June, 1874, five tombs were found within the precincts of the Military Arsenal, outside the Porta S. Mamolo, on the south of the city, but one only of them was intact. It was indicated by a rude slab, ten feet below the surface, which covered a large *dolium* or jar, inclosing an ossuary pot, whose contents marked this as the sepulchre of a lady. Isolated fragments of pottery around this jar, of similar character to that of Villanova, showed that the ancients were in the habit of breaking the pottery which formed the furniture of the tomb, and of not interring all the pieces. Certain fragments also proved that in very early times, potters inlaid the clay, when soft, with another material of a different colour, so as to form indelible designs, just as in the celebrated Henri Deux ware. A *tintinnabulum*, not of solid bronze, as usual, but formed of two thin plates of that metal soldered together at the edges, and leaving a vacant space between them, so that it could no longer serve as a gong, was probably a mere sepulchral imitation of the musical instrument; such shams being not unfrequently found in ancient tombs.[6]

Mixed with the charred bones of this lady, were her ornaments—two amber necklaces, each of twenty-five beads, in one case globular, in the other cut into the form of *bullæ*, scallop-shells, or celts, the amber being perfectly transparent, and of a deep red

[6] In my excavations in the Greek cemeteries of the Cyrenaica, I have often found bracelets, fibulæ, and other articles of jewellery, never of gold or silver, but always mere imitations in lead; together with necklaces of beads or plaques, of terra-cotta gilt. The Greeks were more chary of devoting their treasures to the dead than the early people of Italy, and were content to bury shoddy ornaments with them, and to deposit one or two painted vases in a tomb, where the Etruscans would have interred at least a dozen.

hue, like that found in these northern subapennine regions. A golden *fibula* with figures of animals drawn on it in granulated Etruscan work, of the most elaborate description, and as perfect as if fresh from the goldsmith's hands. Other *fibulæ* of bronze, adorned with amber, bone, or a vitreous paste, blue or yellow, resembling certain *fibulæ* found at Villanova. Another ornament composed of two narrow strips of wrought gold, decorated at each end with heads of Egyptian type, stamped, and united by golden cords, on which were strung two large silver rings, bound spirally around with gold thread. Gozzadini takes these ornaments for earrings. It is difficult to explain how this perfection of jeweller's work can be coeval with the very primitive pottery and bronzes with which it was found.[7] The easiest solution appears to me to suppose these gold ornaments to have been imported from the other side of the Apennines, where we are justified in regarding the Etruscans contemporary with those of Villanova, to have already attained a much higher degree of culture.

Scavi Malvasia-Tortorelli.

In 1857 the Count Ercole Malvasia, digging in the ground attached to his palace in the Via Maggiore, near the Leaning Tower degli Asinelli, to lay the foundations of new buildings, came upon some fragments of early pottery like that of Villanova. He consulted Count Gozzadini, who strongly urged him to continue his researches, and induced him to intrust the excavations to his care. At the depth of about two mètres were found vestiges of the Roman Via Æmilia, which had been ascertained by previous discoveries to run through the heart of Bononia. A mètre below this the Count came on an ancient sepulchre, and at that depth to that of five mètres he found seven others, three of which were intact. The most important of these was covered with a large rude slab of sandstone, under which lay an ossuary pot of black clay, similar to those common at Villanova, which rested on the ashes of the pyre, and was surrounded by many small pots of red or black clay, of various shapes, mostly turned

[7] Gozzadini, Sepolcri scavati nell' Arsenale Militare di Bologna, 1875. Signor Brizio regards the pottery as Umbrian, and the jewellery as Phœnician, though of the latter we have no satisfactory proof. But Phœnicia is in fashion just now with antiquaries. Gozzadini refers the contents of these tombs to the third century of Rome, or about 500 B.C. Mors de Cheval Italiques, pp. 36, 39.

and smoothed by the lathe. On the burnt bones lay the blade of an iron knife, and two bronze *fibulæ;* and near the ossuary were some bones of a horse, probably a favourite steed sacrificed to the *manes* of his master. Another tomb contained numerous bones of the ox, hog, goat, horse, and fowl, some charred by fire. Among numerous articles in bronze was found one large solitary mass of rusted iron. The objects in amber and coloured glass closely resembled those discovered at Villanova; indeed the identity between the most characteristic articles excavated on the two sites, convinced the Count Gozzadini that they were contemporary, and belonged to one and the same people.

Among these tombs was found a sculptured slab, probably a *stela*, bearing, in flat relief, the figures of two animals, supposed to represent calves, standing erect *vis-à-vis*, each with his fore-leg resting on the stalk of a plant, in much the same position as the lions over the gate of Mycenæ are represented, one on each side of a column; although in point of artistic excellence, these calves maintain a very respectful distance behind the celebrated lions.[8]

Similar objects to those found under the Casa Malvasia, were brought to light in the Piazzale di S. Domenico in 1868. In 1873 some sepulchres were opened beneath the Casa Grandi in the Via del Pradello, also within the walls, which Count Gozzadini pronounced to be indubitably Etruscan from the gold objects and a figured mirror found within them, but which Cavaliere Zannoni maintained not to be sepulchres at all, but the huts of the early inhabitants. There were twenty-nine of these hovels or tombs, some circular, others oblong, paved with pebbles, in a stratum from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth, mixed with pottery and bronzes of the same primitive description as those found at Villanova, no implements of stone, but a multitude of bones of animals split longitudinally, as if to extract the marrow. The jewellery discovered in them seems to upset the hut-theory; for the people who would deposit such articles in their tombs, for the use of the deceased in another state of existence, would hardly leave them in their habitations. Being now reclosed, there is no opportunity of verifying their character; supposing them to have been huts, they must have been the dwellings of a very primitive race, prior to the Etruscans, for the description given of them by Zannoni[9]

[8] For an illustration, see Gozzadini, Alcuni Sepolcri della Necropoli Felsinea, p. 20; or Scavi Arnoaldi, p. 12.

[9] Scavi della Via del Pratello, Bologna, 1873.

indicates a semi-savage tribe, in a very low state of culture. Professor Brizio, who regards all the ancient cemeteries around Bologna, with the exception of those at La Certosa and Marzabotto, as Umbrian, takes these hovels, if such they were, for the vestiges of the Umbrian town which he supposes to have preceded Felsina on this site. To this view I can raise no objection, not having had sufficient experience of the position of Umbrian cities to hazard an opinion. But having visited and examined every site recognized as Etruscan, with one exception, on the other side of the Apennines, I feel authorized to pronounce the site of Bologna as utterly un-Etruscan. Moreover, it is impossible to believe that such hovels belonged to the people who produced the beautiful bronze *situla* in the Museum, or who had so much æsthetic taste as to decorate their sepulchres with choice specimens of Greek ceramic art. In any case, supposing them to have been habitations, which is disputed by Gozzadini and others who saw them, they are not proved to have belonged to Felsina, the metropolis of northern Etruria, and cannot be accepted as evidence as to the site of that celebrated city.[1]

An interesting deposit of bronzes was brought to light in the spring of 1877 in the heart of Bologna. In digging a trench near the Piazza di S. Francesco, the labourers came, at the depth of six feet, on a large *dolium* or jar, lying beneath the remains of a Roman pavement of *opus spicatum*. The jar was low and flat, with a very wide mouth, and was found to contain a multitude of articles in bronze, as many as 14,000 in all, packed in the jar in the closest manner possible, with a manifest regard to the economization of space. A few of the articles appeared uninjured, but the greater part were more or less broken, and there can be no doubt that these objects had been collected in order to be melted down and re-cast; such ancient foundry-deposits having been discovered in many countries of Europe, and notably in France, where 61, and in Switzerland, where 6 similar deposits have been brought to light, all of very high antiquity.[2] But this one deposit of Bologna surpassed, in the abundance and variety of the objects it contained, all those of France and Switzerland put together. Of axes alone, of which there were four distinct types,

[1] If they were really dwellings, they might with more reason be assigned to the Gauls, for they well accord with the description given by Polybius (II. c. 17) of the rude mode of life of that people at the time of their occupation of northern Italy.

[2] See De Mortillet, "La Fonderie de Larnaud;" Chantre, "l'Age du Bronze en France," cited by Gozzadini.

this deposit contained 1359, while in the 67 other foundries referred to, they numbered only 177. So with *fibulæ*; the 67 transalpine deposits produced but 7; while this of Bologna yielded no fewer than 2,397. All of these, save 12, were without their pin, and it seems that they must have been sent to the foundry for repair; for some of the others had already been mended, and the pin fastened by little rivets. The other articles consisted of lance-heads, sickles, chisels, gouges, saws, files, crescent-shaped razors, bracelets, buttons, hooks, horse-bits, *phaleræ*, handles to pots, and a variety of other implements, together with one rude attempt at the human figure; the weight of the whole reaching 1500 kilograms, or about 29½ cwt. Many of the hatchets bore marks of various kinds, and among them the *suastika*, or footed cross, so often inscribed on the terra-cotta whorls found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann. One fact is worthy of remark, that the fractures of these bronze articles, with very few exceptions, appear to have been accidental, not intentional, as is the case with the similar deposits in other parts of Europe. The common practice of breaking the articles to facilitate the fusion of the metal, sufficiently accounts for the fact. The intentional fracture of the bronzes and other furniture of the tombs, is a different matter, and can only be explained as a funeral rite.

The Count Gozzadini, to whom I am indebted for my information on this subject, ascribes these relics to the period of transition between the age of bronze and that of iron, or even to the commencement of the latter, that is, about the tenth or eleventh century B.C. which will be nearly coeval with the necropolis of Villanova.[3]

Marzabotto.

I can hardly treat of the Etruscan antiquities of Bologna without some mention of those discovered at Marzabotto, in the valley of the Reno, the first site on this side of the Apennines where such relics were brought to light. It is on record that for more than three centuries past, chance discoveries of such objects have been made here from time to time, and particularly in 1831, but it was not till 1862, when the Gozzadini finds at Villanova had excited general interest in the subject, that systematic excavations were set on foot by the Cavaliere Pompeo Aria,

[3] Note sur une Cachette de Fondeur ou Fonderie à Bologna, par le Comte J. Gozzadini—read to the Institute of France, on 25th May, 1877.

the proprietor of the land. For eight years these researches were carried on under the direction of the Count Gozzadini, who published an account of his labours in two large quarto volumes with 37 plates.[4] The fruits of these excavations are stored on the spot, in the villa of the Count Aria, son of the Cavaliere, but in consequence of some legal question still pending, they are sealed up, and inaccessible to strangers. Such, at least, is the answer I have received on three recent visits to Bologna, to my frequent inquiries on this subject.

The ancient site, however, is easy of access, as it lies on the railroad from Bologna to Florence, 27 chilomètres, or about 17 miles, from the former city. It occupies an elevated plateau on the left bank of the stream, just above the station of Marzabotto. But before reaching this, at the previous station of Il Sasso, a lofty cliff overhangs the road, pierced with caves which appear to have been Etruscan tombs, and sepulchres undoubtedly of that character have been opened in this neighbourhood by Signor Comelli; suggesting the probable existence of a series of towns or villages in the lower part of this beautiful valley, from a very early period.

The ancient site above Marzabotto occupies a plateau called Misano, having a gentle slope towards the stream, and measuring some 700 mètres in length by 340 in breadth. It is intersected by numerous low walls constructed of pebbles without mortar, from 16 to 24 inches thick, and in general of very shallow depth, though in parts sinking as low as 5 feet; but the top of these walls lies at the uniform level of ten inches beneath the surface. These walls form a vast net-work of cells of different dimensions, varying from 6 to 25 feet in length by 5 to 20 feet in width, many of them retaining fragments of a flooring of pebbles, which in some places has been broken through, a fact suggestive of explorations in past ages. Two broad streets, about 15 yards wide, appear to have crossed the plateau from east to west, and from north to south; and mingled with the cells were narrow and shallow trenches, pebble-paved, lined with tiles, and stopped-up at intervals, which are thought to have been water-courses.

[4] "Un' antica Necropoli a Marzabotto nel bolognese, relazione del Conte G. Gozzadini, Bologna, 1865," and "Ulteriori Scoperte nell' antica Necropoli a Marzabotto. Bologna, 1870." He subsequently published a pamphlet, "Renseignements sur une ancienne Nécropole à Marzabotto, 1871," to which I am chiefly indebted for my description of this site.

In the cells was found a vast quantity of coarse pottery in fragments, with a few pieces of fine and even of painted ware, together with many portions of flat tiles, of which the tombs are supposed to have been constructed, for some coffins formed of such tiles, which were found intact, contained burnt ashes and many small sepulchral vases. In the cells were also discovered handles of pots, small idols, and other articles in bronze, together with many specimens of the *æs rude* of various forms and weights, and invariably in each cell one large urn of terra-cotta, often broken, which had probably contained the remains of the deceased gathered from the pyre, although two such urns were found filled with pebbles. Ashes and charred bones were scattered on every hand; the soil was black and viscid, as if with the decomposition of abundant animal matter, and numerous human skeletons were brought to light, some with their weapons lying by their side. Certain well-tombs, which were opened here and there among the cells, also contained the skeletons of men mixed with the bones of domestic animals in large quantities.

The question here arises, what were these cells—tombs or houses—the abodes of the living or of the dead? If sepulchres, they have no counterpart in any known cemetery on the other side of the Apennines, the nearest resemblance to them being seen in the Mancini tombs at Orvieto, where the last resting-places of the dead are grouped and arranged in streets and blocks, precisely like the habitations of the living. On the one hand it may be urged that the cells are generally too small even for huts, that there is no visible means of communication between them, that the walls are too shallow and too weak to support a superstructure, that the pottery and other articles found within them are identical with those discovered in undoubted sepulchres, the well-tombs mixed with them for instance, and that the human skeletons and burnt bones prove their original purpose to have been that of interment. It may be said, on the other hand, in support of the habitation-theory, that the dwellings of many Hindoos at the present day are not more spacious than these cells;[5] that the walls which inclose them may have been mere partitions between the several huts or houses; that the abundance of animal bones, and the comparative paucity of human remains, are suggestive rather of huts than of sepulchres; that the articles found within the cells were not purely funereal, but must

[5] Burton, Etruscan Bologna, p. 130.

have served the inhabitants of the ancient town on this site for ornamental, domestic, or warlike purposes, and that no inference favourable to the tomb-theory can therefore be drawn from their discovery in sepulchres; that the broad avenues paved with slabs a mètre square can only have been streets, and the smaller channels water-courses to supply the houses, or drains to carry off the sewerage; and lastly, that the pebble-pavements show a remarkable affinity to the foundations of the *terramare*, or pre-historic palustric villages of Circumpadane Italy. The Counts Gozzadini and Conestabile, two of the highest authorities in Etruscan matters, maintain the sepulchral character of these cells, and look on the plateau of Misano as the necropolis of the ancient and nameless town. The Cavaliere Zannoni, followed by the Abbate Chierici and by Captain Burton, regard the cells as the dwellings of the early inhabitants, and the site as that of the ancient town. Not having had the advantage of personal examination, I cannot offer an opinion which would have any value, and therefore leave the dispute as I find it.

On an upper plateau called Misanello there are more of the well-tombs already alluded to. They are of various sizes, from 7 to 33 feet in depth, but instead of being cylindrical they swell out below, the greatest diameter being near the bottom, which is sometimes rounded, and then the form is that of a mocking-bird's pendent nest; sometimes pointed, when the shape resembles that of an ordinary amphora. They are lined with small pebbles without mortar, save at the bottom, which is simply sunk in the grey marl. They were found to contain human skeletons, sometimes as many as three, a large urn, vases of bronze and of terra-cotta, sometimes painted, with sundry other objects, notably in one instance a tablet of earthenware bearing an Etruscan inscription.[6] In them were also found the bones of animals in abundance—of the ox, sheep, goat, pig, deer, fowl, dog, cat, rat, horse,

[6] Sepulchres approachable by wells, with small niches in their sides for the hands and feet, have been found on various sites in Etruria Proper, as at Ferento (Vol. I. p. 162), at Alsium (Vol. I. p. 223), at Chiusi, (Vol. II. p. 335); but the well or shaft is not the sepulchre itself, only the means of access to it. In the so-called "well-tombs" of Poggio Renzo near the latter site, and at Sarteano, the wells are mere pits, sunk to the depth of a mètre, and resemble the ordinary burial-places of Villanova and La Certosa. There is nothing, so far as I am aware, in Etruria Proper, resembling in form these *puits funéraires* of Marzabotto. Burton, however (p. 118), cites me to the contrary, but the sepulchral pits I have described as existing at Civita Castellana (I. p. 92), are conical or bell-shaped, like many of the Greek tombs at Syracuse and Girgenti hollowed in the rock.

ass, and bear—a discovery which has induced some to question the sepulchral character of these structures, though without reason, it appears to me, for the remains of the edible animals are accounted for by the funeral feasts held annually at the mouth of the tomb, and the other domestic animals were probably slaughtered to accompany their masters to the other world, according to the well-known funeral custom of the ancients.

The most remarkable and the richest tombs were on this plateau of Misanello. Thirty of these, which were mere mounds of pebbles, contained entire skeletons, together with scarabs, engraved with oriental or Greek myths. Others constructed of large slabs of tufo, arranged so as to form a sort of chest, with pointed lid, closely resembling *dolmens*, also contained skeletons, which, like those at La Certosa, were often decorated with ornaments. One hundred and seventy of these chest-tombs, opened near an artificial pond, contained the remains of the pyre, together with articles of various descriptions, but particularly painted vases; also other vases of bronze, alabaster, and glass, mirrors and idols in bronze, and gold ornaments. Notwithstanding the presence of this sepulchral furniture, all these tombs had been ransacked of old, save one small one, which had escaped the riflers, and contained no fewer than fifty-seven objects in gold. On the top of these tombs were found either small columns, or spheroidal masses of stone; *stelæ* or *semata* to mark the site of the graves.

One monument at Misanello is remarkable. It is a mass of tufo masonry, nearly 4 feet in height, and about 33 feet square, carved with mouldings in the severe Tuscan style, like the basements of tumuli at Cære, Tarquinii, and Vulci, with the difference of being square instead of circular. Count Gozzadini sees in this relic the substruction of a grand sepulchre with a flight of five steps leading to the platform, for the annual celebration of the *silicernia*. Cavaliere Zannoni, on the contrary, takes it for the basement of a temple, a view confirmed by the discovery on the spot of fragments of columns, and of a multitude of tiles and *antefixæ*, many of the latter decorated with palmetto leaves, and a few with human faces, all in relief and coloured. The tiles retained traces of polychrome decoration on the portions only that were left exposed.

As to the sepulchral furniture on this site, I can say nothing beyond what I learn from Count Gozzadini's description. He

mentions one slab-*stela*, like those from La Certosa, bearing the relief of a female figure of archaic art, making a libation before putting the cup to her lips. But there are fifteen *cippi* of tufo, with architectural mouldings resembling those at Norchia and Vulci. Fragments of painted vases, chiefly *kylikes*, *kelebæ*, *skyphi*, with both black and red figures, are abundant. There is a large two-handled bowl, whose body is formed of two heads, moulded and coloured to the life, probably representing Dionysos and Cora. This Hellenic pottery marks the chest or coffer-like tombs, in which it was chiefly found, as contemporary with those of La Certosa. One fragment bears a Greek legend recording the name of the potter. On the foot of a black vase is inscribed the word "AKIUS," in Etruscan characters; and on a broken tablet of terra-cotta, found in a well-tomb, was the imperfect inscription "... MRUS," supposed to have been "Umrus," or "Nrus," a family name. These, with the epigraph "AURSSA" on a *fibula*, are the only ancient inscriptions discovered in this necropolis.

Other objects in terra-cotta of more primitive character are whorls, cylinders, and perforated disks, like those found at Villanova, and in other early transapennine cemeteries. But the greater part of the sepulchral furniture here discovered marks a much later period. The bronzes are abundant, and comprise two ribbed *ciste*, like those found at La Certosa—vases of Etruscan forms, some adorned with reliefs, others with incised designs—mirrors with foliated adornments—a hundred little figures of idols, from tombs of all descriptions—two of large size of female divinities, probably Persephone or Elpis—one of later date, of a negro boy naked, bearing a pot on his shoulder—a group of Mars and Venus, six inches high; he armed with helmet, cuirass, and spear; she draped in a talaric *chiton*, and *himation*, offering him a *phiala*. "In this group," says Count Gozzadini, "Etruscan art shows the progress it had made in imitating the perfection of Hellenic art."[7] There is also a votive leg in high relief, of such beauty, that it might be taken for the production of a Greek chisel; a bull's head, finely modelled, and some thousands of shapeless pieces of bronze, the current money of early times, with one solitary specimen of the *æs signatum*, a mass of rectangular form.

There are, moreover, bracelets of bronze, as well as of iron and

[7] This group, reproduced in bronze and of a large size, is set up in the grounds of the Aria Villa, at Marzabotto, where it forms a conspicuous object to travellers passing by the railroad beneath.

silver, lance-heads and other weapons of both bronze and iron; the articles in iron seeming more abundant than those of the finer metal. There are objects in alabaster, bone, and glass, and jewellery of gold in no small quantity, among them two necklaces which display all the elegance, richness, and inimitable workmanship of Etruscan jewellery; almost all from the coffer-like tombs already mentioned.

Besides the aforesaid articles, as many as twenty-four skulls were exhumed on this spot, which have been pronounced by anthropologists to be of the Umbrian type. Yet the monumental evidence furnished by the artificial and artistic remains is so strongly in favour of an Etruscan origin, that we may confidently pronounce this nameless town to have been Etruscan. As the Greek vases found in its sepulchres belong to the third and the fourth centuries of Rome, with which epoch the better bronzes are in full accordance, we may safely refer the antiquities found at Marzabotto to the latest days of Etruscan independence north of the Apennines, which came to an end on the invasion of the Boian Gauls, at the beginning of the fourth century B.C.[8]

In reviewing the recent discoveries at Bologna, we cannot fail to arrive at the conclusion that the contemporary civilization of Felsina was very inferior to that of Etruria Proper. Certain facts are prominent. That the highest development of that civilization was attained during the third and fourth centuries of Rome is proved by the Greek painted vases of that period, found in multitudes in certain of the cemeteries, and the synchronous improvement visible to some extent in the local art. No Greek vases of the earlier, or Asiatic, style have been yet disinterred; none, so far as I have seen, of the Decadence; so that the vases found in these tombs indicate the period between 550 and 400 B.C.; the latter date nearly coinciding with the conquest of Etruscan Felsina by the Boian Gauls. They show also the date of the commercial intercourse of these northern Etruscans with Greece, which may have been through the Umbrian ports of Ravenna and Ariminium, or even through Spina and Atria, or it may have been, and more probably was, indirect through Etruria.

[8] The date of the invasion of the Boian Gauls is fixed by their destruction of Melpum, an important city north of the Po, which took place in the year 358 (396 B.C.) on the very day that Camillus captured Veii. Corn. Nepos ap. Plin. III. 21. Livy also represents the invasion of Northern Italy by the Boian Gauls as earlier than that of the Senones, who besieged Clusium and destroyed Rome. V. 35.

The incongruity, already noticed, as existing between these beautiful works of Hellenic art and the rude pottery and bronzes found with them, an incongruity but faintly marked on the other side of the Apennines, proves that at the period in question, the Felsineans were far behind their brethren in Etruria Proper, with whom they appear to have had little intercourse prior to the third century of Rome. Contemporary with the painted vases were the slab-*stelæ*, the most characteristic works of Etruscan transapennine art, and the bronze *ciste a cordoni*. But nothing has yet been discovered like the archaic relief-bearing *cippi* of Chiusi and Perugia; like the *bucchero* ware with its quaint oriental figures in relief; nothing like the primitive seated statue-urns of fetid limestone, like the painted male statue of the Casuccini collection, or the enthroned Proserpines, or the grotesque *canopi* of Chiusi and its neighbourhood; nothing like the bronze and marble portraits from the Isis tomb at Vulci. All these belong to an earlier period of Etruscan art, which at Felsina is represented by coarse hand-made pottery with geometrical decorations, or rude attempts at animal life scratched or stamped on the unglazed clay. The only specimen of the plastic arts of Felsina which can compete with the best toreutic works of Cisapennine Etruria is the *situla* in the Museo Civico; but as this stands alone among a multitude of ruder bronzes, we might regard it as an importation, if it had not the choice bronzes of Marzabotto to keep it company. Yet the earliest works of ceramic and toreutic art, as well as the mode of their sepulture, revealed by the Benacci and Villanova diggings, show so close an affinity, amounting even to identity, with those of the most primitive cemeteries of Etruria, at Chiusi and Sarteano for example, that we cannot avoid the conclusion that they belonged to one and the same people. "Who were that people?" is the question. Were they the Etruscans, or some race that preceded them? Professor Brizio takes them to have been Umbrians, and regards Felsina as originally an Umbrian city, occupying the site of Bologna, and all the cemeteries around it, with the exception of those of La Certosa and Marzabotto which he admits to be Etruscan, as the burial-places of that primitive Italian people before their conquest by the Etruscans.[9] He thinks that the several cemeteries prove that at the earliest period these

[9] For his views on this subject I am indebted to his papers on "Gli Umbri nella regione Circumpadana," published in the *Perseveranza* of Milan, of 31st of March, 1st, 4th, and 7th of April, 1877.

Umbrians buried their dead just without their walls, and gradually extended their interments, which show a somewhat less primitive character as they recede from the city, till, at the time of their conquest by the Etruscans, their cemeteries had reached the lands to which the names of Arnoaldi and La Certosa are now attached. According to his view, the Etruscans on their conquest, finding the ground unsuited to the excavation of caves, adopted the same mode of sepulture as their predecessors, only substituting quadrangular coffer-tombs for the pits or wells of the Umbrians. He founds his argument mainly on the identity in character of the pottery and bronzes found in the earliest cemeteries of Bologna, with those of the similar well-tombs of Poggio Renzo and Sarteano, with the primitive pottery of other sites in Etruria, and also of the Alban Mount;[1] and on its utter dissimilarity to that universally recognized as Etruscan, especially that designated *bucchero;* the difference being not one of period merely, nor even of stage of culture, but of essential style, marking a distinct people. He observes truly that the several styles of art of the same race at different periods are bound to one another like the links of a chain; and he maintains that it is impossible for a people, after having wrought out a style of pottery which had acquired among them a sacred and ritual character, to abandon it of a sudden, and adopt another style of a totally different character. "A people may modify, develope, perfect, but can never utterly cast aside its own arts and industry, because in such a case it would deny its own individuality. When we find, therefore, between two styles of art so many and such strongly pronounced discrepancies, that it becomes impossible to perceive the most remote analogy between them, it is not enough to attribute such diversities to a difference of age, or stage of culture; we can only ascribe them to distinct races." The people then whose sepulchral remains show them to have preceded the Etruscans on both sides of the Apennines, he takes to have been the Umbrians, who, history tells us, were conquered by the Pelasgi, who in their turn were driven out by the Etruscans.

[1] He refers to th[illegible]ots of the same description preserve[illegible]n the Gregorian Museum (*ut supra*, p. 488), which, however, bear no indication of the precise site on which each was found, but are said to have come from [illegible] excavations made at Cervetri, Vulci, Orte, and Bomarzo, between 1828 and 1839. There are also similar pots in the same Museum, found with the hut-urns of the Alban Mount. He states also that he has seen similar pottery at Corneto, in the possession of the Canonigo Marzi, which was found in a well-tomb on that ancient site. For the early ware of the same character in the Etruscan Museum at Florence, see p. 76 of this volume.

This view of the early cemeteries of Bologna appears to involve that of the comparatively recent conquest by the Etruscans of this transapennine region, for as these cemeteries have yielded none of the early works of that people, not a fragment of relieved *bucchero*, nor a single Greek vase which can be assigned with certainty to the former half of the sixth century B.C., the Etruscan invasion cannot be dated earlier than the third century of Rome. If Felsina had received an Etruscan colony at a more remote period, it is difficult to account for the cessation of intercourse with the mother-country up to the date specified, an intercourse which the identity in the modes of burial and in the sepulchral furniture of the primitive inhabitants on both sides of the Apennines, proves to have existed in a previous age. Had that intercourse been maintained, Felsina would have kept better pace with Etruria in culture; she would have received the early as well as the later works of art of her mother-land, and would have been supplied with Greek vases of the First or Asiatic period, as well as have betrayed the influence of Hellenic archaic art on her own productions at an earlier period than the third century of Rome.

We have given one view of this question. Count Giancarlo Conestabile, while acknowledging that the civilization revealed in the monuments of Villanova and the other early cemeteries of Bologna is inferior to that of Etruria Proper in the height of her domination, and though he perceives analogies in the artistic productions of both lands, yet inclines to a Pelasgic origin for these early monuments, and prefers to designate them by the generic and safer term of "ancient Italic." Count Gozzadini, who contends for their Etruscan character, admits the inferiority of this transapennine civilization, but accounts for it by the comparatively late period at which the Felsinians were first subjected to the influence of Hellenic art. Their early sepulchral monuments exhibit them in an ascending phase, as not yet having reached the apogee of their culture. Yet they had already attained great skill in the working of bronze, which, as he observes, was one of the salient points of Etruscan art. And their civilization was so far advanced that they could send ornaments in that metal, especially *fibulæ*, to distant lands, as we are authorised to believe from the discovery of identical objects even on the other side of the Alps. These *fibulæ* are very numerous, and display a great variety of remarkable and even extravagant forms; yet such as Villanova has yielded in

bronze, you find in gold in the Etruscan Museum of Florence, in the Gregorian Museum, and Barberini collection, at Rome, and in silver in the Museo Civico of Bologna. "Are we to believe," asks Gozzadini, "that all these various forms have passed from one people to another, from the Pelasgians or Umbrians to the Etruscans, rather than that they have been preserved by the same people from the earliest times?"

Moreover, bronzes and pottery of the same character as those of Villanova have been found together with those of the pure Etruscan type, in the Arnoaldi diggings, at La Certosa, and at Il Sasso in the Reno valley, and still more notably in the tombs at the Arsenal, where the art and culture of the Villanova period are mingled with, and encased, as it were, in the art and culture indisputably Etruscan, and of a period not earlier than the third century of Rome. If all the monuments of the Villanova type are Pelasgic, or Umbrian, where are those of early Etruscan times?—a most puzzling question if we take for granted, as Count Gozzadini appears to do, that Felsina was founded by the Etruscans some twelve centuries before Christ.[2]

The question appears to me to hinge on the date of the Etruscan conquest of the country north of the Apennines, and of the foundation of the Twelve Cities of Etruria Circumpadana. We have no historical records to guide us to a safe conclusion on this point; little more than the traditions preserved by Servius. Count Conestabile refers this conquest to the twelfth century B.C. or even earlier, and considers the products of the Scavi Benacci and of Villanova to mark an antiquity of nine or ten centuries B.C. If this chronology be correct, there can be no reason why these relics should be ascribed to the Pelasgi or Umbri, rather than to the Etruscans. Ancient traditions certainly favour the remote antiquity of this conquest, and make the foundation of Felsina coeval with that of Perusia.[3] But are

[2] For Count Gozzadini's arguments on this subject, to which I fear I have hardly done justice in the text, see his Mors de Cheval Italiques, pp. 33–41.

[3] Servius (ap. Virg. Æn. X. 198) records two traditions; one, that Ocnus, son or brother of Auletes, or Aulestes, who built Perusia, founded Cesena, or Bononia, and fortified Mantua and other castles; the other, that Mantua was built by Tarchon, the brother of Tyrrhenus. The only historical *data* we have on this subject we find in Livy (V. 33, 34), who tells us that the Gauls on their first invasion of Italy in the time of Tarquinius Priscus encountered and defeated the Etruscans near the river Ticinus, two centuries before their siege of Clusium and capture of Rome. He also asserts that the Twelve Cities of Northern Etruria were so many colonies of the Twelve of Etruria Proper, giving us reason to believe that Felsina was founded by a colony from Volsinii. His statements, as well as the traditions recorded by Servius,

they to be trusted? Are vague traditions to be received with as much confidence as monumental documents? The earliest pottery of the Felsinean cemeteries is of a very rude and primitive character, contemporary, in type at least, with the most ancient ware found in Etruria, and in Latium. But rude and primitive art is not necessarily indicative of a high antiquity; though it is a proof of a low civilization. In this case, so far as we can learn from the excavations as yet made in the neighbourhood of Bologna, the native art appears to have remained stationary for centuries, or to have made little progress, until it suddenly encountered the superior culture of the Etruscan state, elevated and refined by the influences of Hellenic art, in the third century of Rome. In Etruria, on the contrary, whether the primitive pottery of the well-tombs was Etruscan or Umbrian, it seems soon to have given place to more highly developed forms, and never commits the anachronism of re-appearing in conjunction with works of more advanced art. If the Etruscan conquest of these transapennine regions were as early as Conestabile surmises, how are we to explain the complete separation between the mother-country and her colony of Felsina up to the third century of Rome, which the sepulchral monuments of that colony attest?

I confess that the balance of probability at present appears to me to incline to the Umbrian theory of Brizio, though that theory involves the comparatively recent conquest and settlement of Etruria Circumpadana. Further researches, it is to be hoped, will throw light on these points, and clear up the mists which now obscure the true date and character of the early antiquities of Bologna.

are directly opposed to the German theory of the Rhætian origin of the Rasena, and of their occupation of the Po-vale, prior to their conquest of Cisapennine Etruria.

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ADDENDA TO VOL. II.

Page 14, *to note* 6—A tomb at Sovana was found to contain a necklace of *electron*, the mixed metal, an *unguentarium* of alabaster in the form of a woman's bust, in imitation of the Egyptian, like those from the Isis-tomb, Vulci, some *lekythi* in the Corinthian style, and a small figure of blue smalt, with hieroglyphics, recognized by Lepsius as real Egyptian, of the 26th dynasty, or between 673 and 527 B.C. Such figures were called "*abschti*," or "answerers," and were placed in tombs to secure for the souls of the deceased certain advantages in the other world. Ann. Inst. 1876, p. 242.—Helbig.

Page 106—.Since the description in the text was written, the Etruscan Museum at Florence has received some important additions; among them an interesting collection of bronzes recently found near Telamone, and exhibited by Signor Vivarelli of Pistoja. Also a large stone sarcophagus with a gable roof, at each angle of which is a sphinx couchant, and on the ridge at each end a lion. Beneath each of these beasts is a large human face in relief, the central one, in one pediment, being a male, flanked by two females; in the opposite pediment a female face, between two of the other sex. Whether the lions and sphinxes are supposed to be protecting the souls of the persons here portrayed, or to be regarding their heads as their prey, is not easy to determine. This singular sarcophagus is from Orvieto. But the most important monument of Etruscan antiquity newly acquired is a large sarcophagus from Chiusi, with a female figure of life-size reclining on the lid, the interest of which lies not in the beauty of her form, which is deficient in symmetry, her legs and arms being of unequal length, but in the admirable illustration it presents of the costume and decorations of an Etruscan lady of rank. The well-known effigy on the "Aphunei" sarcophagus from the Casuccini collection (see p. 316) is instructive in this respect; but the marble in that case, if ever tinted, has now lost its hues, and presents nothing but forms, while this monument glows with colour, and shows us not only the dress but the very hues and patterns that were in fashion in Etruria at the period to which it belongs. The lady who is here effigied was named "Larthia Seianti S. . . . ." *i.e.* of the family of Sejanus, the latter part of the designatory inscription being illegible. Her eyes and hair are brown, and a fillet of yellow flowers circles her brow, spotted with red and green, probably to represent rubies and emeralds. She wears a white talaric *chiton*, with short sleeves, and decorated with a vandyked border of Tyrian purple round the neck and shoulders, and also round the bottom of the skirt

(just as Proserpine is represented in the woodcuts at p. 351 of Vol. I., and at p. 58 of Vol. II.), but showing also a broad longitudinal stripe of the same purple on each side of her body down to her very feet. Her *himation* is also white, with a deep purple border, and a girdle of gold cloth, studded with rubies, is tied beneath her bosom, terminating in tassels of the same. Her sandals are also of purple, with soles of gold, and an emerald clasp between the first and second toe. She wears earrings, necklace and brooch of gold, with a Medusa's head in the last, a bracelet and armlet in a double chain of the same metal studded with rubies on her right arm, with which she is drawing her veil forward; but she wears no rings on that hand. Her left hand, however, in which she holds a mirror, or more probably tablets, circled with a gold beading, is laden with rings, a massive one on her thumb, one also on the first and last finger respectively, none on the middle, but two on the wedding finger, both of large size and set with rubies. Her figure displays no gilding, the gold in every case being represented by yellow paint. She reclines on two cushions, the upper being yellow, to represent cloth of gold, with purple stripes, and a deep gold fringe; the lower of purple, with narrow white stripes, and a purple fringe. Her urn is decorated with bastard Ionic columns, alternating with bossed *phialæ* and sunflowers, which glow with red, yellow, purple and green in all their original brilliancy. This monument is perhaps the finest specimen of Etruscan polychromy yet brought to light.

Page 178, *to note* 3.—It is a mis-statement that there is "no recorded evidence" of the practice of human sacrifices among the Etruscans, for Macrobius (Saturn. I. 7) informs us that boys were sacrificed by Tarquinius Superbus to Mania, the mother of the Lares, but that this custom was abolished by Junius Brutus after the expulsion of that tyrant, and the heads of garlic and poppies offered in their stead.

Page 200, *to note* 5.—In 1877 a rich stratum of tin was discovered in the secondary limestone in the Poggio del Fumacchio near Campiglia, with traces of ancient workings. Deecke's Müller, ii. p. 255. For the old copper-mines in the Poggio Caporciano, see Targioni Tozzetti, I. p. 214.

Page 233.—*Note* to the "bronze divinity from Rusellæ." See a Paper on this "Antique Statuette" by Mr. C. W. King, M.A., of Trinity College, in Vol. IV. of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications.

Page 309, *to note* 5.—Since this note was in print, I have seen the collection of Trojan antiquities at the South Kensington Museum, and have no hesitation in declaring my firm belief that not one single pot there exhibited bears the face of an owl, and that all those marked with eyes are attempts, more or less rude, at the representation of the human face, and therefore, as suggested in the text, have a strict analogy to the *canopi* of the Etruscans. If they be really cinerary pots, they give rise to a new view of Hissarlik, which, at the period to which they belong, must have been used as a necropolis. We are led then to conclude either

that this primitive people made a practice of burying their dead within their walls, or that the city they inhabited occupied a different site. The upright projections on some of the pots, which Dr. Schliemann takes for the wings of his imaginary owl, and which are much more like horns, appear to me to be mere handles.

Page 447, *to note* 5.—Whether Lucius Accius, the writer of tragedies, and of the Roman annals in verse, who lived in the second century B.C., and is often quoted by Cicero, Macrobius, and others, was of Etruscan origin, we are not told, but it is probable enough.

Page 495, *to note* 3.—Similar ware has been discovered actually beneath the foundations of the walls of Servius Tullius, near the Villa Caserta, mixed with fragments of white unglazed pottery bearing painted bands, and with flint instruments. It bears a close analogy to the pottery of Alba Longa, with which it is probably coeval, and must be prior to the age of Servius. Bull. Inst. 1875, p. 230.—De Rossi.

Page 503, *to note* 9.—Since writing the above, I have ascertained, on the authority of a renowned Egyptologist, that the hieroglyphics on these bowls are not legible as Egyptian, and are therefore mere imitations, and in all probability Phœnician, as Dr. Helbig maintains.

Page 515, *to note* 2.—But the opinion broached by Professor Antonio Salinas, Director of the Museum at Palermo, appears much more consistent with probability—that these whorls served as weights, ἄγνυθες, λαῖαι, to keep the threads of the warp straight in an upright loom. Bull. Inst. 1864, p. 36.

ERRATA IN VOL. II.

Page 10, line 2 from the bottom, *for* "as no very early date," *read* "as of no very early date."
,, 28, note 8, line 1, *for* "p. 11," *read* "p. 14."
,, 35, line 8, *for* "bosom," *read* "shores."
,, 82, ,, 3, *for* "Mænad," *read* "Mænads."
,, 85, ,, 29, *for* "four," *read* "eight."
,, 85, ,, 30, *for* "that," *read* "one."
,, 86, ,, 6, *for* "The other three cases," *read* "Three other cases."
,, 94, ,, 25, *for the sentence* "One of the cinerary urns . . . . bears, &c." *read* "For one cinerary urn, formerly at Chiusi, but said to have been transferred to this Collection, I looked in vain. It bears, &c."
,, 95, ,, 12, *for* "are," *read* "were."
,, 110, ,, 13, *for* "the latter," *read* "these objects," and *for* "former," *read* "trees."
,, 132, to note 7, *add* "Heraclides, ap. Athen. xii. 5."
,, 180, note 1, *for* "despatching Bellerophon to Lycia," *read* "making advances to Bellerophon."
,, 190, line 3 from the bottom, *for* "huckle," *read* "knuckle."
,, 337, note 3, line 2, *after* "218," *add* "Bull. Inst. 1876, p. 152."
,, 345, in the quotation from Virgil, *for* "Ut quondan," *read* "Ut quondam."
,, 416, note 5, *for* "augmentative, *read* "derivative."
,, 428, line 19, *for* "left thigh," *read* "right thigh."
,, 431, note 5, *add* "Bull. Inst. 1858, p. 61, *et seq.*—Conestabile."
,, 442, line 11 from the bottom, *for* "cimetar," *read* "cimeter."
,, 446, ,, 7, *for* "Baglione," *read* "Baglioni."
,, 475, ,, 11 from the bottom, *for* "εὐκύκλοι," *read* "εὔκυκλοι."
,, 480, ,, 8 from the bottom, *for the sentence* "but this one, &c.," *read* "but this one from a tomb at Vulci does not yield in beauty to any yet known, save to that peerless one in the Kircherian Museum."
,, 486, ,, 21, *for the sentence* "These decorations, &c.," *read* "These bowls appear to be purely Egyptian, but are now pronounced to be mere imitations by Phœnician artists."
,, 507, note 9, line 1 in the second column, *after* "Cf." *insert* "Liv. I. 55."
,, 514, line 4 from the bottom, *for* "At a later period," *read* "In those of a later period."
,, 535, ,, 2, *for* "the ossuary," *read* "the ossuary pot."
,, 536, ,, 9, *for* "one exception," *read* "very few exceptions."

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THE END.

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MAP
of
ETRURIA

by George Dennis

COMPILED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES

English Miles 69·1-1 Degree

5 10 15 20 25 30

Italian Miles 60-1 Degree

5 10 15 20 25 30

the modern high roads

the smaller carriage roads

the bridle-paths

Words underlined, thus, Tuscania, are the ancient names. Those in capital letters also underlined, as VOLSINII, mark the Twelve chief cities of the Etruscan Confederation. Ancient towns whose names are unknown, or whose sites are not otherwise indicated, are marked thus, +.

10° 11° 12°

44° 43° 42°

Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London. 1877.

Drawn & Engraved by J. & C. Walker

Franz Steckeler
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Dennis, George,

The cities and cemeteries of Etruria

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